



Costard del.

Milton fecit



Mr. de Voltaire.

Costard del.

Milton fecit.

14 Ad i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH. *Arnot*

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.
By Dr. SMOLLET, and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

5 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40

41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50

51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70

71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80

81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90

91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. de Voltaire is one of the few happy authors who have lived to enjoy the full fruits of the most extensive reputation. He has lived to see his fame flourishing not only in his own country, but also diffused over all the civilized kingdoms and states of Europe; among which he is universally admired for the fire of his genius, the brilliancy of his wit, the poignancy of his satire, the elegance of his stile: in a word, for that nameless talent which operates like a charm, engaging the reader's attention and applause, even in spite of himself, and as it were rendering the performance enchanting alike to persons of every age, nation, character, and complexion.

But how much soever he may be admired in other countries, he seems

iv ADVERTISEMENT.

to be peculiarly adapted by nature, for the entertainment of the English people, distinguished as he is by that impetuosity of genius, that luxuriancy of imagination and freedom of spirit, which have characterized the most eminent poets of the British nation.

This congenial affinity remarkably appears in that eagerness with which his works are procured, translated, and perused by the natives of Great Britain: an impatience attended with some inconvenience, which it is our purpose to remove.

The works of M. de Voltaire having made their first appearance in detached pieces, were partly translated into the English language separately by different hands, with very different degrees of merit, published in various parcels, according to the respective schemes and abilities of the different editors and translators, who selected from the whole such pieces only as
they

ADVERTISEMENT. v

they imagined would best suit their particular purposes. Thus the translation of Voltaire's works hath been left incomplete with respect to the general plan, as well as irregular in regard to the printing and paper, the size and execution of the separate volumes.

It may also be pronounced defective in another sense. Our author's imagination is so warm and impetuous, that it often transports him from image to image, and from sentiment to sentiment, with such rapidity as obliges him to leave the picture half disclosed, and the connexion unexplained. In his prose-writings, he usually bursts into the subject, and throws a glare of light on some particular part, as if he took it for granted that the reader had before considered it in every other attitude and point of view. This velocity of impulse, added to a remarkable pas-

vi ADVERTISEMENT.

fion for peculiarity in point of sentiment, hath hurried him into some obscurities, inadvertencies, and errors, especially in the execution of his historical tracts, which of all his works are the most universally read for entertainment and instruction.

In order, therefore, to do justice to his merit, and at the same time supply his defects, we propose to publish a complete and regular translation of all his works, illustrated with notes historical and critical, which may correct his mistakes, elucidate his obscurities, point out his beauties and explain his allusions to the satisfaction of the public.

THE

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

Containing the plan of the work, with a summary account of what the Western Nations originally were, and the author's reasons for beginning this essay with a description of the East I

CHAP. I.

Of China ; its antiquity, strength, and laws II

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion of China ; demonstrating that the government is not atheistical ; that christianity was not preached among the Chinese in the seventh century ; and giving an account of some sects established in that country 25

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Indies 32

CHAP. IV.

Of Persia, Arabia, and Mahomet 37

CHAP. V.

Of Italy and the Church before the time of Charlemagne 59

CHAP. VI.

Source of the Papal Power 78

CHAP. VII.

State of the Eastern Church before Charlemagne 85

CHAP. VIII.

Of Charlemagne 92

CHAP. IX.

Of Charlemagne, when raised to the Imperial Throne 99

CHAP. X.

Manners and Customs that prevailed about the time of Charlemagne 110

CHAP.

CONTENTS. ix

CHAP. XI.

Laws and Customs that prevailed in the reign of Charlemagne 116

CHAP. XII.

Of the prevailing Religion in the age of Charlemagne 125

CHAP. XIII.

Sequel of the Customs that prevailed in the time of Charlemagne. Of justice; of the laws; of particular customs 142

CHAP. XIV.

Lewis the Feeble, or the Debonnaire 149

CHAP. XV.

Of the state of Europe, after the death of Lewis the Debonnaire, or the Feeble 160

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Normans towards the ninth century 169

CHAP. XVII.

Of England towards the ninth century 177

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of Spain and the Mussulmans towards the eighth
and ninth centuries* 182

CHAP. XIX.

*Of the empire of Constantinople in the eighth and
ninth centuries* 193

CHAP. XX.

*Of Italy and the Popes, together with the divorce of
Lotharius, king of Lorraine, and other affairs re-
lating to the Church, in the eighth and ninth
centuries* 200

CHAP. XXI.

*Of Photius, and the schism between the Eastern and
Western Churches* 206

CHAP. XXII.

*The state of the Western Empire towards the end
of the ninth century* 214

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the German Empire and its Fiefs 217

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Otho the Great in the tenth century 220

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

x;

C H A P. XXV.

*Of the Papacy in the tenth century, before Otho the
Great made himself master of Rome* 222

C H A P. XXVI.

*Continuation of the reign of Otho, and of the
State of Italy* 228

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the emperors Otho II. and III. and of Rome. 233

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of France, in the time of Hugh Capet 239

C H A P. XXIX.

*The state of France in the tenth and eleventh centu-
ries.* 245

C H A P. XXX.

*The Conquest of Naples and Sicily, by a few Nor-
man Gentlemen* 250

C H A P. XXXI.

*Of Sicily in particular, and of the right of legation
in that island* 261

CHAP. XXXII.

*The Conquest of England by William Duke of
Normandy* 266

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Of the state of Europe in the tenth and eleventh
centuries* 274

CHAP. XXXIV.

*Of Spain and the Moors. The state of that king-
dom 'till the beginning of the twelfth century* 280

CHAP. XXXV.

*Of Religion and Superstition in the tenth and ele-
venth centuries* 288



THE
INTRODUCTION.

CONTAINING

The PLAN OF THE WORK;

WITH

A Summary Account of what the Western Nations originally were, and the Author's Reasons for beginning this Essay with a description of the EAST.

YOU are at length resolved, then, to surmount the disgust you conceived from reading the Modern History, since the decay of the Roman Empire, and to receive a general idea of the nations which inhabit and ravage the face of the earth. All that you seek to learn in this immensity of matter, is only that which deserves to be known; the genius, the manners and customs of the principal nations, supported by facts, of which no intelligent person should be ignorant. The aim of such an inquiry is not to know the precise year in which the brutal sovereign of a barbarous people was succeeded by a prince unworthy of historical notice. If a man could have the misfortune to incumber his head with the chrono-

VOL. I.

B

logical

2 INTRODUCTION.

logical series of all the dynasties which have subsisted, all his knowledge would be a jumble of words. As it is laudable to know the great actions of those sovereigns who have improved their subjects, and rendered them more happy ; so is it reasonable to remain in ignorance of vulgar events in reigns, which serve only to burden the memory. What advantage can you derive from the minute detail of a number of petty interests and connexions which no longer subsist ? of families long extinct, that contested the possession of provinces now swallowed up in mighty kingdoms ? Every individual city now boasts its own particular history, whether true or false, more voluminous and circumstantial than that of Alexander the Great. There is more writing in the archives of a single convent, than in the annals of the Roman empire.

A reader must confine himself to certain limits, and select only the choice parts from those immense collections which the study of one person cannot possibly comprehend. They constitute a vast magazine, from whence you take what is necessary for your own occasions.

The illustrious Bossuet, who in his treatise on one part of Universal History displays the true spirit of an historian, has left off at the reign of Charlemagne. Your design is, by beginning with this æra, to form to yourself a picture of mankind : but, you must often trace back your inquiry to times of greater antiquity. That great writer, in briefly mentioning the Arabians, who founded such a mighty empire, and established such

INTRODUCTION. 3

such a flourishing religion, speaks of them as a deluge of barbarians. He expatiates indeed on the Egyptians; but wholly suppresses the Indians and Chinese, at least as ancient and considerable as the people of Egypt.

Regaled as we are by the produce of their country, cloathed with their stuffs, amused by the games which they invented, nay even instructed by the morality of their ancient fables, why should we neglect to learn the genius of those nations which our European traders have constantly visited, even since they first found out the way to their coasts*.

In your philosophical inquiries touching the concerns of this globe, you naturally direct your first attention to the east, the nursery of the arts, to which the western world owes every thing which it now enjoys. The oriental and southern climes inherit every advantage immediately from nature; whereas we, in these northern regions, owe all to time, to commerce, and to tedious industry.

The countries antiently possessed by the Celtæ, Alobroges, Piets, Germans, Sarmatians, and Scythians, produced nothing but wild fruits, rocks, and forests. Sicily, indeed, is said to have afforded a small quantity of oats; but as for wheat, rice, and the fruits of delicate taste

* To the natives of India we are indebted for the benefits of agriculture, the manufacture of silk, the game at chess, and the fables of Pilpay.

4 INTRODUCTION.

and flavour, they grew on the borders of the Euphrates, in China and in India. The most fertile countries were first inhabited, and their inhabitants first regulated by police. The whole Levant, from Greece even to the extremities of our hemisphere†, was famous in history even long before we knew so much of it as to be sensible of our own barbarity. If we want to know any thing of our ancestors, the Celtæ, we must have recourse to the Greeks and Romans, nations of a much later date than those who inhabit the continent of Asia.

For example: though the Gauls bordering upon the Alps, in conjunction with the inhabitants of these mountains, settled on the banks of the Po, from whence they penetrated to Rome about three hundred and sixty years after the foundation of that city, and even besieged the capitol; we should never have known of this expedition, but for the Roman historians. Though another swarm of the same people, about one hundred years after this enterprise, invaded Thessaly and Macedonia, and advanced to the coast of the Euxine-sea: all the information we have of this adventure, is from the Greeks; and they have neither told us who those Gauls were, nor what route they followed. In our own country there is not the least memorial of these migrations, in which our forefathers

† What our author means by the extremities of our hemisphere, we cannot comprehend: if he means the northern parts of Europe, surely he has misapplied the word Levant, which cannot be with any propriety extended farther northwards than the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

INTRODUCTION. 5

resembled the Tartars: they only prove that we were a numerous and uncivilized people. The Grecian colony that founded Marseilles six hundred years before the christian æra, found it impracticable to polish the Gauls: the Greek language did not extend beyond their own territory. Neither Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Britons, nor Sarmatians, know any thing of their own ancestors, that happened above eighteen centuries ago, except the little they learn from the records of their conquerors. We are even destitute of fables, as if we had not courage to invent an origin: for those vain conceits importing that all the West was peopled by Gomer, the son of Japhet, are fictions of the East. If the antient Tuscans, who instructed the first inhabitants of Rome, knew something more than the other nations of the West, they either owed that knowledge to the Greek colonies that settled among them, or it was the peculiar property of that soil to produce men of genius; as the territory of Athens was more fruitful of the arts than were those of Thebes and Lacedemon. But, after all, what monuments have we now remaining of antient Tuscany? none at all. We exhaust ourselves in vague conjectures on some † unintelligible inscriptions which have escaped the injuries of time. As for the other nations of Europe, not one inscription remains in any language which they antiently used.

† All the Tuscan inscriptions are not unintelligible. The alphabet used by that antient people is ascertained, and several inscriptions have been clearly explained by the antiquaries of Italy and England.

6 INTRODUCTION.

The coast of Spain was discovered by the Phœnicians, as the Spaniards have since discovered America. The Tyrians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, were in their turns enriched by the treasures of the earth, which that country produced. The Carthaginians found their advantage in mines as rich as those of Mexico and Peru; mines which time hath exhausted †, as it will exhaust the treasures of the new world. Pliny gives us to understand, that the Romans, in the space of nine years, drew from thence, eight thousand marks of gold, and about twenty thousand of silver. It must be owned, that those pretended descendants of Gomer made a very bad use of the various advantages which their country produced; seeing they were successively subdued by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Arabians.

What we learn of the Gauls from Julius Cæsar and other Roman authors, gives us the idea of a people that stood in need of being subdued by a civilized nation. The dialects of the Celtic language were altogether frightful. The emperor Julian, in whose reign it was still spoken, says it resembled the croaking of ravens. In Cæsar's time, their language was not more barbarous than their manners. Their druids, a set of the greatest impostors, though well

† The silver mines of Spain are far from being exhausted. There are some in the province of Estremadura, that yield plenty of ore, much richer than any that ever was brought from America.

enough

INTRODUCTION. 7

enough adapted to the people whom they governed, used to sacrifice human victims, whom they burned in large and hideous wicker statues. The female druids plunged their knives into the hearts of the prisoners, and predicted future events from the flowing of the blood. The vast stones which appear a little hollowed on the confines of Gaul and Germany, are said to be the altars on which those sacrifices were offered. These are the only monuments of Antient Gaul. Those who inhabited the coasts of Biscay and Gascony, sometimes fed on human flesh. We must turn our eyes with horror from the contemplation of those savage times, that are indeed a disgrace to human nature.

Let us reckon among the extravagancies of the human imagination, the notion entertained in our days, that the Celtæ were descended from the Hebrews. They sacrificed their own species, (say those visionaries) because Jephthâ sacrificed his daughter. The druids were clad in white, in imitation of the Jewish priests: like these, they had a high priest; and the female druids were representatives of Moses's sister and Deborah. The poor wretch pampered at Marseilles, and offered as a sacrifice, crowned with flowers, and loaded with curses, was in allusion to the scape goat. They go so far as to find some resemblance between a few Celtic and Hebrew words, equally ill pronounced; and thence conclude that the Jews and the Celtæ are of the same family. Thus reason is insulted in our Universal Histories, and the lit-

8 INTRODUCTION.

the knowledge we might have of antiquity stifled under a heap of overstrained conjectures.

The Germans nearly resembled the Gauls in their morals : like them they sacrificed human victims ; like them they decided their private disputes by single combat : the only difference was, that the Germans were more simple and less industrious than their neighbours. Their families lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children, lay huddled together, naked, upon straw ; while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, are the same people whom we shall soon see in possession of Rome !

When Cæsar invaded Britain, he found that island still more savage than Germany : the natives were scarcely at the trouble to conceal their nakedness with skins : the women belonged in common to all the men of the same district. They had no other habitations than willow cabins : and the ornaments of both sexes were figures painted on their bodies, by pricking the skin and pouring in the juice of herbs ; an art still practised by the Indians in America.

That human nature was for a long series of ages plunged in this state so nearly resembling that of the brute creation, and even inferior to it in many respects, is a truth but too well confirmed. The reason is this : it is not in the nature of man to desire what he does not know.

He

INTRODUCTION. 9

He required not only a prodigious space of time, but also a number of lucky circumstances for raising himself above the level of meer animal life.

You have therefore great reason for resolving to make one stride to those nations which were first civilized. Long before the empires of China and India commenced, perhaps the world produced nations that were knowing, polished, and powerful; and these were, perhaps, in the sequel, plunged again by deluges of barbarians, into that original ignorance and brutality which is called the state of nature.

The sack of Constantinople was alone sufficient to annihilate the spirit of antient Greece. The Goths destroyed the genius of the Romans. The coast of Africa, heretofore so rich and flourishing, is nothing now but the haunt of pyrates and banditti. Changes still more extraordinary must have happened in less favourable climates. Physical and moral causes must have conjoined; for although the ocean cannot have entirely changed its bed, certain it is, vast tracts of land have been by turns overflowed and forsaken by the sea. Nature must have been exposed to many plagues and vicissitudes: revolutions must have been frequent; though we are ignorant of these events. With respect to us, mankind is a new species.

Besides, you begin your enquiries at the time when the chaos of Europe begins to assume a form after the fall of the Roman empire. Let

10 INTRODUCTION.

us then make the tour of this globe together : let us see the condition in which it then was, by surveying it in the same manner as it seems to have been civilized ; that is, from the eastern countries to these western climes : and let us direct our first attention to a people who had a regular history, written in a language already fixed, at a time when we knew not the use of letters.



A N-

A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. I.

O F C H I N A ;

ITS ANTIQUITY, STRENGTH, and LAWS.

THE empire of China was even then more extensive than that of Charlemagne, especially if we reckon Corea and Tongquin, provinces at that time tributary to the Chinese. It extended thirty degrees in longitude, and four and twenty in latitude. The body of this empire has subsisted above four thousand years, without having undergone any sensible alteration in its laws, customs, language, or even in its fashion of apparel.

Its history, which is incontestible, as being the only records that are founded upon observations of the heavens, is traced back by the surest chronology, to an eclipse calculated two

thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before our vulgar æra, and verified by the mathematicians belonging to the different missions, who having been sent in these last centuries to that unknown people, have at once admired and instructed them. Father Gaubil examined a succession of six and thirty solar eclipses recorded in the books of Confucius, and found but two of them doubtful, and two erroneous.

True it is, Alexander sent from Babylon into Greece, the observations of the Chaldeans, ascending four hundred years higher than those of the Chinese; and this is, without contradiction, the fairest monument of antiquity: but these ephemerides of Babylon were not connected with the history of events: on the contrary, the Chinese have joined the history of the heavens to that of the earth, so as to confirm the one by the other. Two hundred and thirty years above the period of that eclipse which we have mentioned, their chronology reaches without interruption, and is confirmed with proofs which they deem authentic, as far as the emperor Hiao, who laboured himself, in reforming astronomy; and who, through the whole course of a reign that lasted eighty years, continued his endeavours to enlighten and benefit mankind. In China his name is still held in the utmost veneration, like those of Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus, in the annals of Europe. That he was for that time an able mathematician, proves only he was born in a civilized nation. We do not find that the ancient magistrates amongst the Germans or the Gauls, made any progress in reforming astronomy.

nomy. Clovis himself had no such convenience as an observatory.

We find six kings preceding the time of Hiao, though the length of their respective reigns is not certainly known. In this silence of chronology, I think we cannot do better than have recourse to the rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who having compared the number of years, during which the kings of the earth swayed the sceptre in different countries, reduces each reign to two and twenty years, at an average. According to this computation, which seems the more reasonable, as it is moderate, those six monarchs must have reigned about one hundred and thirty years: and this supposition is more conformable to the order of nature, than that of two hundred and forty years, for example, assigned to the seven kings of Rome, as well as so many other calculations, which have been refuted by the experience of all ages.

The first of these kings, then, whose name was Fohi, reigned at least five and twenty centuries before the christian æra, at a time when the Babylonians had already collected a succession of astronomical observations; and even then, China was subject to one sovereign. Its fifteen kingdoms united under one prince, clearly prove, that long before this period, the country was well inhabited, regulated by laws, and divided into a number of sovereignties; for a mighty nation is never formed but of a number of small states: it is the work of policy, courage, and especially of time: there cannot be a more convincing mark of antiquity.

True

True it is, the tyrant Hoangti † ordered all the books of the empire to be burned; but this very stupid and barbarous decree served as a caution to the people to preserve them carefully; and accordingly they appeared after his death. After all, it is of very little consequence to know whether the chronology contained in those books may be always depended upon. Suppose we did not know precisely the time in which Charlemagne flourished; as we are certain that he made vast conquests with mighty armies, it clearly follows that he was born in a numerous nation, formed in a body, and incorporated in the course of a long succession of ages. Since the emperor Hiao, therefore, who doubtless lived about two thousand four hundred years before our common æra, conquered the whole country of Corea, it is beyond all question, that his people were reformed even from the remotest antiquity ‡.

The increase of the human species is not so quick as it is generally imagined. One third part of the children die under ten years of age.

† Hoamti or Hoangti, according to Gemelli, invented music and musical instruments, arms, nets, carts, ships, and carpenter's work: he composed several books of medicine, and his queen brought into vogue the culture of silk-worms, with the arts of dying and weaving the silk.

‡ This is an inference which will by no means be allowed. We can easily conceive how a prince should erect an empire, composed of different nations, and then add a neighbouring country to his new dominions. History affords many instances of this nature. Charlemagne himself formed the empire of the West, by uniting different nations, and then subdued the Saxons. The Turks, a barbarous people, founded their empire on the ruins of the Greek empire, and afterwards annexed Arabia to their dominions.

Those who have calculated the propagation of mankind, observe, that with very favourable circumstances, a nation will hardly gain a twentieth part in the space of one century; and very often the number of people is rather diminished than increased. This is another proof of the antiquity of China. In the reign of Charlemagne, and long before that period, it was still more populous than extensive. The last computation we know, and that was confined to the fifteen provinces which compose China, properly so called, amounted to near sixty millions of fencible men; without including veteran soldiers, old men above sixty, young men under twenty, the mandarins, the multitude of learned persons, or the bonzes: much less the women, who are every where in proportion to the other sex, nearly as fourteen to fifteen, according to the observation of those who have made the most exact calculations touching the human species. At this rate we can hardly suppose there are fewer than one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants in China. Europe contains little more than a hundred millions, reckoning twenty in France, two and twenty in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in the whole extent of Italy, as far as Dalmatia, eight in Great-Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten in European Russia, six in Poland, as many in Turkey within Europe, Greece, and the islands, four in Sweden, three in Norway and Denmark, and about that number in Holland and the Low-Countries. We must not, therefore, be surpris'd at the immensity of the Chinese cities; that Pekin, the new capital of the empire, should be nearly six leagues in circumference.

cumference, and contain about four millions of people; that there was formerly a still greater number in Nanquin the ancient metropolis; or that a million of inhabitants should live in one village called Quientzeng, where the porcelain is manufactured*.

The forces of this empire, according to the relations of the most intelligent travellers, consist of a standing army amounting to eight hundred thousand men well paid: five hundred and seventy thousand horses are maintained, either in the stables or pasture grounds belonging to the emperor, for the cavalry in war, the journeys of the court, and the use of public couriers. Several missionaries, whom the emperor Canghi, in these latter times, from the love of science, allowed to approach his person, relate that they have attended him in those magnificent hunting excursions into Great Tartary, when one hundred thousand horsemen, and sixty thousand infantry marched along in order of battle. This is a custom immemorial in those countries.

The Chinese cities never had any other fortifications than such as common sense dictated to all nations, before the use of artillery, namely, a ditch, rampart, and strong wall with turrets: even since the Chinese began to use cannon, they have not imitated the Europeans in the structure of their fortified places. Other nations have fortified towns; the Chinese have

* Kiamim or Nankin is above six and thirty Italian miles in compass, without reckoning the suburbs, which are nearly as extensive, or a floating town upon the canals. The whole together was said to contain above thirty millions of souls: but this account has been found to be greatly exaggerated.

fortified their whole empire. The great wall that separates and divides China from the Tartars, built one hundred and thirty seven years before Christ, still remains through an extent of five hundred leagues, rising to the tops of mountains, descending over precipices, being almost every where, twenty feet in thickness, and above thirty feet high †. A monument superior to the pyramids of Ægypt, both in usefulness and immensity. This bulwark, however, could not hinder the Tartars, in the sequel, from taking advantage of the intestine troubles of China, so as to subdue the empire. But, the constitution of it was neither weakened nor changed: the country of the conquerors became part of the empire they had subdued; and the Mantchoux Tartars, who are now masters of China, have only submitted sword in hand to the laws of the country they invaded ‡.

The ordinary revenue of the emperor, according to the most probable calculations, amounts to two hundred millions of ounces of

† It is built of large burned bricks, and a few stones, upon it. Through its whole extent, are large, strong, square towers, at the distance of two bow-shots from one another. This wall is continued half a league into the sea.

‡ The last emperor of the Chinese race hanged himself in his own garden, that he might not fall alive into the hands of Li, a captain of banditti, who had made himself master of the imperial city. The general of the deceased emperor solicited the assistance of the Tartar prince against this usurper, who was defeated. The auxiliary died before peace could be established: but his followers refused to return to their own country, saying, the empire was due to their valour. They took possession of Peking in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-three, and raised the infant son of their deceased prince to the throne of China.

silver

silver

18 HISTORY OF

silver †. It must be observed, that the ounce of silver is not intrinsically worth one hundred sols, as the history of China asserts: for, there is no such thing as intrinsic value in coin: but, rating our silver mark at fifty livres, the sum will amount to twelve hundred and fifty millions of French money, as it stood in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty; I say at this time, because the arbitrary value of money has changed but too often in this kingdom; and perhaps will change again. This is a circumstance not sufficiently considered by writers, who being more conversant in books than with business, are often very erroneous in their valuation of foreign money. The Chinese had gold and silver coin long before the dariques were coined in Persia. The emperor Canghi collected a succession of three thousand different coins, among which were several Indian pieces, another proof of the antiquity of the arts in Asia; but, for a long time, gold has been disused as current coin in China; and is now become a commodity, as in Holland. Silver no longer passes current, but is sold according to its weight and standard: copper is the only coin that maintains an arbitrary value in this country. The government, in hard times, payed in paper; an expedient since used in more than one state of Europe; but the Chinese never made use of public banks, which augment the riches of a nation by multiplying its credit.

This country, the favourite of nature, possesses almost all the fruits which have been trans-

† About fifty-five millions sterling; reckoning an ounce of silver worth five shillings and sixpence.

planted into Europe, and many others which we do not enjoy. Their lands are covered with corn, rice, vines, pulse, and trees of every kind; but the natives never make wine, being satisfied with a kind of liquor which they extract from rice. Those precious insects which produce silk are natives of China, from whence they were conveyed not a great while ago to Persia, together with the art of making stuffs of the down that covers them. These stuffs were so rare, that even in the reign of Justinian, silk was sold in Europe for its weight in gold. Fine paper of a shining white has been made by the Chinese from time immemorial, with the fibres of bamboo cane boiled in water. We are ignorant of the æra at which they began to manufacture porcelain, and that fine varnish which the Europeans begin to imitate with such success. They have, for these two thousand years, known the art of making glass, though not in such perfection as it has attained in Europe. About the same time they invented the art of printing: this, we know, is the method of engraving letters on boards of wood, as first practised by † Guttem-

† John Guttemberg finding it difficult to execute alone the idea he had conceived, associated himself with John Faust, a rich burgher of the same city; and these, with the assistance of Peter Scheoffer, who was Faust's menial servant, and afterwards his son-in-law, actually executed their design, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty. Scheoffer afterwards invented the method of founding moveable types. The honour of this great discovery, of printing, is contested between the cities of Haarlem and Strasburg, in favour of Lawrence Coster and John Mentell. It is pretended, that this last employed as an under-swapper

temberg at Mentz, in the fifteenth century. It is brought to greater perfection in China, where they have not yet adopted our method of using moveable types of cast metal, though greatly superior to theirs; so much are they attached to their old customs. The use of bells, among the Chinese, is of great antiquity. They have made some progress in chemistry; and, without becoming good naturalists, invented gun-powder, though they made no use of it, but at festivals, in fire-works, an art in which they surpassed all other nations. The Portuguese, in these latter ages, taught them the use of artillery; and they learned the art of casting cannon from the jesuits. Though the Chinese did not exercise their talents in the invention of those destructive instruments, they deserve no praise from that circumstance, as they have maintained wars notwithstanding. They made no farther progress in astronomy, than as it is the science of the eyes, and the fruit of patience. They observed the heavens with great assiduity; remarked all the phenomena which appeared, and transmitted them to posterity. They, like us, divided the sun's annual course into three hundred, sixty-five parts, and one quarter: they had a confused idea of the precession of the equinoxes, and the solstices; and, what perhaps is still more remarkable, they divided the months into weeks of seven days. They still shew the instruments used by one of their

one Gensfleisch, who betrayed him, and revealed the secret to John Guttemberg, at that time a goldsmith in Strasburg. But these allegations are not well supported; and Guttemberg is generally esteemed as the original inventor.

famous

famous astronomers, a thousand years before the christian æra, in one of their towns, which is but of the third order. Nanquin, the ancient capital, preserves a brass globe, which three men can hardly clasp in their embrace, sustained upon a cube of copper that opens: into this, a man is introduced to turn the globe, on which they have marked the meridians and parallels. In Pekin, there is an observatory furnished with astrolabes and armillary spheres; instruments, which, though inferior to ours in point of accuracy, serve as illustrious proofs of that superiority which the Chinese maintained over the other nations of Asia. True it is, though they knew the compass, they did not apply it to its proper use of directing the course of vessels at sea. Their navigation was performed along shore. Possessed of a country that supplies all their wants, they have no occasion to roam, like the Europeans, to the ends of the earth. They considered the compass, as well as gunpowder, in the light of simple curiosities; nor were they to be pitied for their simplicity.

It is surprising that this people, so happy at invention, have never penetrated beyond the elements of geometry; that in music, they are even ignorant of semitones; and that their astronomy, with all their other sciences, should be at once so ancient and imperfect. Nature seems to have bestowed on this species of men, so different from the Europeans, organs sufficient to discover all at once, what was necessary to their happiness, but incapable to proceed farther: we, on the other hand, were tardy in our discoveries; but, then we have speedily brought every thing to perfection. The cred-

dulity with which those people have always joined the absurdities of judicial astrology to the true theory of the heavens, is not so surprising. That superstition was once common to all mankind: we ourselves have not been long cured of it; so incident is error to the human mind.

If we inquire wherefore so many arts and sciences, so long cultivated without interruption, in China, have, nevertheless, made so little progress; perhaps we shall discover two causes that have retarded their improvement. One is the prodigious respect payed by these people to every thing transmitted from their progenitors. This invests whatever is antique with an air of perfection. The other is the nature of their language, which is the first principle of all knowledge. The art of communicating ideas by writing, which ought to be plain and simple, is with them, a task of the utmost difficulty. Every word is represented under a different character; and he is deemed the most learned, who knows the greatest number of characters. Some studious persons among the Chinese have grown old, before they could learn to write with facility. What they best know, cultivate the most, and have brought to the greatest perfection, is morality, and the study of law. Filial respect is the foundation of the Chinese government. Paternal authority is never infringed. A son cannot carry on a process against his father, without the consent of all the relations and friends, and even of the magistrates. The learned mandarins are considered as the parents of the cities and provinces, and the king as the common father of the

the

the empire. This idea rooted in their hearts, has formed, as it were, one family, of this whole immense community.

All the vices exist here as in other countries, but surely, they are more restricted by the curb of laws consistent and uniform. The learned author of admiral Anson's voyage, expresses great contempt for China, because the vulgar at Canton exerted all their artifice to cheat the English. But, are we to judge the government of a mighty nation, by the morals of the populace in its frontier places*? Pray, what would the Chinese have said of us, had they suffered shipwreck on our coasts, when the law of nations in Europe confiscated the effects, and custom authorized the murder of the owners.

The continual ceremonies, which among the Chinese, lay a restraint on society, and are never omitted, except among particular friends within their respective houses, have established through the whole empire, a reserve and decorum, which invest their behaviour with an air of gravity and sweetness. These qualities extend even to the lowest of the people. The missionaries relate, that frequently in the public streets, amidst that embarrassment and confusion, which in our country excite such barbarous clamour, and such brutal quarrels, they

* It is not only at Canton that the Chinese practise deceit; the natives of that country, settled in Batavia and other places in the East-Indies, are famous for the art of cheating. This vice may be partly owing to natural causes, and partly to the lenity of their laws, which punish fraud by fine only. Besides, it appears from Anson's voyage, that fraud was not confined to the populace: the very mandarins were detected in the most dirty practices of fraud.

have

have seen the Chinese peasants throw themselves on their knees, to ask pardon of each other for the stop of carriages, which every one laid to his own charge, and mutually assist in disengaging the whole, without noise or tumult.

In other countries, the laws punish the commission of crimes; in China, they do more, they recompense the practice of virtue. The report of a generous and rare action, being diffused through a province, the mandarin is obliged to give notice of it to the emperor, who bestows some mark of honour upon him who has so well deserved it. This kind of morality, this submission to the laws, joined to the adoration of a supreme being, form that religion which is professed by the emperor and learned men of China. The emperor has been high-priest from time immemorial. He sacrifices to Tien, the sovereign of heaven and of earth. He ought to be the chief philosopher, and first preacher of the empire. His edicts are generally instructions and lessons of morality*.

† We should be glad to know how our author would reconcile to this excellent system of government, and this humane disposition of the Chinese, the barbarous and inhuman practice of exposing infants, which prevails through the whole empire of China.

CHAP. II.

Of the RELIGION of CHINA.

Demonstrating, that the government is not atheistical; that Christianity was not preached among the Chinese in the seventh century; and giving an account of some sects established in that country.

CONFUTSEE, by us called † Confucius, who flourished two thousand three hundred years ago, a little before the time of Pythagoras, established that religion which is founded upon virtue. He taught and practised it, both in his elevation and humiliation; sometimes prime-minister to a king that was tributary to the emperor: sometimes an exile, fugitive, and indigent. During his life, he had five thousand disciples; and after his death his doctrine was embraced by the emperors, the coloa, that is, the mandarins, the men of letters, and all but the lower class of people. His family still subsists; and in a country where there is no other nobility than that derived from actual service, it is distinguished from other families, in honour of its founder. To his own memory they pay all honour: not those divine honours to which no man can have any

† Confucius was born in the kingdom of Lu, which is now the province of Xantung; and is said to have lived about five hundred years before the birth of Christ. He was employed as minister by his sovereign; but, when that monarch would no longer follow his sage counsel, he resigned his employment, and retired into the kingdom of Sum, where he publicly taught the science of moral philosophy with vast reputation.

title, but such as are due to a man who communicated the most rational ideas of the divinity, which human nature could conceive without the help of revelation. For this reason, father Le Comte, and other missionaries affirm, that the Chinese had knowledge of the true God, when other nations were sunk in idolatry; and that they sacrificed to him in the most ancient temple of the universe. The charge of atheism, which in these western regions is so liberally thrown at all who differ from us in point of opinion, has been likewise urged against the Chinese. Yet none but such inconsiderate people as we are, in all our disputes, would presume to treat a government as atheistical, which, in almost every edict, mentions "A supreme being, the father of all nations, who rewards and punishes according to the rules of eternal justice; and who has established between himself and his creatures, a correspondence of prayers and benefits, faults and chastisement *." Their religion, indeed, does not admit of rewards and punishment to all eternity; and this very circumstance denotes its antiquity. Moses himself, in the Pentateuch, has not mentioned a future state. The Sadducees among the Jews never believed in futurity; and this doctrine did not prevail, until happily established after the incarnation by the Lord of life and death †. It is supposed, that the men of letters

* This sentence is contained in an edict of the emperor Yontchin.

† This has been the subject of much controversy: but, in our opinion, the learned Leland has plainly proved from Scripture, that the Hebrews believed in a future state.

among

among the Chinese had no distinct idea of an immaterial God; but it was unjust to infer from thence, that they were atheists. The ancient Egyptians, so famous for their religion, did not worship Isis and Osiris as pure spirits. All the deities of antiquity were adored under a human form; and what shews the flagrant injustice of mankind, even among the Greeks, those were stigmatized with the appellation of atheists, who did not admit of corporeal deities, but in the divinity adored a nature unknown, invisible, and incomprehensible.

The famous archbishop Navarette says, that according to all the interpreters of the sacred books in China, "The soul is deemed an aerial igneous particle, which, when separated from the body, is reunited to the substance of the heavens." This is the very opinion of the Stoics, which Virgil has so admirably unfolded in the sixth book of the *Æneid*. Now, certain it is, neither the writings of Epicurus, nor the *Æneid*, are infected with atheism. We have calumniated the Chinese, merely because they differ from us in their system of metaphysics. We ought rather to admire in them two articles of merit, which at once condemn the superstition of the pagans, and the morals of the christians. The religion of their learned men was never dishonoured by fables, nor stained with quarrels or civil wars. In the very act of charging the government of that vast empire with atheism, we have been so inconsistent as to accuse it of idolatry; an imputation that refutes itself. The great misunderstanding that prevails concerning the rites of the Chinese, arose from our judging their customs by our

own: for we carry our prejudices, and spirit of contention along with us, even to the extremities of the earth. Genuflexion, which among them is a common compliment, we consider as an act of adoration; we have likewise mistaken a table for an altar: thus we may judge of every other circumstance. We shall see in its proper place, the manner in which our missionaries were driven from China, by our own divisions and disputes.

Some time before the æra of Confucius, Lao-kium had introduced a sect that believed in evil spirits, inchantments, and other delusions. Another sect, resembling that of Epicurus, was received and opposed in China, five hundred years before Jesus Christ: but, in the first century of our æra, that country was deluged by the superstition of the bonzes. They imported from India the idol Fo, or Foe, which was adored under different names, by the Japonese and the Tartars, as a god that descended upon earth. The worship of this deity was extremely ridiculous; and therefore the better adapted for the vulgar. This religion arose in India, about one thousand years before Christ, and infected all the eastern parts of Asia. This was the god which the bonzes preached in China, the talapoins in Siam, and the lamas in Tartary. It is in his name they promise eternal life, and that thousands of bonzes devote their lives to exercises of penance, which are horrible to nature. Some of these enthusiasts lead their lives stark naked and in chains; while others wear huge iron collars that bend their bodies double, and keep their foreheads grovelling in the dust. Their fanaticism is infinitely subdivided. They

are supposed to cast out devils, and to work miracles ; and they sell absolution to the people. Some mandarins have been reconciled to this sect ; and by an infatuation, which proves that the same superstition prevails in every country, they have even been known to undergo the tonsure as bonzes, from motives of devotion. It is this very sect, which in Tartary, has at its head the Dalailama, a living idol whom they adore ; and this, perhaps, is the greatest triumph of human superstition.

The Dalailama, as the successor and vicar of the god Foe, is supposed to be immortal. The priests keep in reserve a young lama, designed in private to succeed the sovereign pontiff, and accordingly he assumes that place, when this, who is deemed immortal, happens to die. The Tartarean princes never speak to him but on the bended knee. He is supreme judge of all points of controversy among the lamas. In a word, he has been for some time established on the throne of Thibet †, on the west of China. The emperor receives his ambassadors, and returns the compliment with very considerable presents.

These sects are tolerated in China for the use of the vulgar, as coarse aliment raised for their subsistence ; while the magistrates and persons of education, who are in every thing distinguished from the vulgar, feed on a purer substance. Confucius, however, was grieved at

† Thibet is generally supposed to be one of the kingdoms of Great Tartary ; though some alledge it is the same country as Turquestan, surrounded with mountains which are always covered with snow.

this multitude of errors, and at the number of idolaters who prevailed in his time; the sect of Laokium having introduced many superstitions among the common people; insomuch that he expresses himself thus in one of his books: "How comes it that we find the ignorant populace guilty of so many more crimes than the learned? because the people are governed by their bonzes."

Indeed many of the learned themselves have fallen into the error of materialism: but this has had no effect upon their morality. They think virtue is so necessary to mankind, and so amiable in herself, that there is no need for the knowledge of a God, to make her loved and followed. Besides, we must not imagine that all the Chinese materialists are atheists: the first fathers of our own church believed that God and his angels were corporeal.

It is pretended that about the eighth century, during the reign of Charlemagne, the christian religion was known in China. We are assured that the missionaries found in the province of Kingsching, an inscription in the Syriac and Chinese characters. This monument, which is to be seen at length in Kircher, attests, that a holy man called Olopüen, conducted by the blue clouds, and observing the blowing of the winds, arrived from Tacin at China in the year 1092 of the æra of the Seleucides, answering to the year of Christ 636; that as soon as he reached the suburbs of the imperial city, the emperor sent a colao to receive him, and caused the christian church to be built for his devotion. This inscription evidently appears to be one of those pious frauds which always meet with too easy

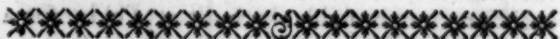
easy credit : the sage Navarette is of the same opinion. The country of Tacin, the æra of the Seleucides, the word Olopüen, which, though said to be Chinese, resembles a Spanish surname, the blue clouds that served as conductors, the christian church suddenly built at Pekin for a priest of Palestine, that could not set foot in China without incurring the penalties of death : all these circumstances compared, demonstrate the absurdity of the supposition. Those who are at such pains to support it, do not reflect that the priests whose names appear on this pretended monument, were Nestorians ; and therefore they are only contesting in favour of hereticks.

This inscription is of a piece with another found in Malabar, importing, that St. Thomas arrived in that country in quality of a carpenter, with a rule and stake ; and that he carried on his shoulders a huge beam, as a proof of his mission. There is plenty of historical truths without intermingling such absurd falsities. It is very certain, that in the time of Charlemagne, the christian religion, as well as the nations that professed it, was utterly unknown in China. Jews there certainly were in this empire : several families of that nation, equally vagrant and superstitious, had been settled in China two centuries before the christian æra. There they exercised the profession of courtiers, which the Jews have followed in all parts of the world †.

I purposely omit taking a view of Siam, Japan, and all the other countries towards the

† If the Jews were permitted to settle in China, why should a priest of Palestine incur the pains of death for setting foot in that empire ?

east and south, until I shall come to speak of that period at which the industry of the Europeans opened an easy way to the extremities of our hemisphere.



C H A P. III.

Of the I N D I E S.

IN following the sun's apparent course, I first arrive at India, or Indostan, a country not quite so extensive as China, and better known by the precious commodities which the industry of merchants has at all times imported from it, than by any accurate accounts. An almost continued chain of mountains seems to have fixed its limits on the side of China, Tartary, and Persia; and the rest is surrounded by the sea. Nevertheless, India, on this side the Ganges, was long subjected to the Persians; therefore Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and conqueror of Darius, extended his conquests as far as the Indian states that were tributary to his enemy. Since the time of that monarch, the Indians have enjoyed their liberty, plunged into an excess of effeminacy, occasioned by the heat of their climate and the richness of their soil.

The Greeks, before Alexander, travelled into India in quest of science. There the celebrated Pilpay, about two thousand three hundred years ago, wrote those moral fables which have been translated into almost every language of the known world. The orientals, and particularly

cularly the Indians, treated all subjects under the veil of fable and allegory: for that reason Pythagoras, who studied among them, expresses himself always in parables. The spirit of Pilpay reigned a long time in India. Pachimere, in the thirteenth century, translated several works composed by their sages: of these the following is a very remarkable passage. "I have seen all the sects recriminate upon each other the charge of imposture: I have seen the magi dispute with rage and fury, upon the first principle and the ultimate end: I have questioned them all, and found in those chiefs of different faction, nothing but inflexible obstinacy, sovereign contempt, and implacable hatred for one another: I am therefore resolved to believe none of their doctrines. These doctors, in their researches after truth, may be compared to a woman who wants to introduce her gallant by a private passage, but cannot find the key of the door. Mankind in their vain enquiries may be likened to him who climbs a tree where he finds a small morsel of honey; but scarce has he eaten it, when he himself is devoured by the dragons that surround the tree which he had ascended." Such was the manner of writing practised among the Indians. Their genius appears still plainer in the games they invented. Of this sort, is the game which we by corruption call chess. It is allegorical, like their fables; and contrived as the image or representation of war. The word *sheck*, which is prince, and *pion* †, that signifies soldier, are

† This is the piece which we call Pawn.

still preserved in that part of the east. The arithmetical figures we use, which the Arabians imported into Europe about the time of Charlemagne, are originally derived from India. The antique medals, so much in request among the Chinese virtuosi, may be urged as a proof that the arts were cultivated by the Indians, before they were known in China.

The sun's course was divided into twelve parts from time immemorial. The year of the brachmans, and of the most antient gymnosophists, always began when the sun entered the constellation, which they call *moscham*, and is known among us by the appellation of *aries*. Their weeks always consisted of seven days; a division of which the Greeks were ignorant; and their days were distinguished by the names of the seven planets. Sunday they denominate *mitradinam*: but it is not yet known whether the word *mitra*, which among the Persians likewise signifies the sun, is originally a term in the language of the magi, or in that of the sages of India. It is very difficult to discover which of these two nations taught the other; but if the question was to decide between India and *Ægypt*, I should conclude that the sciences were much more antient in the former of these countries. My conjecture is founded on these circumstances: the land of India is much more easily settled than that which borders upon the Nile, whose overflowing must have for a long time thwarted the first inhabitants, before they could master that river by digging canals: besides, the soil of India is of a more varied fertility, which must have greatly excited the curiosity and industry of man-

mankind †. Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indostan, alledging that the most helpless animal would be naturally produced in the gentlest climate; but the origin of almost every thing is concealed from our knowledge. Who, for example, will venture to affirm that our climates produced neither insects, herbs, nor trees, when all these were found in the east?

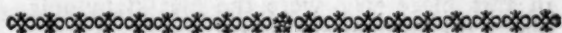
India, in the time of Charlemagne, was known by name only; and the Indians did not know that any such prince existed. The Arabians were solely possessed of maritime commerce, and, at the same time, supplied Constantinople; and the Franks with the commodities of India. The Venetians, indeed, went to fetch them from Alexandria. The consumption of them was not yet considerable in France, among private persons; and they were long unknown in Germany, and all the northern countries. The Romans themselves carried on this traffick as

† This we take to be a very unsatisfactory reason, inasmuch as it hath been always observed, that necessity is the mother of industry and invention. We should therefore suppose that geometry must have been first understood in Ægypt, because the overflowing of the Nile destroyed their land marks, so that the natives were obliged to ascertain their property by the principles of surveying. In Chaldæa the skies were so serene as to encourage the science of astronomy; though we should rather believe it was best known among the Arabians, whose country is, in a great measure, barren and desolate, whose climate is so scorching that they can hardly stir abroad in the day; and whose chief delight consists in lying on their house-tops in the night, and contemplating the heavenly bodies that roll over their heads with such amazing splendor, as cannot fail to excite the attention of the most incurious.

soon as they were masters of Ægypt; thus the western nations have always carried their gold and silver into India, increasing the wealth of that country, which was already so rich in its own nature. The Indians being at all times a trading and industrious people, were necessarily subjected to a regular police; and that people whom Pythagoras visited for improvement, must have enjoyed the protection of wholesome laws, without which the arts are never cultivated; but mankind, even in the midst of sensible laws, have always indulged ridiculous customs. That which constitutes the point of honour and religion among the women, inducing them to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, subsisted in India from time immemorial, and is not yet abolished. Their philosophers throw themselves alive into funeral piles, through excess of fanaticism and vain glory. Calan, or Calanus, who burned himself in presence of Alexander, was not the first who set this example. One would imagine that a nation where the philosophers, and even the women, thus devoted themselves to death, must be a warlike and invincible people: nevertheless, every prince that attacked India has easily subdued it, since the time of the antient Sezac, known by the name of Bacchus.

It would be very difficult to reconcile the sublime ideas which the brachmans preserve of the Supreme Being, with their superstition and fabulous mythology, if history did not present the same sort of contradictions among the Greeks and Romans. Some christians have been settled two hundred years on the coast of Malabar, in the midst of these idolatrous nations.

tions. A Syrian merchant, whose name was Mark Thomas, settled on that coast with his family and factors, in the sixth century, and there left his religion, which was Nestorianism. These sectaries multiplying apace, assumed the name of "The christians of St. Thomas," and lived peaceably among the idolaters: he that lives quiet is seldom persecuted for his religion. Those christians were entirely ignorant of the Latin church.



C H A P. IV.

OF PERSIA, ARABIA, and MAHOMET.

Turning our attention towards Persia, we there find, immediately before the period I have chosen as an æra, the most important and sudden revolution that we ever heard of upon earth. A new dominion, religion, and system of morals had entirely changed the face of these countries; and this change extended a great way into Asia, Africa, and Europe. That I may form to myself a just idea of Mahometanism, which hath given a new aspect to so many empires, I will previously recapitulate those parts of the world that first submitted to its doctrines. Before the time of Alexander, Persia extended her sway from Ægypt to Bactriana, beyond the country now known by the name of Samarkande, and from Thrace to the river Indus. Though divided and contracted under the Seleucides, it increased again under Arsaces the Parthian, about 250 years before Christ.

Christ. The Arsacides possessed neither Syria nor the countries bordering on the Euxine sea : but they disputed the empire of the east with the Romans, to whom they always opposed insurmountable barriers. In the time of Alexander Severus, about the year 226 of the christian æra, a private soldier of Persia, assuming the name of Artaxares, conquered this kingdom from the Parthians, and established the Persian empire, in extent nearly the same as it is in these our days. You do not desire to examine in this place who were the first Babylonians whom the Persians conquered, nor in what manner those people boasted four hundred years of astronomical observations, though no more of these than a succession of nineteen hundred years could be found in the time of Alexander. You have no intention to wander from your subject, with a view to recollect the idea of the greatness of Babylon, and those monuments more specious than solid, whose very ruins are destroyed. No remains of the Asiatic arts challenge, in any degree, our attention, except the ruins of Persepolis described in several books, and exhibited in a variety of copper-plates. I know what admiration has been excited by those fragments that escaped the torches with which Alexander and the courtesan Thais reduced Persepolis to ashes. But shall we give the epithet of a master-piece of art to this palace, built at the foot of a chain of desert rocks? Certainly the columns that are still standing, can neither boast of fine proportions nor elegant design. The capitals overloaded with rude ornaments, are almost as high as the shafts of the pillars. All the figures are as hard and

and heavy as those with which our Gothic churches are still unhappily adorned. They are monuments of greatness, but not of taste; and the whole serves to confirm us in the opinion, that a reader, in confining himself to the history of the arts, would find but four ages in the annals of the world; namely, those of Alexander, Augustus, the Medicis, and Lewis XIV.

The Persians, however, were always an ingenious people. Locman, the same as *Æsop**, was born at Casbin. This tradition is much more probable than that which derives him from *Æthiopia*, a country that never produced philosophers. The maxims of the antient Zerdust, called Zoroaster by the Greeks, who have changed all the oriental names, still subsisted. They are said to be nine thousand years old; for the Persians, as well as the *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, push back the origin of the world as much as other nations bring it forward. A second Zoroaster, in the reign of Darius, the son of Hytaspes, did no more than bring this antient religion to perfection. It is in these maxims that we find the first notions of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments. There we see an express description of hell. Zoroaster, in the writings preserved by Sadder, feigns that God had indulged him with a sight of hell, and the pains reserved for the wicked: there, among several kings, he perceived one without

* *Æsop*, if we may believe Maximus Planudes, Plutarch, Meziriac, Suidas, and Le Clerc, was a native of Phrygia, born in the town of Amorium, cotemporary with Solon, and subject to Cræsus, the last king of Lydia.

a foot, and asked of God the reason of this mutilation. God replied, "That wicked king did but one good action in the whole course of his life. Going one day to the chase, he saw a dromedary tethered at such a distance from his trough, that he could not reach it so as to eat his provender; he kicked the trough nearer the animal; and that foot I have placed in heaven, the rest of him remains here in hell." This passage, which is very little known, shews the kind of philosophy cultivated in those remote times: a species of philosophy always allegorical, and sometimes very profound. The Babylonians were the first who admitted of intermediate beings between God and man. The Jews did not bestow names upon the angels, till the time of their captivity in Babylon. The name of Satan, which first appeared in the book of Job, is a Persian word; and Job is said to have been of the same country. The word Raphael is used by Tobit, who was captive in Nineveh, and wrote in the Chaldaic language.

The two principles of Zoroaster, Oromazes, or Oromazes, the antient of days, and Arimanes, the genius of darkness, gave birth to the manichean doctrine. It is the Osiris and Typhon of the Egyptians; the Pandora of the Greeks, the vain effort of all the sages to explain the origin of good and evil. This theology of the magi was respected in the East, under all governments; and in the midst of every different revolution, the antient religion was still maintained in Persia, where neither the gods of the Grecians, nor any other deities ever prevailed.

Nous-

Nousturvan, or Cosroes the great, towards the end of the sixth century, had extended his empire into part of Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix. From thence he expelled the Abyssinian christians, by whom it had been invaded. He proscribed christianity as much as he could within his own dominions, driven to this severity by the treachery of his son in law, who embraced the christian religion, and raised a rebellion against his sovereign. In the last year of this famous king's reign, Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, on the 5th of May, in the year 570. His country was at this time involved in war, for the defence of her liberty, against the Persians and the princes of Constantinople, who still retained the name of Roman emperors. The children of Nousturvan the great, unworthy of such a father, laid waste their own country with civil war and parricide. The successors of the wise Justinian intailed contempt upon the name of the empire. Mauritius was dethroned by the arms of Phocas, reinforced with the intrigues of the patriarch of Cyriaca and other bishops, whom he afterwards punished for having served him so effectually. The blood of Mauritius and his five children had flowed under the hands of the executioner; and Pope Gregory the great, a bitter enemy to the patriarchs of Constantinople, endeavoured to gain over the tyrant Phocas to his interests, by loading him with the most extravagant praise, and condemning the memory of Mauritius, whom, in his life, he had as extravagantly extolled.

The empire of Rome, in the West, was annihilated. A deluge of barbarians, Goths, Heruli,

Heruli, Huns, and Vandals, overflowed Europe, when Mahomet laid the foundation of the Mussulman religion and power, in the deserts of Arabia.

Every body knows that Mahomet was the younger son of an indigent family; that he was a long time in the service of a woman called Cadische, who exercised the profession of a merchant in Mecca; that he married his mistress, and lived obscure to the age of forty. It was not till then he displayed those talents, which spoke him so much superior to all his fellow citizens. He possessed a warm and nervous eloquence, destitute of art and method, such as was necessary to harangue the Arabs; an air of authority and insinuation, animated by piercing eyes, and supported by a happy physiognomy: the intrepidity and liberality of an Alexander, and that sobriety which Alexander wanted to be completely great in every part of his character. Love, the necessary consequence of a warm constitution, to which he owed so many wives and concubines, neither weakened his courage, his application, nor his health. In this manner is he described by the Arabian writers, who were his cotemporaries; and his conduct verifies the picture.

After having made himself entirely acquainted with the character of his countrymen; their ignorance, credulity, and aptitude to enthusiasm, he plainly perceived that he should be able to erect himself into a prophet. He feigned revelations; he uttered predictions; he gained credit with his own family, which was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. In three years he had acquired two and forty disciples,

cipies, who believed in him implicitly: Omar, who had been his persecutor, became his apostle; and at the end of five years the number of these amounted to one hundred and fourteen.

He taught the Arabians, who worshipped the stars, that their adoration was due to God alone, by whom they were created: that the Jewish and christian books were corrupted and falsified; and therefore ought to be held in abhorrence: that all mankind were obliged, on pain of eternal punishment, to pray five times a-day, and give charity: above all things to acknowledge but one God, to believe in Mahomet as his last prophet; and, in a word, to hazard their lives for their religion. He forbade the use of wine, because the abuse of it was attended with dangerous consequences. He retained the rite of circumcision, which had been observed by the Arabians as well as by the antient Egyptians, instituted in all probability, to prevent the first powers of manhood from being abused; a practice by which youth is often enervated*. He allowed polygamy, a custom immemorial in all eastern countries. He made no alteration in the system of morality, which has always been fundamentally the same in every nation,

* It will be no easy task to shew in what manner circumcision prevents the abuse of puberty. Perhaps it would be less difficult to prove that this operation is productive of a spurious passion, not fit to be named, which has prevailed in all ages among those who have undergone circumcision. The most feasible reason for its having been instituted in warm climates is, that it prevented those excoriations which in hot countries are occasioned by a glandular discharge pent up between the prepuce and the part which it naturally covers.

and which no legislator has presumed to corrupt. In other respects, his religion was more slavish than any other, in its lawful ceremonies, in the number and form of prayers and ablutions. Nothing hampers human nature more than practices which she does not require, especially if they must be daily renewed. As a recompence for the righteous, he promised immortality in a future state, where the soul should be intoxicated with spiritual pleasures; and the body, raised again to life with all its faculties, enjoy every sensual delight. Thus religion is distinguished by the appellation of Islamism, which signifies revelation to the will of God: The book that contains it is entitled the Koran, that is, "The book, the writing, or the reading," by way of excellence.

All the interpreters of this work agree, that the morality it inculcates is contained in these words: "Court those who drive you out; give to those who strip you; forgive those who injure you; do good to all; and never dispute with the ignorant." He should have rather warned his people to avoid disputes with the learned; but, in that part of the world, they never dreamed that any other country was enlightened with science.

Among the incoherent rhapsodies that abound in this book, according to the oriental taste, we find, nevertheless, some instances of the true sublime. Mahomet, for example, speaking of the cessation of the deluge, makes use of these expressions: "God said, earth swallow up thy waters: heaven draw up those streams thou hast poured forth. The heaven and the earth obeyed." His definition of God is really sublime.

sublime. Being asked who was that Alla whom he announced. "He it is, (he replied,) who holds his being of himself, and of whom all other beings hold their existence: who neither engenders nor is engendered; and to whom nothing can be likened through the whole extent of being."

True it is, the book is crowded with contradictions, absurdities, and anachronisms. Through the whole of it we perceive a total ignorance of the most simple and best known principles of natural philosophy. This is the touch-stone of the books which the professors of false religion pretend to be written by divine inspiration; for God is neither ignorant nor absurd: yet they are adored by the vulgar, who cannot discern these errors, which the imans employ a deluge of words to palliate.

Some people concluded, from an equivocal passage of the alcoran, that Mahomet could neither read nor write; a circumstance, which, if true, would have rendered his success still more prodigious. But it is not at all likely, that a man who had been so long in trade, should be ignorant of that which was so necessary in traffick: it is still more improbable that a man so well versed in the histories and mythology of his country, should be ignorant of that which even the children practised. Besides, the Arabian authors relate, that Mahomet on his death-bed called for the implements of writing.

He was persecuted at Mecca, and his flight from that city, which is denominated Hejra, became the æra of his glory, as well as the foundation of his empire. From a fugitive he
started

started up a conqueror. While a refugee at Medina, he made converts of the people, and used them for the accomplishment of his designs. He, first of all, with one hundred and thirty men, defeated the inhabitants of Mecca, who marched against him to the number of a thousand. This victory, which appeared a miracle in the eyes of his followers, persuaded them that God fought for them as they fought for his glory. From the first victory they presaged the conquest of the world. Mahomet took Mecca, and saw his persecutors humbled at his feet. In nine years, by his preaching and his arms, he conquered all Arabia, a country as extensive as Persia, which neither the Persians nor the Romans could subdue. In the beginning of his success, he had written to Cosroes II. sovereign of Persia, to the emperor Heraclius, to the prince of the Coptes, governor of Ægypt, to the king of the Abyssinians, and to a monarch called Mandar, who reigned over a province in the neighbourhood of the Persian gulph. He had the boldness to propose that they should embrace his religion; and what is more astonishing, two of these princes actually turned Mahometans; these were the king of Abyssinia, and this Mandar. Cosroes tore the letter in a transport of indignation. Heraclius sent valuable presents, by way of answer, to Mahomet. The Coptic prince presented him with a maiden who was deemed a master-piece of nature, and known by the epithet of the "Beautiful Mary."

Mahomet, at the expiration of nine years, believing himself strong enough to extend his conquests and religion among the Greeks and
Per-

Persians, began with an invasion of Syria, at that time subject to Heraclius, from whom he wrested divers cities. This emperor, intoxicated with metaphysical disputes concerning religion, who had espoused the doctrine of the Monothelites, received, almost at the same time, two very singular proposals; one from Cosroes, by whom he had been long subdued, and the other from Mahomet. The first insisted upon his embracing the religion of the magi, and Mahomet expressed his desire that he should become a Mussulman.

The new prophet left it to the option of those he conquered, either to profess his religion, or pay a tribute, which was regulated by the alcoran at thirteen drachmas of silver annually for every head of a family. Such a moderate tax plainly proves, that the people who submitted, were extremely poor: but the tribute has been greatly increased since that period. Of all the legislators who have founded religions, he alone extended his by dint of conquest. Other nations have introduced their worship among their neighbours with fire and sword; but no founder of a sect, was at the same time a conqueror. This privilege alone, is in the eyes of Mussulmans, an incontestible proof, that the deity took especial care to assist the efforts of their prophet.

At length Mahomet, having made himself master of Arabia, and formidable to all his neighbours, was attacked by a mortal distemper at Medina, in the sixty-fourth year of his age; and resolving that his last moments should denote the hero and the saint, exclaimed: "Let him whom I have injured or oppressed, appear,

pear, and I am ready to make reparation." A man stood up, and demanded payment of a sum that was due to him from the prophet: Mahomet ordered it to be payed immediately, and in a little time expired, respected as a great man, even by those who knew he was an impostor; and revered as a prophet by the rest of his countrymen.

His cotemporaries of Arabia wrote a very circumstantial detail of his life. The whole favours strong of the barbarous simplicity of the times called heroic. His contract of marriage with his first wife, is expressed in these terms: "While Cadische continues to love Mahomet, and is in like manner beloved of him." We find a minute description of the banquets which his wives prepared; with the very names of his swords and horses. One may observe through the whole character of his people, a strong conformity in manners with the antient Hebrews: I speak only of manners the same ardour to engage in battle in the name of the Lord, the same thirst after plunder, the same division of the spoil, and every part of their conduct pointing towards this object.

But without considering any other than human circumstances, and still abstracting from the judgments of God, and the mysterious ways of providence, we may ask why Mahomet and his successors, who began their conquests precisely in the manner of the Jews, were so much superior to them in their achievements and success? Was not the difference owing to the different conduct of the two nations? The Mussulmans exerted their chief care in subjecting the vanquished to their religion, sometimes by force,

force, and sometimes by dint of persuasion. The Hebrews, on the contrary, never admitted foreigners into a participation of their worship. The Arabian Mussulmans always incorporated other nations with their own: the Hebrews carefully secluded themselves from every other people. In a word, the Arabians seem to have possessed a more courageous enthusiasm, with a more bold and generous policy. The Hebrews looked with horror on all other nations, in the apprehension of being enslaved: whereas the people of Arabia endeavoured to attract every thing, and believed themselves created for dominion. Mahomet's last will was not executed. He had bequeathed the empire to his son-in-law Hali, and his daughter Fatima: but ambition, which even transcends fanaticism, engaged the chiefs of the army to declare old Abubeker, his father-in-law, caliph, that is, vicar of the prophet, in hope of being soon able to share the succession among themselves. Hali, mean while, remained in Arabia, waiting for an opportunity to signalize his talents.

Abubeker's first step was to collect in one volume, the scattered sheets of the Koran; the chapters of the book were read in presence of all the chiefs, and its authenticity was invariably established. In a little time Abubeker marched at the head of his Mussulmans into Palestine, where he defeated the brother of Heraclius. He died soon after this victory, with the reputation of the most generous man alive: for his own share of the booty which was divided, he never took more than about twenty pence a-day; thereby demonstrating how well a con-

tempt of low self-interest will agree with that ambition which self-interest of an higher order inspires.

Abubeker is esteemed among the Mahometans, as a great character, and a faithful Musfulman: he is reckoned one of the saints of the Koran. The Arabians record that his last will was couched in these terms: "In the name of God most merciful, this is the last will of Abubeker, made at a time when he was about to pass from this world to the next; at a time when infidels begin to believe, when the wicked cease to doubt, and the liar tells the truth." This seems to be the preamble of a man who was really convinced; yet Abubeker, as the father-in-law of Mahomet, had opportunities of examining the prophet nearly. He must either have been deceived himself, or acted as accomplice in an illustrious imposture, which he looked upon as a necessary fraud. The rank he maintained obliged him to support at his death, what in his life-time he had imposed on his fellow creatures.

Omar, chosen his successor, was one of the most rapid conquerors that ever ravaged the face of the earth. His first exploit was the reduction of Damascus, famous for the fertility of its soil, for its steel manufactures, the best in the world, and the silk stuffs that still bear its name. The Greeks, who assumed the name of Romans, he drove from Syria and Phœnicia. After a long siege, he, by capitulation, got possession of Jerusalem, which had been almost always in the hands of foreigners, from the time when David wrested it from its antient possessors.

At

At the same period, Omar's lieutenants advanced into Persia. The last of the Persian kings, whom we call Hormisdas IV. gives battle to the Arabians within a few leagues of Madain, the capital of that empire. He loses the battle with his life; and the Persians acknowledge the dominion of Omar, even more easily than they had formerly submitted to the yoke of Alexander. Then fell that antient religion of the Magi, which had been respected by the conqueror of Darius; for he never encroached upon the religion of the nations whom he subdued.

The Magi adored one God, were enemies to idolatry, and revered the fire that animates nature, as an emblem of the deity. They looked upon their own worship as the most antient and pure of all religions. Their knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and history, increased their contempt for their conquerors, who were at that time extremely ignorant. They could not abandon a religion consecrated through so many ages for the upstart sect of their enemies. The greater part of them retired to the confines of Persia and India: there they live at this day, under the denomination of Gaures or Guebres, marrying only among themselves, maintaining the sacred fire, and faithfully attached to all they know of their antient worship; but altogether ignorant, despised, and, except in their poverty, resembling the Jews, so long dispersed, without mingling in alliance with other nations: but they may be still more properly compared to the Banyans; who are established and dispersed in no other countries but Persia and India. A great num-

ber of Guebre families, or Ignicolæ, remained at Hipahan, till the reign of Sha-abas, who banished them in the same manner as Isabella expelled the Jews from Spain. These Ignicolæ have for a long time anathematized Alexander and Mahomet in their prayers: in all probability they now extend their curses to Sha-abas also.

While one of Omar's lieutenants subdues Persia, another conquers from the Romans the whole country of Ægypt, and great part of Lybia. It was in the course of this war, that they burned the famous library at Alexandria, a monument of the knowledge, as well as of the errors of mankind, begun by Ptolomey Philadelphus, and augmented by such a number of monarchs. At that time the Saracens rejected all science but what was contained in the Koran; but they had already demonstrated that their genius was capable of extending to every subject. Their undertaking to renew the old canal first dug by the kings of Ægypt, and afterwards repaired by Trajan, for joining the Nile and the Red Sea, was an enterprize worthy of the most enlightened ages. A governor of Ægypt undertakes, and even accomplishes this great work in the caliphate of Omar. What a wide difference between the genius of the Arabians, and that of the Turks! These last have let a work run to ruin, the preservation of which was of greater consequence than the conquest of a mighty province.

The success of that conquering people seems rather to have been owing to the enthusiasm by which they were animated, and to the spirit of the nation in general, than to the ability of their

their conductors ; for Omar was assassinated in the year 603, by a Persian slave, and Otman, his successor, met with the same fate in an insurrection that happened in 655. Hali, the celebrated son-in-law of Mahomet, is not elected to the sovereign power until the state is involved in troubles. Like his predecessors he is murdered in five years ; and in the mean time the Mussulman arms are always prosperous. This Hali, whom the Persians revere at this day, and whose principles they follow in opposition to those of Omar, at length obtains the caliphate, and transfers the seat of the Caliphs from Medina, where Mahomet lies buried, to Couffa, on the banks of the Euphrates, a city of which scarce any ruins now remain. This was the fate of Babylon, Seleucia, and all the antient cities of Chaldea, which were wholly built of bricks.

It is very evident, that the genius of the Arabians, set in motion by Mahomet, did every thing by dint of its own strength for the space of near three centuries ; thus resembling the genius of the antient Romans. Nay, it was in the reign of Valid, the most unwarlike of all the caliphs, that their greatest conquests were atchieved. One of his generals, in the year 707, extended his empire as far as Samarkande. Another, at the same time, invaded the empire of the Greeks, towards the Black Sea. A third, in the year 711, sailed from Ægypt, into Spain, a country which has been with ease subdued successively by the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths and Vandals, and at length by these Arabs, who were known by the appellation of Moors. There they at

first founded the kingdom of Cordova. The sultan of Ægypt indeed shook off the yoke of the great caliph of Bagdat; and Abderame, governor of Spain, which he had conquered, no longer acknowledged the sultan of Ægypt: but for all that, it was to the arms of the Mussulmans that all those successes were owing.

This Abderame*, the grandson of caliph Hesham, subdued the kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Arragon: he made a settlement in Languedoc, became master of Guienne and Poitou; and had not Charles Martel deprived him of his good fortune and his life together, France would have been a Mahometan province.

After the reigns of nineteen caliphs of the house of the Ommiades, the dynasty of the caliphs Abasides began about the year 752 of the christian æra: Abougiasar Almanzor, the second caliph of this race, fixed the seat of that great empire at Bagdat in Chaldæa, on the other side of the river Euphrates. The Turks say he laid the foundation of this city; the Persians assure us it was of great antiquity, and that he did no more than order it to be repaired. This is the city which is sometimes called Babylon, and has been the source of so many wars between Persia and Turkey †.

The

* Abderame I. or Abdalrachman, was surnamed Abdel, or the Just: nevertheless, he ravaged all Spain, and compelled all his neighbour kings to pay him tribute: from Aurelius he exacted a yearly supply of one hundred young maidens.

† Bagdat is situated, not on the Euphrates, but on the river Tigris, in the province of Yerach: it is the antient Seleu-

The dominion of the caliphs lasted 655 years. Though despotic in religion as well as in government, they were never worshipped like the great lama: but they enjoyed a more substantial authority; and even in the times of their decay they met with respect from those princes by whom they were persecuted. All the sultans, whether Turks, Arabians, or Tartars, received the investiture from the caliphs, with much less dispute than many christian princes have had with the pope on the same subject. They did not kiss the caliph's feet; but they prostrated themselves upon the threshold of his palace.

If ever power threatened the whole earth with subjection, it was that of the caliphs; for they possessed the right of the throne, and of the altar; of the sword, and of the spirit; their orders were received as oracles, and their soldiers were so many desperate enthusiasts. In the year 671, they besieged Constantinople, which was doomed to be one day a Mahometan capital, and the almost inevitable dissensions among so many ferocious chiefs, did not stop the course of their conquests. In this particular they resembled the antient Romans, who in the midst of their civil wars subdued the country of Asia Minor.

The politeness of the Mahometans increased with their power. Those caliphs, still acknowledged sovereigns in religion, and as apparent head of the empire, even by those distant princes

Seleucia, which was built from the ruins of Babylon. The Arabians call it Dar-at-Sani, which signifies the Peaceful habitation.

who no longer obeyed their orders, lived quietly in their new Babylon, and the arts soon revived under their countenance and protection. Aaron Rachild, cotemporary with Charlemagne, and more respected than any of his predecessors, whose commands were obeyed in Spain, and in the Indies, reanimated the sciences, taught the agreeable and useful arts to flourish, invited learned men into his empire, composed verses, and took such measures, that throughout his vast dominions, barbarity gave way to politeness. In his reign, the Arabians who had already adopted the Indian cyphers, imported them into Europe. In Germany and France, we had no other knowledge of astronomy but what we learned of the same people. The single word almanack is still a proof of this assertion.

The Almagist of Ptolomey was at that time translated from the Greek into the Arabic language, by the astronomer Benhonain. The caliph Almamon caused a degree of the meridian to be measured geometrically, in order to determine the magnitude of the earth; an operation which was not performed in France till nine hundred years after this period, in the reign of Lewis XIV. The same astronomer Benhonain made considerable progress in his observations: he discovered that either Ptolomey had fixed the sun's utmost declination too far northwards, or that the obliquity of the ecliptic was changed: he even perceived that the period of six and thirty thousand years, assigned for the revolution of the fixed stars from east to west, must be considerably abridged.

Che-

Chemistry and medicine were carefully cultivated by the Arabians. Chemistry, which among us is now brought to perfection, we learned from them, and them only; to them we owe the new remedies termed Minoratives, more gentle and salutary than those formerly used in the schools of Hypocrates and Galen. In a word, even in the second century after Mahomet, the Christians of the West received all their instructions from the Mussulmans.

One infallible proof of the superiority of a nation in the arts that depend upon genius, is their bringing the culture of poetry to perfection. I do not mean those inflated and bombast metaphors, consisting of insipid, common-place allusions to the sun, moon, stars, seas, and mountains; but, that sort of sensible and energetic poetry which flourished in the Augustan age, and revived in the reign of Lewis XIV. That poetry, composed of image and sentiment, was well known in the time of Aaron Rachid. Among other striking passages, I shall quote the following, because it is short; it turns upon the celebrated story of the misfortunes that befel Giafar, one of the Barmecides †.

D 5

Frail

† This was the most illustrious private family in all Asia. Fadhil, Giafar, Mahomet, and Mussa, were four brothers of the most shining merit, who, after having performed the most signal services to their country, fell under the disgrace of Aaron al Rachid. This caliph is said to have decreed, that no person should mention their names on pain of death. Notwithstanding this order, an old man, called Monder, ventured to harangue in the public streets, upon the virtues of the Barmecides: for this presumption he was condemned to death, and begged permission to speak a few words to the caliph before his execution. This request being granted, he made

Frail mortal, with presumpt'ous pride,
By Fortune's treach'rous gifts elate,
Behold the end of Barmecide,
And tremble at thy prosp'rous fate*.

The last line is literally translated; and nothing, in my opinion, can be more beautiful than this apothegm, "Tremble at thy own prosperity." The Arabic language had the advantage of having been long brought to perfection: it was fixed before the time of Mahomet, and has not been altered since that period. There is not the least trace remaining of any jargon that was spoke at that time in Europe†. To which side soever we turn ourselves, it must be confessed that we are but of yesterday: we have made greater progress than other people, in

made such a pathetic speech in favour of the Barmecides, and painted the caliph's obligations to them in such strong colours, that Aaron was moved to compassion, pardoned the old man, and presented him with a golden dish from his own table. Monder having prostrated himself before his prince, exclaimed, "Behold another favour which I have received from the Barmecides." A saying, which, in the sequel, became proverbial.

* This is something different from the passage of the Persian poet, cited by D' Herbelot. His quotation is much more figurative and poetical than that inserted by M. de Voltaire, though I believe they were both taken from the same original. The passage in D' Herbelot is to this effect; "Child of fortune, who, for a short season, art suckled with the milk of prosperity, which flows from her empoisoned breasts, be not too much elated with the happiness of thy condition, whilst thou art still rocking in the cradle, and tottering in the uncertainty of life: remember only the time, when thou sawest the greatness of the Barmecides.

† Our author must surely be mistaken in this particular; both the Celtic and Teutonic are older than the time of Mahomet, and partly understood even at this day.

more

more than one art and science; perhaps we proceed the faster, because we began so late.



CHAP. V.

Of ITALY and the CHURCH before the Time
of CHARLEMAGNE.

NOthing is more worthy of our curiosity, than the manner in which God brought about the establishment of his church, by making second causes coincide and concur with his eternal decrees. Let us leave, with the utmost reverence, the divine part in the hands of those with whom it is deposited; and confine ourselves solely to that which is historical. The disciples of St. John established themselves at first in Arabia, the neighbouring country to Jerusalem; but the disciples of Christ dispersed themselves over the face of the earth. The Platonic philosophers of Alexandria, where there was such a number of Jews, associated themselves with the first Christians at Rome, in the reign of Nero; and these were confounded with the Jews, because they were in effect their countrymen, spoke the same language, and abstained, like them, from those meats that were forbidden by the law of Moses: nay, many of them were actually circumcised, and observed the Sabbath.

The number of the Jews that still remained at Rome amounted to four thousand: there had been double that number in the time of Augustus; but Tiberius transported one half to

Sardinia, in order to people that island, and diminish the number of usurers at Rome. Far from being restricted in their worship, they enjoyed that toleration which the Romans freely granted to all religions; they were even allowed to have synagogues, and judges of their own nation; privileges which they enjoy at this day in modern Rome, where they are still more numerous. Their hatred of the Christians was implacable; they accused them as authors of the conflagration that destroyed one half of Rome, in the reign of Nero. It was as unjust to accuse the Christians of that accident, as to impute it to the Emperor †. Neither he, nor the Christians, nor the Jews, could have any interest in burning the city of Rome: but there was a necessity for appeasing the people that rose against the foreigners, who were equally hated by Jews and Romans. Some unfortunate wretches were sacrificed as victims to the vengeance of the populace. This transient outrage, however, ought not to be reckoned among the persecutions they underwent for their faith; it had no affinity with their religion, which was not known, and which the Romans confounded with Judaism, a religion which their laws

† Suetonius and Dio Cassius positively assert, that Nero was the author of this conflagration. Tacitus owns it was ascribed to that emperor. Some persons were seen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houses, and publicly declared they were authorized so to do. Certain it is, he viewed the flames from the tower of Mæcenæ, and chanted a poem composed on the destruction of Troy. We are not to expect solid reasons for the actions of a prince, whose conduct was wholly influenced by the most extravagant folly and caprice.

protected. True it is, the antiquaries have found in Spain certain inscriptions, in which Nero is thanked for having abolished a new superstition in that province; but the authenticity of these monuments is very much doubted. Allowing them to be authentick, they do not mention Christianity: and even if these cruel monuments relate to Christians, to whom are they to be ascribed, but to the jealousy of the Jews settled in Spain, who abhorred Christianity as an enemy engendered in their own bosoms? We will carefully avoid all attempts to remove that impenetrable obscurity which veils the cradle of the infant-church; a veil which learning itself has only served to double.

What we are assured of is, that it never was the genius of the Roman senate to persecute any person for his faith; and that none of the emperors had the least intention to compel the Jews to change their religion, neither after the revolt under Vespasian, nor in consequence of that which broke out in the reign of Adrian. Their worship indeed was always insulted and ridiculed, and statues were erected in the temple before it was destroyed; but it never entered into the head of any emperor, proconsul, or Roman senate, to hinder the Jews from believing their own law. This circumstance only serves to shew what scope Christianity had to extend itself in secret.

None of the Cæsars, before Domitian, ever disturbed the Christians. Dio Cassius tells us, that under this emperor some persons were condemned as atheists, and as imitating the Jewish customs: but this disturbance, about which we are so much in the dark, was neither general,
nor

nor of long duration. We neither precisely know the reasons for which some Christians were banished, nor those for which they were recalled. What credit can we give to Tertullian, who, upon the faith of Hegesippus, seriously relates, that Domitian interrogated the grand-children of the apostle St. Jude, of the race of David, whose right to the throne of Judea began to make him uneasy; but that, perceiving they were indigent and miserable, he desisted from further persecution? Had it been possible, that a Roman emperor should dread the pretended descendants of David, even after Jerusalem was destroyed, his policy would have been directed to the Jews, and not to the Christians: but how can we suppose that he, who was master of all the known world, should feel disquietude about the pretensions which two of the grand-children of St. Jude might have to the kingdom of Palestine; and that he should question them on the subject? Unhappily, in this manner has history been written by a great number of authors, whose piety was much preferable to their materials and understanding.

Nerva, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines, never persecuted the Church. Trajan, who had forbid private associations, writes to Pliny, "Let no inquiries be made against the Christians." These essential words, "No inquiry," prove, that it was in their power to conceal and support themselves with a little discretion; though the zeal of priests, and the hatred of the Jews, often dragged them to trial, and exposed them to punishment. They were rancorously hated by the populace, especially in the provinces, who excited the magistrates

strates against them, and loudly exclaimed that they should be exposed to wild-beasts in the Circus. Adrian not only forbade Fondanus, the proconsul of Asia Minor, to persecute them, but his decree imports, "If the Christians are slandered, let the calumniator be severely chastised." From this instance of Adrian's justice, some have fondly believed that he himself was a Christian; but can we suppose that he, who built a temple to Antinous, would raise another to Jesus Christ?

Marcus Aurelius ordained, that the Christians should not be prosecuted on the score of religion; and they were openly protected by Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander, Philipppus, and Gallienus: they had all this time, therefore, to extend and fortify their infant-church; they held five councils in the first century, sixteen in the second, and six and thirty in the third. We learn from the ecclesiastical history, that, even at this period, the altars were extremely magnificent: that some of them were adorned with columns of silver, weighing together three thousand marks: that the chalices were made after the model of the Roman cups, and the patens, or covers, of beaten gold. The Christians enjoyed such uncommon indulgences, in spite of the clamour and persecuting spirit of their enemies, that, in several provinces, they had churches built upon the ruins of heathen temples, which had been demolished. This circumstance is owned by Origen and St. Cyprian; and the Church must have long enjoyed uninterrupted peace, seeing these two great men already reproached their contemporaries with luxury, effeminacy, and avarice, the consequences

sequences of affluence and repose. St. Cyprian expressly complains, that divers bishops, neglecting the holy examples they had before their eyes, "Accumulated great sums of money, enriched themselves by usury, and obtained estates by fraud:" these are his very words; an evident proof of the happy tranquility they enjoyed under the Roman laws. The abuse of any thing plainly demonstrates the existence of it.

The persecution of the Christians under Decius, Maximin, and Dioclesian, was founded on reasons of state. Decius hated them because they favoured the family of Philippus, suspected, though erroneously, of being a Christian himself: Maximin persecuted them because they supported Gordianus; but they enjoyed the most extensive liberty, for a series of twenty years, in the reign of Dioclesian. At length, in the year 303, Cæsar Galerius, their inveterate enemy, persuaded Dioclesian to give orders for demolishing the cathedral of Nicomedia, which was built opposite to the emperor's palace: a Christian tore the edict in public, and was punished for his presumption. In a few days after this incident, part of the palace of Galerius was destroyed by fire; and the Christians were accused as incendiaries: nevertheless, they were not condemned to the pains of death; it was only decreed, that their churches and books should be burnt, and that their persons should be deprived of all dignity. Till that time, Dioclesian never had the least intention to lay them under constraint in matters of religion; he had, after his victory over the Persians, issued edicts against the Manicheans, who were attached to the interests of Persia, and secret enemies

mies to the Roman empire. Reasons of state were the sole cause of these edicts. Had they been dictated by religious zeal, a kind of zeal with which conquerors are very seldom inspired, the Christians would have been included; but they were not: of consequence they had twenty years complete to strengthen their interest, under this very Dioclesian, and were not maltreated, except during two years of his reign; besides, Lactantius, Eusebius, and the emperor Constantine himself, impute these violences to Galerius alone, and not to Dioclesian. Indeed it is not at all probable, that a man who had philosophy enough to renounce the empire, should shew so little as to become a fanatic persecutor. Dioclesian is, for the most part, ignorantly represented as an enemy ever in arms against the faithful, and his reign as a continual massacre; but nothing can be more contrary to truth. The æra of martyrs, which begins at his accession, should not therefore have commenced 'till two years before his abdication; for no person suffered martyrdom during the first twenty years of his reign.

The story of his having quitted the empire out of vexation, because he had not been able to abolish Christianity, is a contemptible fiction; had he been really such a persecutor, he would, on the contrary, have continued to reign, that he might have had an opportunity to destroy it in earnest; and if he was compelled to abdicate, as it is alledged without any sort of proof, he did not quit the reins of empire from chagrin or regret. The vain pleasure of recording extraordinary incidents, and increasing the number of martyrs, has induced
writers

writers to add false and incredible persecutions to those that were but too true. They pretend, that under the reign of Dioclesian, in the year 297, Maximian Hercules Cæsar doomed to martyrdom the whole Theban legion, consisting of six thousand six hundred Christians, who were sent into the midst of the Alps, where they allowed themselves to be massacred, without murmuring at their fate. This story, so much celebrated, was not written till near two hundred years after the supposed event, by the abbot Eucherus, who related it from hearsay. Granting there actually was such a legion as the Theban, or Thebean, a circumstance that is very doubtful, is it probable that Maximian Hercules should, as is reported, recal them from the East to appease a sedition which happened among the Gauls? wherefore should he deprive himself of six thousand six hundred good soldiers, for whom he had immediate occasion, to quell this sedition? how happened they to be all Christians, without exception? wherefore murder them in the route? who were the persons by whom they suffered martyrdom†? to what purpose

† Nothing can be more frivolous than this way of reasoning: if we allow that Maximian was an implacable enemy to the Christians, the steps he took for their destruction are by no means absurd. The pretence of a sedition in Gaul afforded an excuse for bringing them into a part of the world where his own influence chiefly predominated. It is very natural to suppose, that the Christians in the army were incorporated into one body; they themselves would desire to be united: or, if the emperor was resolved to cut them off, this was the most feasible way of doing it at once. Nor is there any improbability in the story of their being massacred on their route; no method could be better contrived for
 theirs

purpose should this butchery be acted, at a time when there was no persecution, at an æra when the church enjoyed the most profound tranquility, when under the very eye of Dioclesian, even in Nicomedia, opposite to his own palace, the Christians had built a superb cathedral? "The profound peace and perfect liberty which we enjoy, (says Eusebius) is the occasion of our becoming remiss in our duty." Is this profound peace, this perfect liberty, consistent with the massacre of six thousand six hundred soldiers? if this incredible fact had been true, would Eusebius have passed it over in silence? So many true martyrs have sealed the gospel with their blood, that their glory ought not to be shared with those who did not share their sufferings; certain it is, Dioclesian, in the two last years of his reign, and Galerius for some years after, persecuted with great violence, the Christians of Asia Minor and the neighbouring countries. But in Spain, Gaul, and England, which were then in the division of Constantius Chlorus, far from being proscribed, they saw their religion the prevailing faith; and Eusebius says, that Maxentius, who was elected emperor at Rome in the year 306, persecuted no person.

The

their destruction, than that of falling upon them on a long march, among mountains and defiles, where they were fatigued, bewildered, divided, and incapable of sustaining one another.

† The hatred which Dioclesian conceived against the Christians, in the latter part of his reign, was so violent, that he did all in his power to extinguish their religion in Europe as well as in Asia. In Spain we still find the remains of trophies erected to him, with inscriptions to this effect:

The Christians effectually served Constantius Chlorus, whose wife Helena publicly embraced their religion; then they formed a considerable party in the state. Their money and their arms contributed largely in raising Constantine to the purple; for this reason they became odious to the senate and people of Rome, as well as to the prætorian cohorts, who universally declared for Maxentius, his competitor for the empire. Our historians stigmatize Maxentius with the name of tyrant, because he was unfortunate: certain it is, however, he was the true emperor, as having been proclaimed by the senate and people of Rome.

The reign of Constantine is a glorious æra for religion, which it crowned with triumph. There was no occasion to intermingle prodigies, such as the apparition of the Labarum in the clouds, without once mentioning in what country that standard appeared: there was no necessity to relate that the guards of the Labarum

were

effect: "For having extended the Roman empire in the East and West; for having extinguished the name of Christians, who disturbed the quiet of the common-wealth; for having abolished their superstition in all parts of the earth, and augmented the worship of the gods." His edicts against the Christians were severely executed, even in Britain; a great number of British martyrs suffered under this persecution. We are informed by Gildas, the British historian, that many Christians were put to death in this island by a variety of tortures: that many fled from the persecution to woods and deserts, where they lay concealed in sequestered caves. Among those who suffered was the famous St. Alban, who had been converted from paganism by a priest to whom he afforded shelter in the time of the persecution.

The derivation of the word Labarum is not known; it was the appellation given to the famous standard of Constantine,

were invulnerable. The shield of Egeria that fell from heaven in antient Rome, the oriflamme brought to St. Denis by an angel, and all such imitations of the Palladium of Troy, serve only to debase truth with an air of fiction. Divers learned antiquaries have sufficiently refuted these errors, which philosophy disavows, and which true criticism must always destroy. Let us confine our attention to a view of those incidents, in consequence of which Rome ceased to be the metropolis of the empire.

Constantine, who was elevated to the Imperial throne against the inclinations of the Romans, could not be agreeable to that people. It is very evident, that the murder of Licinius, his brother-in-law, in violation of the most solemn oaths; the death of Licinianus, his nephew, murdered at twelve years of age; the fate of his father-in-law Maximian, butchered by his order at Marseilles; of his own son Crispus, whom he put to death, after he had gained him several battles; and of his wife Fausta, stifled in a hot bath; must have created an abhorrence, which could not allay the hatred of his subjects †. And this is probably the

stantine, made in consequence of a vision. As he marched at the head of his army from Gaul towards Italy, he is said to have seen the sign of the cross in the clouds, formed by the two initial letters of our Saviour's name, according to the Greek orthography; and over it these words, "In hoc signo vinces." Eusebius saw the standard and the cross, which is exhibited after this manner ; and the miraculous effects of it he learned from the emperor's own mouth.

† This is a very invidious and unjust representation of facts, calculated to asperse the memory of a great prince, who

the reason that induced him to translate the seat of empire to Byzantium. We find, in the code of Theodosius, an edict of Constantine, in which he declares, that he founded Constantinople by the express command of God: thus, in order to silence the murmurs of his people, he feigned a revelation. This single circumstance is sufficient to make us acquainted with his real character. Our greedy curiosity would fain penetrate through the interior recesses in the heart of a man like Constantine, who, in a little time, altered the whole œco-

who has been so remarkably celebrated for his generosity, good-nature, and moderation. Licinius was not put to death in violation of oaths. He had fought four battles with Constantine, who was his benefactor: he had infringed the treaty by which peace was re-established, and renewed the war: he was at length cooped up in the city of Nicomedia; and seeing no possibility of escaping, he threw himself at the feet of the victor. Constantine received him with great tenderness, and sent him to Thessalonica, with an assurance that he should live unmolested, so long as he should refrain from intrigues against the state. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he began to tamper with the Barbarians, in hope of exciting a new revolt; and Constantine, being informed of his cabals, caused him to be strangled, in order to prevent another civil war. As for Maximian he was not put to death, until he attempted, in the most treacherous manner, to assassinate the emperor in his own palace, after he had once rebelled, been defeated, and generously pardoned. Constantine's son Crispus was sacrificed to his jealousy, in consequence of a false accusation by the empress Fausta, who charged Crispus with an attempt upon her chastity: she was afterwards convicted of perjury, and justly suffered death. The death of young Licinianus, indeed, is not to be excused, nor accounted for, but from reasons of state. There is no character so bright, as to be altogether without blemish: but that of Constantine is justly revered as a pattern of mercy and benevolence,

nomy of the Roman empire; the residence of the sovereign, the manners of the court, the customs, language, apparel, government, and religion. How shall we discern the real character of a prince, whom one party has described as the most criminal, and the other as the most virtuous of mankind? If we suppose he made every thing subservient to what he thought his own interest, we shall not be mistaken. †

To know whether the ruin of the empire was really owing to Constantine, will be an inquiry, in all respects, worthy of your understanding. It plainly appears that he was the ruin of Rome: but, in transporting the throne to the Thracian Bosphorus, he formed in the East considerable barriers against the irruption of those Barbarians, who, in the reigns of his successors, deluged Europe, and found Italy without defence: he seems to have sacrificed the West as a victim for the East. Italy fell when Constantinople arose. The political history of those times would be a study at once curious and instructive: at present, in lieu of history, we have scarce any thing but satire and panegyric. Even by means of panegyric we are sometimes enabled to investigate the truth. Constantine, for example, is extolled to the skies, for having exposed to wild beasts, in the Circus, all the chiefs of the Franks, and the prisoners he took in an expedition to the Rhine: such was the treatment offered to the prede-

† The human mind is very capable of sentiments and designs that cannot be reduced to this narrow standard: but this is a truth, which, to sordid souls, is altogether incomprehensible.

cessors of Clovis and Charlemagne †. The writers who have been so base as to applaud cruel actions, have at least established the facts, and sensible readers judge of them by the light of their own understanding. The most circumstantial part in the history of this revolution, is that which relates to the establishment of the Church, and the troubles to which she was exposed.

It is a melancholy reflection, that scarce had the christian religion ascended the throne, than the holiness of it was profaned by christians unworthy of the name, who blindly followed the dictates of revenge, even at a time when their triumph over all their enemies ought to have inspired them with the spirit of peace. In Syria and Palestine, they massacred all the magistrates who had been severe in executing the laws against them; they drowned the wife and daughter of Maximin, and his sons and relations perished by the most cruel torments. The disputes about the consubstantiability of the word involved mankind in confusion and bloodshed: in a word, Ammianus Marcellinus says,

† It was absolutely necessary to practise uncommon severity against those barbarians, who were bound by no treaties, and restrained by no sentiment of humanity. They made continual irruptions into the empire, ravaging the country with fire and sword, and committing the most savage acts of cruelty and outrage. They were brutal as the beasts of the field, and deservedly hunted down as the enemies of mankind. After all, their punishment was not more severe than that which our laws inflict upon those unhappy wretches who are convicted of rising in arms against the established government, even when misled by mistaken notions of loyalty, or exasperated by oppression and despair.

that

that the Christians of his time attacked one another like wild beasts. Great virtues they, doubtless, had, of which Ammianus has taken no notice: these are always concealed from the eyes of an enemy, while one's vices appear in the most conspicuous point of view.

The church of Rome was preserved from these crimes and misfortunes: at first, she had neither power nor blemish, but remained a long time quiet and discreet in the midst of an idolatrous senate and people. In that capital of the known world were seven hundred temples, great and small, dedicated to the gods "*majorum et minorum gentium*." These subsisted even to the reign of Theodosius; and long after him, the people of the country persisted in their antient worship. Hence the followers of the old religion acquired the appellation of pagans, or *pagani*, from the little towns called *pagi*, where idolatry was allowed to subsist even to the eighth century.

We know very well the imposture on which Constantine's donation is founded: but we cannot conceive how such an imposture should have been so long credited: those who denied it, were frequently punished in Italy and in other countries. Who, for example, could imagine that even so late as the year 1478, divers persons should have been committed to the flames for having opposed this error *?

Con-

* Constantine is said to have made a donation to pope Sylvester, of the city of Rome, together with several provinces of Italy. This pretended donation is first mentioned by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who lived in the ninth century; and pope Leo IX. gives an account of

Constantine certainly granted, not to the bishop of Rome only, but to the cathedral, which was the church of St. John, one thousand marks of gold, and thirty thousand of silver, with fourteen thousand sols annually, and certain lands in Calabria: this patrimony was augmented by every succeeding emperor; and the bishops of Rome stood in need of such assistance. The missionaries whom they sent into those parts of Europe where the pagan worship prevailed, the bishops expelled from their sees, to whom they afforded an asylum, and the great number of poor whom they maintained, absolutely required very great revenues. The credit of the rank, which was superior to all wealth, soon rendered the pastor of the Christians at Rome, the most considerable man of the western world. True piety condescended to accept of this ministry, but ambition intrigued for it; so that the papal chair became the subject of violent disputes: even as early as the middle of the fourth century, the consul Prætextatus, who was a heathen, said in the year 466, "If you will make me bishop of Rome, I will make myself a christian."

it in a letter, which he wrote in the eleventh century, to Michael patriarch of Constantinople. It has, however, been proved a forgery beyond all contradiction. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, pope Julius II. demanding of Donato, the Venetian ambassador, a sight of the charter by which the republic claimed the dominion of the Adriatic sea; that ambassador replied, "If your holiness will please to send for the original donation that Constantine made to pope Sylvester, of the city of Rome, and the other territories belonging to the Church, you will find, on the back of it, a grant of the Adriatic sea in favour of the Venetians."

Nevertheless, this bishop had no other power but what arose from his personal virtue, credit, or intrigue in favourable conjunctures. No pastor of the church ever enjoyed any civil jurisdiction, much less the rights of regality. Not one of them had what is called the *jus terrendi*, neither the right of territory, nor the power of pronouncing, "*do, dico, abdicō.*" The emperors still continued the supreme judges in every thing, but points of doctrine. They even convoked councils. At Nice, Constantine received and determined the mutual complaints and accusations which the bishops brought against each other. The title of sovereign pontiff was still attached to the empire. When the Goths took possession of Rome after the Heruli, when the famous Theodoric, not less powerful than Charlemagne was in the sequel, had established the seat of his empire at Ravenna, in the beginning of the sixth century, without arrogating to himself the title of emperor of the West, which it was in his power to assume; he exercised over the Romans precisely the same power which the Cæsars had enjoyed: he preserved the senate; he allowed liberty of conscience; the orthodox Christians, Arians, and Idolaters, were equally subject to the civil laws: he judged the Goths, by the Gothic, the Romans, by the Roman law: he presided by his commissaries at the elections of bishops: he prohibited simony, and appeased schisms. When two popes disputed the episcopal chair, he appointed Symmachus; and this very Symmachus being accused, he tried him by his "*Missi Dominici.*"

His son Atalric regulated the elections of the popes, as well as of all the other metropolitans in his different kingdoms, by an edict that was always observed ; an edict which was digested by his minister Cassiodorus, who afterwards retired to Monte Cassino, and embraced the rule of St. Benedict ; an edict to which pope John II. submitted without hesitation. When Belisarius came to Italy, and reduced it under the imperial power, it is well known that he banished Pope Silverius, and in so doing did not exceed the bounds of his authority, though perhaps he transgressed the rules of justice. Belisarius, and afterwards Narfes, having rescued Rome from the yoke of the Goths, Italy was deluged by other barbarians, such as the Gepidæ, Franks, and Germans. The whole western empire was ravaged and became a prey to savage nations. The Lombards extended their dominion through all that was called " Italia Citerior." Albonin, the founder of that new dynasty, was no other than a barbarous free-booter ; but the victors soon adopted the manners, politeness, language, and religion of the vanquished. This was not the case with the first Franks and the Burgundians, who brought into Gaul their own unpolished language, and their manners, that were still more rustic.

The Lombard nation was at first composed of Pagans and Arians. About the year 640, their king Rotharis published an edict, granting liberty of conscience to the professors of all religions ; so that in almost every town of Italy, there was a catholic bishop and an Arian bishop, who allowed the Idolaters, still scattered among the villages, to live in quiet.

The

The kingdom of Lombardy extended from Piedmont to Brindisi, and the territory of Otranto; it comprehended Beneventum, Bari, and Tarentum; but did not include Apuglia, Rome, nor Ravenna. These countries still remained annexed to the feeble empire of the East. The church of Rome had therefore been transferred from the dominion of the Goths to that of the Greeks. An exarch governed Rome in the name of the emperor; but he did not reside in that city, which was almost quite abandoned to her own will. His residence was at Ravenna, from whence he sent his orders to the duke or præfect of Rome, and to the senators, who were still honoured with the name of "Patres conscripti." The form of the municipal government still subsisted in this antient capital, so deplorably fallen to decay; and the republican spirit was never quite extinguished. These principles were sustained by the example of Venice, a republic first founded by fear and misery, and in a little time raised by courage and commerce. Venice was already so powerful, that even in the eighth century, she re-established the exarch Scholasticus, who had been expelled from Ravenna.

What then was the situation of Rome, in the seventh and eighth centuries? that of an unfortunate city, very ill defended by the exarchs, continually exposed to the threats of the Lombards, and ever acknowledging the power of the emperors. The credit of the popes increased in the desolation of the city: they often acted as its fathers and comforters, but always as subjects: they could not even be consecrated without the express permission of the exarch.

The forms in which this permission was demanded and granted, are preserved to this day. The Roman clergy wrote to the metropolitan of Ravenna, soliciting the intercession of his beatitude with the governor; the pope afterwards sent his profession of faith to the metropolitan.

Astolphus, king of Lombardy, at length made himself master of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, in the year 751, and put an end to that imperial viceroyalty, which had subsisted one hundred and eighty-three years. As the dutchy of Rome depended on the exarchate of Ravenna, Astolphus laid claim to Rome, by right of conquest: then pope Stephen II. the sole defender of the unhappy Romans, demanded succour of the emperor Constantine, surnamed Copronimus. All the assistance which this miserable emperor sent was an officer of the palace, with a letter to the Lombard king. This weakness of the Greek emperors, was the real origin of the new western empire, as well as of the papal greatness.



CHAP. VI.

Source of the PAPAL POWER.

ROME, so often sacked by Barbarians, abandoned by the emperors, hard pressed by the Lombards, and incapable of restoring the antient republic, could no longer pretend to greatness. It was absolutely necessary, however, that she should enjoy some quiet. This
bles-

bleſſing ſhe might have taſted, could ſhe have been at that time wholly governed by her biſhop, as were ſo many towns of Germany in the ſequel; and this benefit at leaſt would anarchy have produced: but the chriſtians had not yet imbibed the opinion, that a biſhop could be inveſted with the ſovereign power, though in the hiſtory of mankind we find ſo many examples of the prieſthood's being united with the ſecular power in other religions.

Pope Gregory III. was the firſt who had re-
 courſe to the protection of the Franks, againſt
 the Lombards and the emperors. His ſucceſſor
 Zacharias, animated with the ſame ſpirit, ac-
 knowledged Pepin *, who uſurped the kingdom
 of France, as a lawful king. It is pretended
 that Pepin while he was yet no more than prime
 miniſter, deſired to know of the pope, who was
 the true king, he who had nothing but the
 right and title, or he who had the merit and
 authority; and that his holineſs decided in fa-
 vour of the miniſter. It has never been clearly
 proved that this farce was really acted; but,
 certain it is, pope Stephen III. called on Pepin
 to his aſſiſtance againſt the Lombards; that
 he actually came to France, and in the church
 of St. Denis, gave the royal unction to Pepin,
 who was the firſt anointed ſovereign in Europe †.

This

* Pepin, ſurnamed The Short, or the Dwarf, on account
 of his diminutive ſtature, was, the ſon of Charles Martel,
 and firſt miniſter to Childeric III. a weak prince, whom
 he depoſed, and confined in a convent.

† This pontiff is generally known by the name of pope
 Stephen II. becauſe his predeceſſor of the ſame name did
 not live above three or four days after his elevation to the

This first usurper not only received the sacred unction of the pope, after having received it from St. Boniface who was called the apostle of Germany †; but Stephen III. forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to bestow it on the kings of any other race. While this bishop, an exile from his own country, and suppliant in a foreign land, had the courage to give laws to his protectors; his policy assumed an authority which secured that of his benefactor; and Pepin, that he might the more safely enjoy that which was not his due, allowed the pope to possess those rights to which he had no title.

Hugh Capet in France, and Conrad in Germany, shewed in the sequel, that this excommunication is not a fundamental law. Never-

pontificate: he was driven from Italy by Astolphus, king of Lombardy, and fled for protection to Pepin, whom he consecrated in the abbey of St. Denis. While he continued in that place he was seized with a dangerous disorder, and caused himself to be carried under the bells of the church, where he demanded of God, the restoration of his health; and as he himself writes, was cured by the intercession of St. Denis, whom he saw in a vision standing between St. Peter and St. Paul.

† This holy man was an Englishman, a native of the place which is now Exeter. When he was turned of thirty, he left England in order to preach the gospel among barbarous nations. His original name of Winfrid was converted into Boniface, by pope Gregory II. under whose auspices he established the faith of Christ in many different countries of Germany. He was promoted to the see of Mentz, which was erected into an archbishoprick; but in a little time he resigned it to his disciple Lullius, with the consent of king Pepin. Then he retired to Utrecht, that he might be at liberty to preach the gospel in Friesland, where he was murdered by the Pagans, in the year 754.

theless,

theless, opinion, which governs mankind, at first imprinted in their hearts such reverence for this ceremony, which was performed by the pope at St. Denis, that Eginhar, secretary to Charlemagne, expressly declared that king Hilderich was deposed by order of pope Stephen. It will be thought a contradiction that this pope should come to France to prostrate himself at the feet of Pepin, and afterwards dispose of the crown; but, in fact, it is no contradiction. Such prostrations were then considered in the same light as our present ceremony or compliment of bowing. It was the antient custom of the East: bishops were saluted on the bended knee; and this same respect did they pay to the governors of their dioceses. Charles, the son of Pepin, had embraced the feet of pope Stephen at St. Maurice, in Vallais; and Stephen, in his turn, embraced those of Pepin. All this was a matter of no consequence: but the popes by little and little arrogated to themselves only this mark of respect. Pope Adrian I. is said to have been the pontiff who ordained that no body should appear before him without kissing his feet. Emperors and kings submitted like persons of inferior station to this ceremony, which rendered the Roman religion more venerable in the eyes of mankind †.

We

† Though genuflexion and prostration may be the common methods of salutation in China, and some other parts of the East, they were always deemed marks of humiliation or adoration in Europe. It was very natural for pope Stephen to prostrate himself as a supplicating exile before a prince whose protection was so necessary towards his re-establishment: nor is it surprising, that Charles, the son of

We are told, that in the year 754, Pepin passed the Alps; that Astolphus, king of Lombardy, was so intimidated by the sole presence of the Frank, that he immediately ceded the whole exarchate of Ravenna to the pope: then Pepin repassed the mountains; but scarce was he returned, when Astolphus, instead of giving up Ravenna to the pope, undertook the siege of Rome. All the transactions of those times were so irregular, that Pepin certainly might have given to the popes the exarchate of Ravenna, though it did not belong to him; and even made this singular donation, without taking any step to render it effectual. Yet it is very unlikely, that a man of Pepin's disposition, who had dethroned his own sovereign, should march with an army into Italy, for no other purpose but to make presents†. Nothing can be more doubtful than this donation, which is mentioned in so many books. The librarian Anastasius, who wrote 140 years after Pepin's expedition, is the first who takes notice of it. A thousand authors have quoted it since that period; but it is now refuted by the best casuists in Germany.

At that time the human mind was possessed by a capricious medley of cunning and simplicity, of brutality and artifice, which was a strong characteristic of general decay and degeneracy. Stephen forged a letter in the name of St. Peter,

Pepin, should have kissed the feet of a pretended apostle, and even paid adoration to him whom he supposed the immediate representative and vicar of Jesus Christ.

† Nothing is more probable, than that Pepin, as a political prince, should be at some pains to support and aggrandize the pope, who had sanctified his own usurpation.

ad-

addressed from heaven, to Pepin and his children, which for its oddity deserves to be literally inserted. "Peter, called as apostle by Jesus Christ, the son of the living God, &c. As by me, the catholic, apostolic, Roman church, mother of all other churches, is founded on a rock; and to the end that the grace of our Lord be fully granted to Stephen, bishop of that sweet and holy Roman church, whereby he may reserve her from the hands of her persecutors. To you the most excellent monarchs, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman: and to all holy bishops and abbots, priests and monks; and even to dukes, counts, and peoples, I Peter, apostle, &c. I conjure you, and the Virgin Mary, who will be much obliged to you, gives you to understand, and commands you as well as the thrones, dominions---if you do not fight for me, I declare by the holy trinity, and my own apostleship, that you shall never enjoy any part of Paradise." This letter had the desired effect. Pepin passed the Alps a second time, besieged Pavia, and then concluded a peace with Astolphus. But is it probable that he should cross the mountains twice, with no other view but that of bestowing towns upon Pope Stephen? why does not St. Peter mention such an important fact in his letter? why does not he complain to Pepin that he was not in possession of the exarchate? why does not he expressly demand that it should be restored?

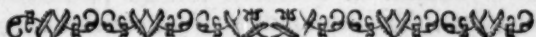
The original title of this donation never appeared: we are therefore obliged to doubt its authenticity. To this dilemma we are often reduced in history, as well as in philosophy.

Besides, the holy see has no occasion for equivocal titles. The right she has to her territories are as incontestible as those that any other sovereigns of Europe have to their respective dominions. Certain it is, the pontiffs of Rome, even then, had large patrimonies, in more than one country: these patrimonies were always respected, and totally exempt from tribute. They had territories among the Alps, in Tuscany, at Spoleto, in Gaul, Sicily, and even in Corsica, before the Arabians made themselves masters of that island in the eighth century. Probably Pepin considerably augmented this patrimony in the country of Romagna, and this was called the patrimony of the exarchate. The word Patrimony was, in all likelihood, the source of the mistake. Authors of a later date, who wrote in times of obscurity, took it for granted, that the popes had actually reigned in every country, where they only possessed some towns and territories.

The only pope who towards the latter end of the eighth century, seems to have raised himself to the rank of prince, was Adrian I. The money coined in his name, if that coin was really struck in his time, plainly shews that he possessed the rights of sovereignty; and the custom of kissing feet, which he introduced, serves to strengthen this conjecture: and yet he always acknowledged the Greek emperor as his sovereign. He might very well pay an unsubstantial homage to that distant sovereign, and at the same time arrogate to himself a real independance, supported by the authority of his sacred function.

OF THE EASTERN CHURCH. 85

Before we view in what manner the whole face of affairs was changed in the West, by the translation of the empire, it will be necessary to give you an idea of the state of the eastern church, the disputes of which contributed not a little to that great revolution.



CHAP. VII.

STATE of the EASTERN CHURCH, before CHARLEMAGNE.

THAT the customs of the Greek and Latin churches were as different as their languages; that the liturgy, the vestments, the ornaments, the form of the churches, and even of the cross, were not the same in both; that the Greeks prayed standing, and the Latins on their knees, are points which I shall not examine. It was to other causes than this difference of modes, that we must impute the quarrels that embroiled the east and western parts of the world. These served only to nourish the natural aversion of two nations, become rivals to each other. The Greeks especially, who never received baptism but by immersion, plunging themselves into baptismal tubs, hated the Latins, who, in favour of the northern Christians, introduced that rite by aspersion. But these customs excited no dangerous convulsions.

Temporal dominion, that eternal subject of discord in the West, was unknown to the eastern churches. The bishops remained in the capacity

86 OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

capacity of subjects, under the eyes of a master. But other quarrels, no less mischievous, were excited by those interminable disputes that spring from the spirit of sophistry, which predominated among the Greeks and their disciples. The simplicity of the first ages was lost in the great number of questions formed by human curiosity; for the founder of the faith having committed nothing to writing, and mankind being desirous of knowing every thing, each mystery produced different opinions, and every opinion was sealed with blood.

It is very remarkable, that of near fourscore sects which have harrassed the church since its origin, not one was formed by a Roman, if we except Novatian, who can scarce be considered as an heretic. Of all the bishops of Rome, one only favoured any of those systems which the church condemned; that was Pope Honorius I. whom we still hear every day accused of having been a Monothelite †, an imputation laid on purpose to blast the memory of that pontiff; but whoever will give himself the trouble to read his famous pastoral letter, in which he attributes only one will to Jesus Christ, will find him a man of extraordinary sagacity: "We confess (says he) one only will in Jesus Christ; we do not see that the councils or scripture authorise us to espouse any other opinion: but, to know whether, on account of the works of

† Monothelites were hereticks, so called because they admitted but one will in Jesus Christ. This doctrine was first broached about the year 620, by Theodore, bishop of Pharan. It was formally condemned in the third council of Constantinople, in the year 680, and the author and favourers of it were anathematized,

divinity

OF THE EASTERN CHURCH. 87

divinity and humanity that are in him, we ought to understand one operation or two, is a point I leave to grammarians, as a matter of very little importance."

Perhaps there is nothing more valuable than these words, in all the letters of the popes, now extant. They convince us, that all the disputes of the Greeks were disputes upon words; and that those quarrels of meer sophists, which were attended with such fatal consequences, ought to have been stifled in the birth. Had they been left to the decision of grammarians, according to the opinion of this sensible pontiff, the church would have enjoyed uninterrupted repose: but whenever any person was desirous to know whether the Son was consubstantial, or like unto the Father, the christian world was divided, and one half persecuted the other: was the question to know whether the mother of Jesus Christ was the mother of God, or of Jesus only? whether Christ had two natures and two wills in the same person, or two persons and one will, or one will and one person? All these disputes, brought forth in Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, were the source of sedition. One party anathematized another: the domineering faction inflicted the pains of exile, imprisonment, death, and eternal damnation upon their antagonists, who avenged themselves in their turn, by the same artillery. Troubles of this nature were unknown in the time of paganism, because the heathens, in the midst of their gross errors, had no tenets; and the priests of the idols (much less the laity) never juridically assembled on purpose to dispute.

In

88 OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

In the eighth century, the churches of the East deliberated whether it was incumbent on them to worship images. This kind of worship the law of Moses had expressly forbid : that law had never been annulled ; and the primitive Christians, during the two first centuries, had never suffered images to appear in their assemblies. By little and little it became the fashion every where for persons to have crucifixes in their own houses ; afterwards they introduced portraits, whether true or false, of the martyrs or confessors. As yet there were no altars erected for saints, nor masses celebrated in their names. It was only supposed, that at sight of a crucifix or image of a good man, the human heart, which, in those climates especially, has need of sensible objects, would be stimulated to virtue. This custom was introduced into churches ; yet some bishops refused to adopt it. We find, that in 393, St. Epiphanius pulled away from a church in Syria, a certain image before which the people offered their devotion. He declared, that the christian religion did not allow of such worships : yet no schism was produced from this act of severity.

At length this pious practice, like all other human things, degenerated into abuse. The populace, ever gross and stupid, did not distinguish between the real God and images. To these, in a little time, they began to attribute virtues and miracles : every image infallibly cured one kind of distemper. They were even used in sorcery, which has at all times seduced the credulity of the vulgar ; I mean, not only the vulgar of the populace, but also that of the great and the learned. In the year 727, the emperor

OF THE EASTERN CHURCH. 89

emperor Leo, the Isaurian, resolved, by the persuasion of some bishops, to eradicate this abuse; but, by an abuse still more flagrant, he ordered all paintings to be destroyed: he demolished the statues and representations of Jesus Christ, as well as those of the saints: he incensed the people, by thus at once depriving them of the objects of their worship. They disobeyed his commands, and he raised a persecution. In a word, he became a tyrant, because his conduct had happened to be indiscreet †.

It is a reproach upon this age, that it should produce compilers, who still repeat the old fable, of two Jews who predicted to Leo his future greatness, and exacted of him, that, on his elevation to the empire, he should abolish image-worship; as if it had been a matter of any consequence to the Jews, whether the Christians had or had not figures in their churches. Historians who believe that persons can thus prognosticate what is to happen, are altogether unworthy to record what has passed.

† This Leo was originally a pedlar of Isauria, and raised himself to the purple by his military talents. He declared war against images, and in particular caused to be melted a brazen statue of Jesus Christ, which had been placed over one of the city-gates. This action excited a sedition, which having quelled, he exercised horrible cruelties upon all who worshipped images. He ordered twelve venerable ecclesiastics, whom the emperors had used to consult in affairs of the greatest consequence, to be burned in their own houses in the night, together with all their books, because they would not adopt his opinion. He banished St. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, for the same reason. He was excommunicated by pope Gregory II. and afterwards pope Gregory III. assembled a synod at Rome, in the year 732, which passed the same sentence upon all those who were enemies to this kind of idolatry.

His

90 OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

His son, Constantine Copronimus, confirmed the abolition of images, by a civil and ecclesiastical constitution. He assembled at Constantinople a council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, who unanimously condemned this kind of worship, which had been received in many churches, and particularly at Rome.

This emperor would have as willingly abolished the monks, whom he abhorred, and to whom he gave no other appellation than that of abominable wretches; but he could not accomplish his design: the monks, who were already rich, defended their wealth much more dexterously, than they had done the images of their saints.

The popes Gregory II. and Gregory III. and their successors, though secretly enemies to the emperors, and openly opposed to this doctrine, did not, however, fulminate those sentences of excommunication, which in the sequel were so frequently and so frivolously employed. But whether the metropolitans of Rome were still restrained by that ancient respect for the successors of the Cæsars, or (which is more probable) that they foresaw those excommunications, interdictions, and dispensations with the oath of allegiance, would be despised in Constantinople, whose patriarchal church at least equalled the see of Rome; they held two councils in 728 and 732, which determined, that all the enemies of image-worship should be barely excommunicated, without once mentioning the emperor. From that period they attended more to business than to dispute. Gregory II. assumed the administration of affairs at Rome; while the people, rising
in

OF THE EASTERN CHURCH. 97

in rebellion against the emperor, would no longer pay the usual tribute. Gregory III. acted on the same principles. Some Greek authors of a posterior date, with a view to blacken the memory of the popes, have affirmed, that Gregory II. excommunicated and deposed the emperor; and that the whole Roman people acknowledged this pontiff as their sovereign. These Greeks did not consider, that the popes, whom they wanted to represent as usurpers, would, in that case, have been the most lawful of all princes: they would have held their power by the free suffrages of the Roman people, and become sovereigns of Rome by a much juster title than that of many emperors: but it is neither probable nor true, that the Romans, when threatened by Leo the Isaurian, and hard pressed by the Lombards, elected their bishop as their sole lord and master, at a time when they stood in need of the assistance of warriors. If the popes, at that period, had acquired so fair a title to the rank of the Cæsars, they would never have transferred it in the sequel to Charle-

* This is a very fallacious way of reasoning. Gregory might have found the burthen too great for his shoulders, and therefore resigned it in favour of a prince who could effectually protect the city. Averse as an ecclesiastic might have been to part with power and title, he would never hesitate when his own immediate safety was concerned.

CHAP. VIII.

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

THE kingdom of Pepin extended from the Rhine to the Alps and the Pyrenees. Charlemagne, his eldest son, enjoyed that whole succession entire; for one of his brothers died after the division, and the other had, before that period, turned monk, in the monastery of St. Sylvester †, a kind of devotion that mingled itself with the barbarity of the times, and enclosed more than one prince within a cloister: thus Rachis, king of the Lombards, Carloman brother of Pepin, and a duke of Aquitain, had taken the habit of Benedictine: for, at that time, there was hardly any other order in the West. Convents were honourable retreats for those who sought to lead a life of tranquillity; but these sanctuaries soon became the prisons of de-throned princes.

Pepin had not exercised a direct sway in nearly the whole extent of his dominions: he received homage and tribute only, from Aquitain, Bavaria, Provence, and Brittany, countries that were newly conquered. This vast empire was bounded by two formidable neighbouring nations, namely the northern Germans,

† Pepin, father of Charlemagne, had no other son that attained to man's estate, but Carloman, king of Aufrasia, Burgundy, and part of Aquitain; the third son, Pepin, died at three years of age. The other children were daughters; consequently our author must be mistaken.

and the Saracens. England, conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, divided into an heptarchy, at continual war with Albany, called Scotland, as well as with the Danes, was then destitute of power and policy : while Italy, feeble and divided, waited only until it should fall into the hands of some new master.

The northern Germans were then distinguished by the appellation of Saxons, a name that comprehended all those nations which inhabited the banks of the Weser and the Elb, from Hamburg to Moravia, and from Mentz to the Baltic. They were pagans, as were all the natives of the North ; their manners and customs the same as described in the time of the Romans. Every canton modelled itself into a separate republic ; but, in time of war, they elected a chief, or general. Their laws were simple as their manners, and their religion was brutal. In extreme danger, they, like all other nations, sacrificed human victims to the divinity ; for it is the character of barbarians to believe the deity is malevolent : mankind form the idea of a God after their own image. The French, tho' already converted to Christianity, retained this horrible superstition in the reign of Theodebert. Human victims were sacrificed in Italy, according to the account given by Procopius ; and the Jews had sometimes committed this kind of sacrilege, through excess of devotion. In other respects those people cultivated justice, and placed their glory and their happiness in the enjoyment of liberty. These were the people, who, under the names of Catti, Cherusci, and Bructeri, had conquered
Va-

Varus †, and were afterwards subdued by Germanicus.

Part of this people, in the fifth century, being invited by the islanders of Great Britain, as auxiliaries against the inhabitants of Scotland, subdued that part of the island which borders upon Scotland, and bestowed upon it the name of England. They had already visited it, even in the third century: for, in the reign of Constantine, the coasts of the island were called the Saxon shore.

Charlemagne, the most ambitious, the most politic prince, and by far the greatest warrior of his time, maintained a war for thirty years against the Saxons, before they were thoroughly subdued. Their country did not then yield those things which now tempt the avarice of conquerors: the rich mines of Goslar and Friedberg, from whence so much silver has been extracted, were not yet discovered: they were not known 'till the reign of Henry the Fowler. There was no wealth accumulated by a long series of industry; no town worthy of an usurper's ambition. The sole aim of conquest was, to enslave whole millions of men who ploughed the ground in an unfavourable climate, fed their flocks, and refused to submit to the arbitrary will of a master.

The war against the Saxons commenced on account of a tribute of three hundred horses and

† Quintilius Varus was proconsul of Germany, in the reign of Augustus: he was surprised and cut off, with three legions, by Arminius, chief of the Cherusci, and the Roman eagles were buried. Augustus took this disgrace so much to heart, that he frequently broke forth into the following exclamation; *Redde mihi legiones Quintilli Vare.*

some cows, which Pepin exacted of them; and this war continued thirty years. If it be asked what right the Franks had over this people? I answer, "The same right which the Saxons had to England." They must have been wretchedly armed; for, in the capitularies of Charlemagne, I find a rigorous prohibition to sell cuirasses to the Saxons. This difference of arms, reinforced by discipline, which had enabled the Romans to subdue so many nations, was likewise the great cause of Charlemagne's triumphs.

The general over the greater part of these nations, was that famous Wittikind *, from whom the chief families of the empire are now said to be descended: a man who resembled Arminius, but who had more weakness in his character. Charles at first took the famous town of Eresbourg; for that place neither deserved the name of a city, nor of a fortress. He ordered the inhabitants to be put to the sword. He pillaged, and afterwards razed to the foundation, the principal temple of the country, formerly built and consecrated to the god Tan-tana, the universal principle, if ever those savages had any idea of an universal principle: it

* Wittikind, surnamed The Great, was son of prince Wernikin, head of one of the best families among the ancient Saxons. He was invested with the general command of that people, in their war with Charlemagne, and made incredible efforts of courage and perseverance against that conqueror, who, finding it impracticable to subdue his spirit, offered reasonable conditions of peace. These the Saxon accepted, received baptism, and was created duke of Saxony. From this prince the reigning family of England deduce their origin.

was then dedicated to the god Irminful †, whether this deity was the god of war, the Ares of the Greeks, the Mars of the Romans; or whether it was consecrated to the famous Herman, or Arminius the conqueror of Varus, and the avenger of Germanic liberty.

There the priests were massacred on the fragments of their idol. The victorious army penetrated as far as the Weser, and all these districts submitted: but Charlemagne wanted to bind them to his yoke by the ties of the christian religion: while he himself hastened to the other end of his dominions, to gather fresh laurels, he left missionaries to convert, and soldiers to compel them. Almost all that people which lived near the Weser were, in one year, made christians and slaves.

Witiking had retired among the Danes, who already trembled for their liberty and their gods; but, at the expiration of some years, he returned, re-animated, and re-assembled his countrymen. Finding in Bremen, the capital of the country that bears the name, a bishop, a church, and the Saxons who were dragged in despair to new altars, he expelled the prelate, who found means to escape and embark. He destroyed Christianity, which had been embraced only on compulsion; he advanced to the neighbourhood of the Rhine, at the head of a multi-

† Erminful, or Irminful, was an idol worshipped on the mountain of Eresburg in Westphalia, now called Stadtberg. It is supposed to have been a representation of Mars, the deity of which those warlike people adored. Hence the name of Meriberg, or Hill of Mars, formerly given to the city of Stadtberg.

tude of Germans, and defeated the lieutenants of Charlemagne.

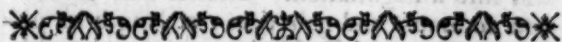
That prince marched thither with great expedition, and in his turn defeated Witikind; but he treated this noble effort of liberty as a rebellion. He demanded of the trembling Saxons, that they should deliver up their general; and understanding they had allowed him to return to Denmark, he ordered four thousand five hundred prisoners to be put to the sword on the banks of the little river Aller. Had those prisoners been really subjects in rebellion, this punishment would have been horribly severe; but, to treat in this manner men who fought for their liberty and laws, was the action of a robber, who in other respects appeared a great man, from his illustrious achievements and the most shining qualifications.

Three other victories were necessary to reduce this nation wholly under his yoke. At length christianity and servitude were cemented with blood. Witikind himself, wearied with misfortune, was obliged to receive baptism, and live ever after tributary to his conqueror. The king, the better to secure his conquest, transported Saxon colonies into Italy, and made French settlements on the lands of the vanquished; but to this wise policy he added the cruelty of ordering his spies to stab those Saxons who were disposed to return to their own worship. We often read of conquerors who were never cruel but in war. Peace is productive of mild laws, and gentle manners. Charlemagne, on the contrary, enacted laws that retained the inhumanity of his conquests.

Having seen in what manner this conqueror treated the German idolaters, let us now see how he behaved with respect to the Mahometans of Spain. That had already happened to them, which soon after appeared in Germany, France, and Italy. The governors rendered themselves independent. The emirs of Saragossa and Barcelona had put themselves under the protection of Pepin. In the year 778, the emir of Saragossa came to Paderborn, to intreat Charlemagne to support him against his sovereign. The French monarch espoused the cause of this mussulman; but, he took care not to convert him to christianity. Different interests require a difference of conduct. He engaged with an alliance of Saracens against Saracens; but, after some advantages obtained on the frontiers of Spain, his rear-guard was defeated at Roncevalles, near the Pyrenees, by the very christians of those mountains, united with the Mahometans †. It was here that Orlando, the nephew of Charlemagne, lost his life: this misfortune is the source of those fables, which a monk, in the eleventh century, wrote in the name of archbishop Turpin; fables which were afterwards embellished by

† The tomb of Orlando is still shewn in the valley of Roncevalles, in the Pyrenees, and a convent is built upon the spot. This nobleman is said to have been son of Bertha, sister to Charlemagne; but no such sister is mentioned in history. Whether there ever was such a person as Orlando, is still a question. The extravagant fables of Turpin have, in all probability, given rise to this doubt; but the world of taste is highly obliged to the author of those fables, inasmuch as they gave birth to the Orlando Furioso, one of the richest poems that ever was written.

the poetical fancy of Ariosto. The precise time at which Charles sustained this disgrace is not known; nor do we find that he ever revenged his defeat. Content with securing his frontiers against the attempts of enemies who were but too much inured to war, he grasped at no more than he could retain, and regulated his ambition according to the conjunctures by which it was favoured.



C H A P. IX.

OF CHARLEMAGNE, when raised to the IMPERIAL THRONE.

IT was to the possession of Rome, and the empire of the West, that his ambition aspired. The power of the Lombard kings was the sole obstacle; the church of Rome, and all the churches under his influence; the monks, who were already powerful, and the people already governed by the monks, concurred in calling Charlemagne to the empire of Rome. Pope Adrian, a native of that city, a man of address and fortitude, paved the way. He at first engaged him to repudiate the daughter of Desiderius, king of Lombardy.

The manners and laws of those times were far from being rigid; at least, with respect to princes. Charles had married this daughter of the Lombard king, at a time when he is said to have had another wife alive. Plurality of wives was not at all uncommon. We are told by Gregory of Tours, that the kings Gontran, Cor-

bert, Sigebert, and Chilperic, indulged themselves in polygamy. Charles repudiated the daughter of Desiderius, without the least cause or formality. The Lombard king no sooner perceived this fatal union of Charles and the Pope against him, than he laid down a courageous resolution. He determined to surprize Rome, and make sure of the pope's person; but the bishop was dextrous enough to convert the war into a negotiation. Charles sent ambassadors to amuse and gain time: at length he passed the Alps, and Desiderius was abandoned by part of his own forces. This unfortunate prince shut himself up in Pavia, which was his capital; and Charlemagne undertook the siege of it in the middle of winter. The city being reduced to extremity, was surrendered after a siege of six months, and all the terms Desiderius could obtain, were no more than a promise that his life would be spared. Thus expired the kingdom of the Lombards, who had destroyed the Roman power in Italy, and substituted their own laws in the room of those enacted by the emperors. Desiderius, the last of these kings, was conducted into France, and confined in the monastery of Corbie, where he lived and died a prisoner and a monk, while his eldest son made a fruitless voyage to Constantinople, to solicit succours of that phantom of the Roman empire, which had been destroyed in the West by his own ancestors. It must be observed that Desiderius was not the only sovereign whom Charlemagne shut up in a cloister: in the same manner he treated a duke of Bavaria, with his children.

Charle-

Charlemagne durst not yet openly aspire at the sovereignty of Rome: he assumed no more than the title of king of Italy, which the Lombards had enjoyed. In imitation of them he caused himself to be crowned in Pavia, with an iron crown, which is still preserved in the little town of Monza. Justice was still administered at Rome, in the name of the Greek emperor. The popes themselves received from him the confirmation of their election. Charlemagne, like his father Pepin, took nothing more than the title of Patrician, which Theodoric and Attila had likewise deigned to bear: thus, the name of Emperor, which originally implied no more than general of an army, still signified the master of the East and West. Vain as it was, they still respected it; and affected only that of Patrician, which formerly meant a senator of Rome.

The popes, who were already very powerful in the church, very high in quality in Rome, and possessed of large territories, enjoyed but a precarious and tottering authority in that city. The prefect, the people, and the senate, whose shadow still subsisted, frequently rose against them. The feuds among families that pretended to the pontificate, filled the city of Rome with confusion.

The two nephews of Adrian, conspired against his successor, Leo III. who was elected pope according to custom, by the people and clergy of Rome. They charged him with sundry crimes, and excited the Romans against him: they dragged him to prison, and outrageously mangled at Rome the person of that very pontiff who was so much respected in every other

place †. He escaped, and came to Paderborn, where he threw himself at the feet of Charlemagne, the Patrician. That prince, who already acted with absolute authority, sent him back with a guard and commissioners to sit upon his trial, who had orders to acquit him of all imputation. At length Charlemagne having rendered himself master of Italy, as well as of Germany and France, judge of the pope, and arbiter of Europe, arrived at Rome in the latter end of the year 799. At that time, the year, amongst the Romans, began at Christmas. In the year 800, on Christmas day, during divine service, Leo III. proclaimed him emperor of the West; and the people joined the ceremony with loud acclamations. Charles affected astonishment; but nevertheless availed himself of

† Paschal and Campulus, nephews of the late pope Adrian, fell upon Leo with a band of armed men, hard by the monastery of St. Stephen and St. Silvester: they threw him on the ground, where he was severely beaten: then they stripped off his vestments; endeavoured to pull out his eyes and his tongue, dragged him to the altar of the church belonging to the monastery, mangled him cruelly with staves and swords; and afterwards confined him to a close prison in the convent of St. Erasmus. Some authors, fond of prodigies, have asserted, that he actually was deprived of his eyes and tongue, but recovered the use of both by a miracle. This, however, is a ridiculous fable; for the pope himself makes no mention of it in his own account of the adventure. He made shift to escape from his confinement by the help of his chamberlain Albin, and Verundus, abbot of Stavelo. Then he was protected by Venezesus, Duke of Spoleto, who marched with an army to his assistance, and brought him off in triumph from the church of St. Peter, in which he had taken sanctuary. Thus rescued, he set out for Paderborn in Saxony, where Charlemagne at that time resided.

the

the authority of his new empire. His right, indeed, was not to be disputed; seeing the suffrages of the people are the foundation of all right.

Historians have asserted, and it is asserted still, that Charles, even before he was emperor, confirmed the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna, adding thereto Corsica, Sardinia, Liguria, Parma, Mantua, the Dutchies of Spoleto, and Beneventum, together with Sicily and Venice; and that he deposited the act of this donation upon the tomb which is supposed to contain the ashes of St. Peter and St. Paul.

This donation may be justly ranked with that of Constantine. It does not appear that the popes ever possessed any of those countries till the time of Innocent III. Had they enjoyed the exarchate, they must have been sovereigns of Ravenna and Rome; but in the last will of Charlemagne, which we find preserved in Eginhard, that monarch names Rome and Ravenna at the head of the capital cities, under his dominion, and bequeaths presents to them in token of his favour. He could not give away Sicily, Corsica, nor Sardinia, because they were not in his possession; nor the dutchy of Beneventum, of which he scarce enjoyed a titular superiority: far less could he bestow the republic of Venice, which did not even acknowledge him for emperor. The duke of Venice, at that period acknowledged, as a meer matter of form, the emperor of the East, from whom he received the title of Hippatos. In the letters of pope Adrian, mention is made of the patrimonies of Spoleto and Beneventum; but these patrimonies must only be understood as the do-

mains which the popes possessed in those two dutchies. Gregory VII. himself owns, that Charlemagne bestowed a pension of twelve hundred livres on the holy see. It is not at all probable that he should have given such trivial assistance to a see that was in possession of so many fair provinces. The holy see did not possess Beneventum till long after this period, by the donation of the emperor, Henry the Black, about the year 1047. This concession was limited to the town, and did not extend to the whole dutchy. But no mention was made of confirming the benefaction of Charlemagne.

The most probable conjecture we can form in the midst of so many doubts is, that in the reign of Charlemagne, the popes obtained the property of the marquisate of Ancona*, over and above the cities, castles, and towns, which they possessed in other countries. This is the foundation on which I build my conjectures. When the emperor of the West was renewed in the family of the Otho's, in the tenth century, Otho III. particularly assigned the marquisate of Ancona to the holy see, confirming, at the same time, all the concessions which had been made to the church. It appears then that Charlemagne had actually given away this marquisate; and that the troubles which ensued in Italy had hindered the popes from enjoying his

* Ancona is a town in Italy, situated in the antient *Pi-renum*, on the shore of the Adriatic; it is the seat of a bishop, suffragan to the metropolitan of Fermo, and capital of the marquisate, which extends between the Appenines and the gulph of Venice, four and twenty leagues in length, and about eighteen in breadth: it was erected into a marquisate by the Lombard kings.

concession. We shall see that in the sequel they lost the convenient dominion of this small tract under the empire of the house of Suabia. We shall see them, like many other sovereigns, sometimes lords of extensive territories, and sometimes stripped of almost every district. Let us be satisfied with knowing, that at this day they possess an acknowledged sovereignty, through a country that extends one hundred and eighty great Italian miles in length, from the gates of Mantua to the confines of the Abruzzo, along the Adriatic sea; and that it spreads above one hundred miles in width, from Civita Vecchia, to the shore of Ancona, that is, from the one sea to the other. In order to secure such a considerable dominion, it was necessary to be always in negociation, and often in arms.

While Charlemagne became emperor of the West, the empire of the East was vested in Irene*, that empress so famous for her courage and her crimes, who caused her only son to be put to death, after having deprived him of his eyes. She would have gladly effected the ruin of Charlemagne; but knowing herself too weak

* Irene was the wife of Leo IV. Emperor of Constantinople. When he died she managed the reins of empire during the minority of her son Constantine VIII. with equal courage and address. At length he deprived her of the administration, and plunged himself into all manner of debauchery. His mother took this opportunity to gratify her ambition: she raised an insurrection, took him prisoner, ordered his eyes to be put out, and reassumed the empire, which she enjoyed about five years, at the expiration of which she was dethroned by Nicephorus, and banished to the isle of Metelino, where, in a little time, she died.

to contend with him in battle, she resolved to marry him, to unite the two empires. While this negociation was on the carpet, a revolution drove her from the throne which had cost her so dear. Charles, therefore, was only master of the western empire: he possessed scarce any thing in Spain; for, we must not construe into dominion the vain homage of a few Saracens: he had no sway on the coast of Afric; but almost all the rest of the continent of Europe was governed by this monarch. Had he made Rome his capital; had his successors there fixed their principal residence; and especially, if the custom of dividing dominions among children had not prevailed in those barbarous times, in all probability the world would have seen the Roman empire revive. Every thing in the sequel concurred to dismember that vast body which had been formed by the courage and fortune of Charlemagne; but nothing contributed so much as the absurd conduct of his descendants.

He had no capital, though Aix-la-chapelle * was the place where he delighted chiefly to re-

* Aix-la-chapelle was actually constituted capital of the western empire by Charlemagne, who beautified and enlarged the city, and declared it the imperial seat; as appears by the following inscriptions, which appeared over different gates of his palace.

*Hic sedes regni trans Alpes habetur,
caput omnium civitatum, & provinciarum Galliarum.*

*Carolus insignem reddens, hanc condidit urbem,
quam liberavit post Romam constituendo,
quot sint trans Alpes, hic semper regia sedes,
ut caput urbis, hanc quaque colat et Gallia tota;
gaude taquis granum præ cunctis munere clarum,
quæ prius imperii reges nunc laureat almi.*

fide

side: there he gave audience with the most dazzling pomp and magnificence, to the ambassadors of the caliphs, and to those of Constantinople. Besides, he was always either in the field or on a journey, in the same manner as Charles V. lived so many ages after this period. He divided his dominions, even in his own life-time, according to the custom that prevailed among all the monarchs of those times: but, at length, when of all the sons whom he designed for crowns, none remained but that Lewis so well known by the epithet of Debonair, on whom he had already bestowed the kingdom of Aquitain*, he associated this prince in the empire, at Aix-la-chapelle, and commanded him to take with his own hands, the imperial crown from the altar, to let the world see that the crown was due alone to the valour of the father, and the merit of the son; and as if he had foreseen that one day the ministers of the altar would arrogate to themselves the right of disposing of that diadem.

He was in the right to declare his son emperor, in his own life-time; for this dignity,

* Aquitain, according to Cæsar, was a third part of ancient Gaul: and much learning has been exhibited in attempts to ascertain the boundaries of this country. Certain it is, it consisted of three provinces, comprehending the cities of Bourges, Auvergne, Cahors, Limoges, Bourdeaux, Angouleme, Xaintes, Poitiers, Cominges, Bearn, Aire, &c. It was formerly called Armorica, from the Gaulish word Armor, signifying a sea-coast. Yet this appellation was afterwards confined to Bretagne. Charlemagne, at his return from Spain in the year 778, erected Aquitain into a kingdom, adding to it Gascony, Languedoc, Biscay, the marquisate of Spain, and the county of Barcelona; and bestowed it upon his youngest son Lewis the Debonair.

108 OF CHARLEMAGNE.

acquired by his own good fortune, was not secured to his son by the right of inheritance: but in leaving the empire to Lewis, and giving Italy to Bernard, the son of his son Pepin, did not he himself tear in pieces that empire which he wanted to preserve for his posterity? was not this in effect, arming his successors against each other? had he any reason to presume that the nephew, who was king of Italy, would obey his uncle, who was emperor; or that the emperor would not endeavour to make himself master in Italy? Be that as it will, Charlemagne died in the year 814, with the reputation of having been an emperor as fortunate as Augustus, and as warlike as Adrian, but not so good as Trajan or Antoninus, to whom no sovereign was ever comparable.

At that time, there was a prince in the East, who equalled Charlemagne in glory as well as in power: this was the celebrated caliph, Aaron Rachid†, who greatly surpassed him in justice, science, and humanity. I could almost venture to add pope Adrian to these two illustrious men; a pontiff who, though in a less elevated rank, and nearly in a private station, with virtues perhaps not so heroic, yet displayed consummate prudence, to which his successors have owed all their power and grandeur.

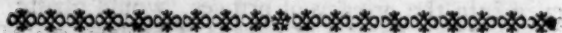
† This renowned Arabian was the fifth Caliph of the house of the Abasides: he greatly extended his empire by conquest; his reign was an uninterrupted series of prosperity: he was mild, generous, and beneficent, and a great encourager of learning and the liberal arts: he maintained a friendly correspondence with Charlemagne, to whom he made rich presents, and among the rest, a clock of very curious workmanship.

The curiosity of mankind, which penetrates even into the privacy of princes, would gladly see a circumstantial detail of Charlemagne's private transactions, and even pry into his amours. He is said to have indulged his love of women to such excess, that he deflowered his own daughters. The same calumny has been recorded of Augustus; but of what consequence to mankind is the detail of these weaknesses, which never had the least influence on public affairs?

I consider his reign in a point of view more worthy of a patriot's attention. The countries that now compose France and Germany, as far as the Rhine, enjoyed uninterrupted peace for near fifty years, and Italy for the space of thirteen, after his elevation to the empire. There was no revolution in France; no calamity during this half century, which in that light stands distinguished from all others: yet even this long tract of happiness and repose was not sufficient to restore politeness and the liberal arts. The rust of barbarism was too strong, and continued to increase in the succeeding ages.

CHAP.

III MANNERS and CUSTOMS about the



CHAP. X.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS that prevailed about the Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

I SHALL stop at this celebrated æra, to consider the customs, laws, religion, and manners, which then prevailed. The Franks had been always barbarians, and so continued to be after the death of Charlemagne: his reign alone had a gleam of politeness, which was probably the fruit of his journey to Rome, or rather the effect of his own genius. His predecessors were illustrious for nothing but their depredations: they destroyed cities, but they founded none. The Gauls had found their account in being conquered by the Romans, Marseilles, Arles, Autun, Lyons, and Triers, were flourishing cities, that peaceably enjoyed their municipal laws, subordinate to the sage regulations of the Romans; and they were animated by a very extensive commerce. We find, in a letter from a proconsul to Theodosius, that the city of Autun contained five and twenty thousand families: but, soon as the Burgundians, the Goths, and the Franks, arrived in Gaul, the large cities were depopulated; the circus's and amphitheatres built by the Romans, even to the banks of the Rhine, were either demolished, or allowed to fall in ruins. If the criminal and unfortunate queen Brunehaud

haud * preserved some leagues of those causeways which we have never been able to imitate; this is a circumstance which we still remember with surprize.

What hindered those new-comers to build regular edifices on the Roman models? They had stone, marble, and better wood than we now can find. The flocks of England and Spain were covered with fine wool, as they are at this day; yet broad cloth was manufactured no where but in Italy. Why did not the rest of Europe import the merchandize of Asia? Why were all the conveniencies that sweeten the bitterness of life, at that time unknown? For no other reason, but because the Barbarians who passed the Rhine, infected other nations with their savage manners. We may

* Brunehaud, or Brunichilde, was daughter of Athanagildas, king of the Visigoths in Spain. She married Sigebert I. king of Austrasia, in the year 568, and was mother of Childebert II. She is represented as a monster of lust, avarice, cruelty, and revenge. During the minority of her son, she acted as regent, and rendered herself so odious to the people, that they stripped her naked, and drove her out of the kingdom. In this condition she was found by a peasant called Disier, who clothed and conducted her to Chalon sur Saone, which was governed by her grandson Thierry; and this guide was recompensed with the bishopric of Auxerre. After she had grown old in wickedness, Clotharius II. charged her with all the crimes she had committed; and among others, with having caused the death of ten kings. Being found guilty and condemned, she was racked three days successively; then carried through the camp in procession mounted on a camel; afterwards dragged over the stones at the tail of a wild horse; and when dead, her body was committed to the flames.

112 MANNERS and CUSTOMS about the

judge by those Salique, Ripuary†, and Burgundian laws, which Charlemagne himself could not abrogate, and therefore confirmed. Poverty and rapaciousness had set a pecuniary value upon a man's life, mutilation, rape, incest, and poisoning. He that could afford to pay four hundred sols, that is, four hundred crowns, might slay a bishop with impunity. The murder of a priest was rated at two hundred sols; the same price was set upon rape, and poisoning with herbs. A forceress who had fed on human flesh, was quit for two hundred sols; a circumstance which proves, that the witches of those days were not only found among the dregs of the people, as in the latter ages, but that those horrible extravagancies were

† The Ripuarii were a colony of the Franks, that settled on the borders of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Roer, whence they acquired their name Ripuarii, of *ripa* a bank. They had their own peculiar laws, which were compiled and corrected by Dagobert, and are still extant in the *Codex veterum legum*, edit. Lindinbrog. They are very minute, and extremely well calculated for the preservation of the public peace. Whoever stripped a man that was asleep, or dead, was condemned in a fine of two hundred sols of gold. If a man met a strayed horse, he durst not mount him, on pain of paying fifteen sols of gold. The same penalty was decreed against a man who should take a woman by the hand; double the sum was exacted, if he took her by the arm; and he paid five and forty sols of gold, if he was convicted of having touched her bosom. Death was never inflicted, but upon those who had conspired against the life of their prince. The fine for murdering a bishop amounted to nine hundred sols; six hundred for a priest; and two hundred for a layman. When the murderer could not pay the fine, it was exacted of his kindred; and if they were not able, he became the slave of those to whom the fine was due.

like-

likewise practised among persons of wealth. Single combat and the ordeals, decided, as we shall see, all disputes about inheritance, and the validity of wills: their whole jurisprudence was dictated by ferocity and superstition. Let us judge of the manners of the people, by those of their princes. We find them distinguished by no act of magnanimity. The christian religion, which ought to have humanized mankind, did not hinder Clovis from causing the petty sovereigns his neighbours to be assassinated †. The two children of Clodomir were massacred at Paris, in the year 533, by their uncles Childebert and Clotharius, who are distinguished by the title of kings of France: Clodoaldo ‡, the brother of these murdered innocents, is invoked under the name of St. Clou, because he was obliged to become a monk.

In the reign of Chilperic, king of Soissons, in the year 562, the subjects who were slaves abandoned this pretended kingdom, wearied by

† Such was the fate of Sigebert, king of Cologne, Ragnacairus king of Cambray, and his brother Richarius, Cararic sovereign of another district, and his children, who fell victims to the cruelty of this barbarian.

‡ Clodoald, or St. Cloud, was son of Clodomir king of Orleans, and grandson of Clovis and saint Clothilda. When his brothers were murdered by their uncles, he escaped through the affection of some noblemen, who conveyed him to a secret place, where he was educated. When he arrived at man's estate, he renounced the kingdom and the world. He was ordained priest by the bishop Eusebius, and founded a monastery in the neighbourhood of Paris, at the village of Nogent; which from him is now called St. Cloud.----There his tomb is still to be seen, inscribed with a very antient epitaph.

the tyranny of their master, who took all their bread and wine, as he could not take money, of which they were quite destitute. One Sigebert, and another Chilperic were assassinated. Brunehaud, who from an Arian became a Catholic, was accused of a thousand murders: Clotharius II. no less barbarous than she, ordered her to be dragged through his camp at a horse's tail; and she perished by this new kind of punishment, in the year 616. All the monuments that remain of those hideous times, are foundations of monasteries, and a confused remembrance of misery and rapine.

We are not to suppose that the emperors acknowledged for kings, those barbarous chiefs who ruled in Burgundy, at Soissons, Paris, Metz, and Orleans: they never bestowed upon them the title *Basileus*. They did not even confer it upon Dagobert II. who united, under his dominion, the whole western and eastern France, as far as the Weser. Historians expatiate upon the magnificence of Dagobert, and, as a proof of it, mention the goldsmith of St. Elay; who, they say, came to court with a girdle adorned with precious stones; that is, he sold diamonds, and carried them in his girdle. They speak of the magnificent edifices built by this monarch. Where are they to be found? The old church of St. Paul is no other than an inconsiderable Gothic monument. This we know of Dagobert; that he had three wives at the same time; that he assembled councils; and tyrannized over his subjects.

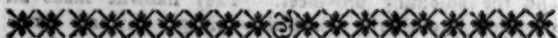
In his reign, a merchant of Sens called Samon, went to trade in Germany, from whence he

he proceeded to the country of the Slaves †. These savages were so astonished to see a man who had travelled so far, to supply them with those things which they wanted, that they invested him with the sovereignty †. This very Samon is said to have made war upon Dagobert; and if the king of the Franks had three wives, the new Slavonian monarch had fifteen. It was under this Dagobert, that the authority

† The Slaves, or Sclaves, were a people of Germany, originally settled between the Elbe and the Vistula; but, about the end of the sixth century, they penetrated further, and took possession of what is now called Bohemia, and the adjoining provinces. They likewise made an irruption into Illyria, which they pillaged for some time; however, they were obliged to abandon it with precipitation, before the troops of Bajan Cagan, prince of the Abares, in the year 578. They are described by Procopius, as a savage people, living under a sort of democratical government, in great ignorance, want, and simplicity: yet they possessed a warlike genius, and obtained several victories over the Roman armies. One of their colonies settled in the country between the Saave, the Draave, and the Danube, which still retains the name of Sclavonia; though, under this appellation, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia, were formerly comprehended.

† Samon was not of Sens, but of the country of Senegau in Brabant; nor was he elected king of the Sclaves, until he had approved himself worthy of the throne, by his valour and conduct; in consequence of which they obtained several victories over the Venedes, and freed themselves from the yoke of Abares, king of that people. Some merchants of Austrasia having been robbed in the country of the Sclaves, Dagobert sent an envoy to Samon, to demand satisfaction. When Samon proposed an alliance with the Austrasians, this ambassador told him, "That Christians could not possibly engage in any alliance with dogs." "If we are dogs, (replied Samon) we must be allowed to bite whenever we find ourselves ill used." The envoy was dismissed with contempt. A war ensued, and the Austrasians were defeated by Samon.

of the mayors of the palace commenced. After him came a race of slothful princes; then confusion and the despotism of the mayors ensued. It was in the time of those mayors, at the beginning of the eighth century, that the Arabians who had subdued Spain, penetrated to Toulouse, made themselves masters of Guienne, ravaged the country as far as the Loire, and had well nigh conquered all Gaul from the Franks who had wrested it from the Romans. One may judge in what condition the people, the church, and the laws, must have been at this juncture.



CHAP. XI.

LAWS and CUSTOMS that prevailed in the
Reign of CHARLEMAGNE.

CHARLES MARTEL, the usurper and support of the sovereign power in a great monarchy, who vanquished the conquering Arabs, and repulsed them to Gascony, received, however, no other title from pope Gregory II. than that of *Sous-roitilet*, or *Subregulus*, when he implored his protection against the king of Lombardy. He made dispositions for marching to the relief of the Roman church; but, in the mean time, he pillaged the churches of the Franks, bestowed the riches of the convents upon his captains, and detained his own sovereign in captivity. We have seen the transactions of his son Pepin, and of his grand-son Charlemagne.

The great conquests of this last monarch were owing to his constant care of having veteran troops

troops in his service. These were levied by the dukes that governed the provinces, in the same manner as the soldiers in Turkey are now raised by the beglerbegs: those dukes had been instituted in Italy by Dioclesian. The counts, who seem to have derived their origin from the time of Theodosius, were next in command to the dukes, and assembled troops, each in his own district. The farms, burroughs, and villages, furnished a certain number of soldiers, proportioned to their ability. Twelve farms found one horseman, armed with helmet and cuirass: the other soldiers had neither; but only a long square buckler, a battle-ax, a javelin, and a sword. Every archer was obliged to have at least twelve arrows in his quiver. The province that furnished the soldiery, supplied them likewise with corn and necessary provision for six months: the king maintained them for the rest of the campaign. The general rendezvous was on the first day of March, or in the beginning of May; and at these times the parliaments were usually held. The battering ram, the balista, the tortoise, and most of the Roman machines, were employed in sieges. The noblemen distinguished by the appellations of Barons, Leudes, and Richeomes, with their followers, composed the small number of cavalry which, at that time, appeared in their armies: the Mussulmans of Africa and Spain were much better provided with horse. Charles had a naval force, that is, large boats at the mouths of all the great rivers of his empire. Before his time, such vessels were not known among the Barbarians; and even a long time after his death they were
igno-

ignorant of their utility. By this precaution, and his military police, he put a stop to the inundation of people from the North, and confined them within their own frozen climates; but, under his weak descendants, they deluged all Europe.

Public affairs were regulated in assemblies that represented the whole nation: in his reign, however, the parliaments had no will but that of a master, who could command as well as persuade. Commerce flourished because he was master of the sea: the merchants settled on the coast of Tuscany, as well as those of Marseilles, traded to Constantinople among the Christians, and to the port of Alexandria with the Mussulmans, by whom they were well received, and supplied with the riches of Asia.

Venice and Genoa, which were afterwards so powerful by their traffic, had not yet engrossed the wealth of nations: though Venice began to be rich and important, divers manufactures of stuffs and woollen cloth were carried on at Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Lyons, Arles, and Tours. Steel was tempered there, in imitation of that made at Damascus. They likewise knew the art of making glass; but silk-stuffs were not wove in any town of the western empire.

The Venetians began to import them from Constantinople; but it was not till four hundred years after Charlemagne, that the Norman princes established a silk manufacture at Palermo. Linnen was then very uncommon. St. Boniface, in a letter to a German bishop, desires he will send him some frize for his feet-washing. In all probability, this want of linnen

men was the cause of those cutaneous distempers, known by the name of leprosy, so rise at this period; for, the hospitals called lazarehouses, were already very numerous †.

The coin bore nearly the same value with that of the Roman empire since the reign of Constantine. The golden sol was the Solidus Romanus, equivalent to forty deniers of silver; and these deniers, though they were sometimes heavier, sometimes lighter, weighed, upon an average, thirty grains, one with another †.

The golden sol would now, in 1740, be worth about fifteen francs, and the silver denier be equivalent to thirty sols, according to the present way of reckoning.

In reading these histories, we must always remember, that besides these real pieces of gold and silver coin, people in their calculations made use of another denomination. They often reckoned by fictitious species, which was no more than a method of counting, such as is practised at this day. The Asiatics and the Greeks reckoned by minæ and talents, and the Romans by great sesterces, though there was no such coin as a great sestertium, or a talent*.

The

† The leprosy was hardly known in the northern parts of Europe, until it was imported from Africa and Asia in the time of the Crusades; and it would be no difficult task to prove, that linnen is much more productive than woollen stuff, of cutaneous, and all other distempers.

† The Roman *Solidus* was a gold coin, in value about an English noble, or six shillings and eight pence. The *denarius*, a silver coin, worth about eight pence halfpenny.

* It is a doubt with the learned, whether there ever were two sorts of *Sesterces*. Agricola is of opinion there was only

The numerary pound, in the time of Charlemagne, was computed equivalent in weight to twelve ounces of silver. This pound was numerically divided, as at this day, into twenty parts: there were indeed silver sols, like our crowns, weighing, each, the twentieth, the two and twentieth, or the four and twentieth part of a pound of twelve ounces; and this sol was, like ours, divided into twelve deniers. But Charlemagne having ordained that the silver sol should be precisely the twentieth part of twelve ounces, people, in their accompts, began to consider twenty sols as a pound. For two centuries the coin remained in the same condition to which it was reduced by Charlemagne; but, by little and little, different kings, in times of necessity, sometimes mixed the sols with an alloy, and sometimes diminished their weight; so that, by an alteration which reflects disgrace upon almost all the governments in Europe, that sol, which was heretofore nearly the same as our present crown, is now no more than a light piece of copper, with the mixture of one eleventh at most of silver; and the livre, which was formerly the sign representa-

one kind, and that was a coin in value the fourth part of a denarius, or two asses and an half, being two pounds and an half of brass coin. Budæus, indeed, distinguished two sorts of sesterces; the little, or ordinary sesterthus, and the great sesterthium, an imaginary and numerical species, equivalent to one thousand little sesterces. But there is no good argument offered to support this distinction.

²⁰ *Mina*, from the Greek *μνᾶ*, a pound, equal to one hundred drachmas, or three pounds sterling. Sixty of these minæ composed an Attic talent, which must therefore have been worth 180*l*.

tive

tive of twelve ounces of silver, is now no more in France than the sign representative of twenty copper fols. The denier, which was the hundredth and twenty-fourth part of a pound of silver, is no more than one third of that base coin which we call a liard. Suppose then, that one town in France owed to another one hundred and twenty livres of rent, that is, fourteen hundred and forty ounces of silver, as estimated in the time of Charlemagne, it would now discharge the debt by the payment of what we call a crown of six francs. The numerical pound of the English and the Dutch has undergone less alteration; a pound sterling of England is worth about two and twenty francs of France; and a Dutch pound is nearly equal to twelve: thus the Hollanders have deviated less than the French from the original institution, and the English least of all.

As often therefore, as history mentions money under the denomination of pounds, we have nothing to do but examine the value of that pound at the time, and in the country so specified, and compare it with our present money distinguished by the same appellation. We ought to have the same attention in reading the Greek and Roman history: for example, it is a very troublesome task for a reader to be obliged every moment to reform the calculations made in the ancient history of a celebrated professor in the university of Paris, in the ecclesiastical history of Fleuri, and in almost all useful authors. When they would express the value of talents, minæ, and sesterces, in French money, they always compute by the estimate which was made by some learned men before the death

of the great Colbert. But the mark of eight ounces, which under that minister was valued at six and twenty francs and ten sols, has been for a long time worth nine and forty livres and ten sols; a difference which amounts to near one half. This difference, which at some particular times has been much greater, may be either increased or diminished. We ought to remember this variation, without which we must have very erroneous ideas of the strength of ancient states, their commerce, the pay of their soldiers, and, in a word, of their whole oeconomy. It appears that the quantity of species which then circulated in Italy and about the banks of the Rhine, was eight times less than it is in the present age: we cannot judge of this circumstance better than by the price of necessaries; and I find these were eight times cheaper in the reign of Charlemagne than in our days. Four and twenty pounds of white bread were, by the capitularies, valued at one denier of silver; this denier was the fortieth part of a golden sol, which was worth from between fifteen to sixteen livres of our present money: thus the pound of bread came to a liard and something more, that is in effect an eighth part of the price now usually given.

In the northern countries silver was still more scarce: there, for example, the price of an ox was fixed at a golden sol. We shall see in the sequel, in what manner trade and riches extended themselves close in the rear of each other.

The liberal arts and sciences must have had but very weak beginnings in those vast countries that were still in a state of barbarity. Eghinhart, secretary to Charlemagne, gives us

to understand that this conqueror could not sign his own name; nevertheless, by the force of his natural genius, he comprehended how necessary it would be to encourage literature: he brought teachers of grammar and arithmetic from Rome: the ruins of that capital furnished every thing to the West, which is not yet sufficiently reformed. Alcuin†, that English monk so famous in those days, and Peter of Pisa, who taught Charlemagne the rudiments of grammar, had both studied at Rome.

There were chapters in the churches of France; and, what is very remarkable, they were known by the name of Gaulish chanters. The race of the conquering Franks had cultivated no art or science: those Gauls pretended, as at this day, to dispute the prize for vocal music with the Romans. The Gregorian music, attributed to St. Gregory the Great, was not without merit; there is some dignity even in its simplicity. The Gaulish singers, who did not use the ancient alphabetical notes, had corrupted the music which they pretended to

† Alcuin, otherwise called Flaccus Albinus, was professor of theology at York, from whence he was invited by Charlemagne in the year 794, to the council of Frankfort, to combat the errors of Felix and Elipandus. He resided at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the request of Charlemagne, with whom he was a great favourite; and gave public lectures in his palace. He acquired such reputation for learning, that he was usually stiled The Universalist, and Secretary of the Liberal Arts. In his latter days he retired to the abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, where he died, in the year 804. His epitaph, written by himself, in the measure of the *carmen elegiacum*, may be seen with his different works in the collection of Du Chêne.

embellish; and Charlemagne, in one of his expeditions to Italy, obliged them to conform to the music of their masters. Pope Adrian supplied them with books, in which the music was noted; and two Italian musicians were established to teach these notes, one at Metz, and the other at Soissons. They were besides obliged to send organs from Rome. There was not a striking clock in any town of his whole empire, nor indeed was there any till about the thirteenth century; hence the ancient custom, still preserved in Germany, Flanders, and England, of employing watchmen to call the hours in the night. The present of a striking clock, which the caliph Aaron al Rachid sent to Charlemagne, was looked upon as a miracle. With respect to the sciences of the understanding, philosophy, physics, astronomy, and the principles of medicine, how was it possible that they should be known? they had but just dawned in this part of the world.

They reckoned by nights; and hence in England they still say a fortnight, in order to express two weeks. The language, called † Romanic, began to be formed by a mixture of Latin with the Teutonic: this is the origin of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. It continued till the reign of Frederic II. and it is still spoken in some villages of the Grisons, and towards Swisserland. The garments, which have been always varying since the ruin of the Roman empire, were very short, except on days of ceremony, when the coat was covered with

† This language was called Romance, and as the first novels of chivalry were written in it, they derived the name **Romances**.

Of the PREVAILING RELIGION, &c. 125

a cloak, frequently lined with fur. These skins were brought, as they are now, from the North, especially from Russia: from the knee downwards they still preserved the Roman manner of dressing. It is observed, that Charlemagne's legs were covered with fillets of various colours, in the form of buskins, as they are still worn by the Highlanders† of Scotland, the only people upon earth among whom the military garb of the Romans is preserved.



C H A P. XII.

Of the PREVAILING RELIGION, in the Age
of CHARLEMAGNE.

IF we now turn our eyes upon the happy consequences of religion; upon the evils which mankind brought upon themselves when they used it as an instrument of their passions; upon the consecrated rites, and the abuse of those rites; the quarrel between the Iconoclastes and the Iconolatres*, is the most important object that first presents itself to our view.

The empress Irene, guardian of her unfortunate son Constantine Porphyrogeneta, in order to pave her way to the empire, flattered the people and the monks who had still a hankering after image-worship, although it had been proscribed by so many emperors since the reign of Leo the Isaurian. She was attached to it

† Our author is mistaken with respect to the Highlanders: they do not wear distinct fillets or bandages, but hose of a striped stuff of divers colours, which they call *tartan*.

* The Image-breakers and the Image-worshippers.

herself, because it had been abhorred by her husband. Irene had been persuaded, that, in order to gain the ascendancy over her husband, she must place the images of certain saints under his bolster. Credulity finds way even into the most politic bosoms. The emperor, her husband, had punished the author of this superstition. Irene, after his death, gave free scope to her own fancy and ambition: this was the cause of her assembling, in the year 786, the second council of Nice, the seventh oecumenical council, which first began at Constantinople: she caused Taraisus, her secretary of state, a layman, to be elected patriarch. There had been formerly some examples of laymen thus raised to bishoprics, without passing through the other degrees; but, at that time, this custom no longer subsisted.

When this patriarch opened the council, the conduct of pope Adrian appeared very extraordinary. He did not anathematize the secretary of state who had erected himself into a patriarch: he did no more than modestly protest, in his letters to Irene, against the title of Universal Patriarch; but he insisted upon her restoring to the Holy See, the patrimonies of Sicily: he loudly demanded restitution of this petty estate; while, in imitation of his predecessors, he wrested the profitable dominion of so many fair territories, which, he assured us, were bestowed by Pepin and Charlemagne. In the mean time the oecumenical council of Nice, at which the pope's legates and this ministerial patriarch presided, thought proper to re-establish the worship of images.

It

It is a circumstance confessed by all judicious writers, that the fathers of this council, the number of whom amounted to three hundred and fifty, recognized a number of pieces that were evidently spurious; a number of miracles, the bare recital of which would, in our days, be deemed scandalous; a number of books that were apocryphal. Yet these false pieces ought not to affect the credit of the genuine works, on the merits of which they decided. But, when it became necessary that this council should be received by Charlemagne and the churches of France, how was the pope embarrassed? Charles had loudly declared against images; he had given directions for writing the books called Carolins, in which that worship was anathematized. In the year 794, he assembled a council at Frankfort, at which he presided, according to the custom of all the emperors; a council composed of three hundred bishops or abbots, as well of Italy as of France, who unanimously rejected the service and adoration of images. This equivocal word Adoration was the source of all those differences. If mankind would define the words they use, there would be fewer disputes: more than one kingdom have been overthrown through a misunderstanding.

While pope Adrian sent into France the acts of the second council of Nice, he received the Carolin books, in opposition to that council; and he was pressed in the name of Charles, to declare the emperor of Constantinople and his mother heretics. We see by this conduct of Charles, that he wanted to derive from the pretended heresy of the emperor, a new right or

128 Of the PREVAILING RELIGION,

pretence to wrest Rome from him under colour of justice.

The pope, divided between the council of Nice which he adopted, and Charlemagne whom he had no inclination to disoblige, chose, in my opinion, a politic medium, which ought to have served as an example in all the unfortunate disputes which generally divided Christendom. He explained the Carolin books in a manner that was favourable to the council of Nice, and by this expedient refuted the king, without incurring his displeasure: he dispensed with the worship of images; a relaxation which was very reasonable among the Germans, hardly rescued from their idolatry, and the ignorant Franks who had very little sculpture or painting: at the same time he exhorted the people to abstain from breaking those images. Thus he satisfied both parties, and left it to time to confirm or abolish a rite that was still doubtful. Attentive to the art of managing mankind, and making religion subservient to his own interest, he wrote to Charlemagne in these terms: "I cannot declare Irene and her son heretics, after the council of Nice: but I will brand them as such, if they do not restore the lands of Sicily."

We see the same discretion of this pope in a dispute that was still more delicate, which alone would have been sufficient at any other time to kindle up the flame of civil war. The question was, Whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, or from the Father only? At first in the East, the first council of Nice had added, that he proceeded from the Father; afterwards in Spain, and then in France and Germany, they added that he proceeded

ceeded from the Father and the Son. This article was believed by almost the whole empire of Charles.

These words of the creed, *Qui ex patre filioque procedit*, were deemed sacred among the Franks, even though they had never been adopted at Rome. Charlemagne pressed the pope to declare himself on this article; the pope replied, that he did not condemn the king's opinion: nevertheless he made no change in the creed at Rome; he appeased the dispute by forbearing to decide it. In a word, he treated spiritual affairs as a prince, whereas too many princes have treated them as bishops.

From that period, the profound policy of the popes established their power by little and little. A collection was made of false facts, now known under the name of False Decretals; they are said to have been digested by a Spaniard called Isidore Mercator, or Piscator, or Peccator. They were circulated and put in force by the German bishops, whose integrity had been imposed upon. Some pretend that there are now incontestible proofs of their having been composed by one Algeram, abbot of Senones, and bishop of Metz. They are still extant in manuscript, in the library of the Vatican; but what signifies their authenticity. These false decretals are supposed to contain ancient canons, decreeing, that even a provincial council shall not be held without the pope's permission; and that his holiness should be the last resort in all ecclesiastical causes. In these decretals the immediate successors of the apostles are made to speak; nay, they are supposed to be the writers of the collection: true it is, the whole being in

130 Of the PREVAILING RELIGION,

the barbarous stile of the eighth century, abounding with errors in history and geography, the artifice was very gross; but the people were grossly ignorant on whom they imposed. Mankind were puzzled by these false decretals for eight whole centuries; and at last, when the falsehood stood confessed, the rites and customs which they established still subsisted in one part of the church; antiquity maintained the place of truth †.

Even at that time, the bishops of the West were temporal lords, and possessed many lands in fief; but none of them were independent sovereigns. The kings of France nominated persons to bishoprics; in this particular more resolute and politic than the Greek emperors and the kings of Lombardy, who contented themselves with interposing their authority in the elections.

The first christian churches were governed as republics, upon the model of the synagogues.

† Those decretals were composed of passages taken from councils held about the latter end of the seventh century, as well as of letters written by the fathers of the church. Among many other marks of forgery, authors mention the uniformity of the barbarous stile, which is the same through the whole, though the letters are said to be written by so many different hands. St. Clement, in his pretended letter to St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, mentions the death of St. Peter; whereas it is well known, that St. James died before St. Peter. He mentions arch-priests, arch-deacons, primates, &c. at a time when such titles were not known. He addresses one of his letters to all Christian princes, before any prince had embraced the Christian faith. In writing to St. James, he quotes, in the name of St. Peter, a passage from that apostle's own epistle; and finally, he mentions his having been present at the death of Ananias, which happened before Clement was converted.

Those

Those who resided at these assemblies insensibly assumed the title *Episcopus*, a Greek word, used by the Greeks as an appellation to their governors of colonies. The elders of these assemblies were called Presbyters, which, in the Greek language, signifies old men.

Charlemagne in his old age invested the bishops with a right to which his own son fell a victim; they made this prince believe, that in the code digested in the reign of Theodosius, there was a law importing, that if two laymen carried on a process against each other, and one of them should refer the dispute to the arbitration of a bishop, the other was obliged to submit to his decision, without power of appeal. This law, which had never been put in execution, is deemed by all the critics to be supposititious: it is the last of the Theodosian code, without date, and without the names of the consuls. It excited a kind of private civil war between the tribunals of justice and the ministers of the sanctuary; but as at that time all in the West, except the clergy, were in profound ignorance, it is matter of surprize that it did not give still a greater power to those, who, having all the little learning to themselves, seemed alone deserving of the prerogative to judge mankind.

In the same manner as the bishops disputed this authority with the laity, the monks began to dispute it with the bishops, although these were their masters by the canons: the monks were already too rich to be submissive. This celebrated formula of Marculfus was already often put in practice: "I, for the repose of my soul, and that I may not after my death be placed

placed among the goats, give and bequeath to such a monastery, &c.” Even in the first age of the church people believed the world was near an end; and this opinion gaining ground from one century to another, they bestowed their lands upon the monks, as if they were to be preserved in the general conflagration. Many charters of donation began with these words, *Adventante mundi vespero* †. A long time before Charlemagne, there were Benedictine abbots powerful enough to raise rebellions. An abbot of Fontenelle had the boldness to assemble troops, and put himself at the head of a party against Charles Martel. The hero caused the monk to be beheaded; an execution which contributed not a little to all those revelations which so many monks had in the sequel, concerning the damnation of Charles Martel. Before that time we find an abbot of St. Remy, of Rheims, together with the bishop of that city, exciting a civil war against Childebert, in the sixth century; a crime which belongs to none but men of power and influence.

The bishops and abbots had a great number of slaves: the abbot Alcuin is reproached with having had no fewer than twenty thousand: nor is this number incredible; Alcuin possessed three abbeys, the lands of which might have been inhabited by twenty thousand persons. These slaves, known by the name of Serfs,

† This is bad Latin, if it was meant to signify the evening, which is *vesper*, *vesperis*; and in the ablative case *vespere*, or *vesperi*: and bad sense if it was applied to the evening star; inasmuch as the *vesperus mundi* can signify nothing but the planet *Venus*, which may be said to come every night.

could neither marry, nor change their habitation without the permission of the abbot. They were obliged to drive their carts fifty leagues, when he commanded this service. They worked for him three days in the week, and he shared all the fruits of their labour. Those Benedictines indeed could not be charged with having by their wealth violated their vow of poverty, for no such vow they made. They took no other engagement at their admission into the order, than that of being obedient to the abbot: they even frequently received grants of uncultivated grounds, which they grubbed with their own hands, and afterwards portioned out to the serfs, to be cultivated. They raised villages, and even little towns, around the monasteries. There they studied; and they alone were the means of preserving books, by transcribing different copies: finally, in those barbarous times, when all nations were so miserable, it was a great consolation to find in cloisters a secure retreat against tyranny.

In France and Germany more than one bishop went to battle with his serfs. Charlemagne, in a letter to one of his wives, called Frastada, mentions a bishop who had valiantly fought at his side, in a battle against the Avars, a people descended from the Scythians, who inhabited the country now called Austria. I find in his time no fewer than fourteen monasteries, which were obliged to find a certain number of soldiers. If an abbot had the least turn for a military life, nothing hindered him from conducting them in person. True it is, in the year 803, a parliament complained to Charlemagne of the great number of priests who

who had been slain in battle: then the ministers of the altar were forbid to expose their lives in the field. No person was permitted to call himself clerk without being of the clergy, or to wear the tonsure unless he belonged to a bishop. These clerks were called *Acephales*; and they were punished as vagabonds: but people were then altogether ignorant of that station so common in our days, which is neither secular nor ecclesiastic. The title of *Abbé*, which signifies father, belonged to none but the heads of monasteries.

The abbots, even then, had the pastoral staff, which was borne by the bishops, and had been formerly the badge of the pontifical dignity in pagan Rome. Such was the power exercised over the monks by those abbots, that they sometimes condemned them to the most cruel corporal pains. They adopted the barbarous custom practised by the Greek emperors, of burning out their eyes; and it was found necessary that a council should prohibit this outrage, which they began to consider as a right appertaining to their dignity.

The mass was different from what it now is, and still more different from what it had been originally: at first it was a supper; afterwards, the majesty of worship increasing with the number of the faithful, it became gradually what is now called high-mass. There was only a common mass in every church before the fifth century. The name of *Synaxis*, which it has among the Greeks, and which signifies a congregation; the formularies that subsist and are addressed to this congregation, plainly prove that private masses must have been long unknown.

known. The sacrifice, the assembly, and the common prayer, were distinguished by the name of *Missa* among the Latins, because, according to some authors, the penitents who did not communicate were sent back, *mittebantur*; and in the opinion of others, because the communion was sent, *missa erat*, to those who could not come to church.

When the number of priests increased, they were obliged to say private masses: men of fortune maintained chaplains. Agobart, bishop of Lions, complained of this practice in the ninth century. Dionysius the Little, in his collection of canons, and many others, confirms the opinion that all the faithful communicated at public mass. In his time they brought along with them the bread and the wine, which the priest consecrated, and each received the bread in his own hands: this bread was fermented, and not yet leavened; and they gave it even to children. The communion in both species was an universal custom under Charlemagne: it is still preserved among the Greeks, and it continued among the Latins till the twelfth century: we find that even in the thirteenth it was sometimes practised. The author of the relation of the victory obtained in the year 1264, by Charles of Anjou, over Manfred, records, that the knights communicated with bread and wine before the battle. The custom of soaking the bread in the wine, was established before the time of Charlemagne; that of sucking the wine through a reed or metal syphon, was not introduced 'till about two hundred years after this period; and was very soon abolished. All these rites and practices

tices were changed, according to the circumstances of the times, and at the discretion of the pastors.

The Latin was the only church that prayed in a foreign language, unknown to the people. This seeming inconsistency was occasioned by the inundations of barbarians, who introduced their idioms into Europe. The Latins were as yet the only Christians who conferred baptism by simple aspersion, a very natural indulgence to children born in the severe northern climates, and decently suitable to the warm climate of Italy. The ceremony for grown persons was not the same with that for children: the difference was pointed out by nature.

Auricular confession is said to have been introduced as early as the sixth century. The bishops at first exacted of their canons that they should confess to them twice a-year, in consequence of the canons enacted by the council of Atigny, in the year 763; and this is the first time that it was expressly commanded. The abbots subjected their monks to this yoke, which was by little and little imposed upon the laity. Public confession was never used in the West; for by that time the barbarians embraced Christianity, the abuse and scandal with which it was attended had abolished it in the East, under the patriarch Nestairus, at the end of the fourth century; but public sinners frequently did public penance in the churches of the West, especially in Spain, where the invasion of the Saracens redoubled the fervour of the Christians, whom they had humbled. 'Till the twelfth century, I find no traces of the form of confession, nor of the
con-

confessionals established in churches; nor of the previous necessity of confessing immediately before the communion. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were three Lents, and people generally confessed at these three seasons of the year. The commandments of the church, which were not well understood till after the fourth council of the Lateran, in the year 1215, imposed the necessity of doing that once a-year, which before seems to have been more arbitrary and unsettled.

In the time of Charlemagne, the army was provided with confessors. Charles had one for himself by the express title of his office; his name was Waldon, and he was abbot of Augi, near Constance.

Any person was allowed to confess to a layman, and even to a woman in case of necessity; and this permission was of long standing. Thus Joinville tells us, that when he was in Africa, he confessed a knight, and gave him absolution, according to the power with which he was vested. "It is not altogether a sacrament, (says St. Thomas) but it resembles a sacrament."

Confession may be regarded as the most effectual restraint upon secret crimes. The sages of antiquity had embraced the shadow of this salutary practice. Confession was used in expiations among the Egyptians and the Greeks, and in almost all the celebrations of their mysteries. Marcus Aurelius, when admitted into the mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, confessed himself to the Hierophantes †.

† The chief priest, or he who shewed the sacred mysteries.

This custom, so piously established among Christians, was afterwards unhappily the occasion of some fatal abuses; especially during the dissensions between the emperors and the popes, and in the factions of cities, when the priests absolutely refused absolution to those who were not of their own party. This is what was seen in France, in the reign of Henry IV. when almost all the fathers confessors refused absolution to those subjects who acknowledged their lawful sovereign. Such is the deplorable condition of mankind, that the most divine remedies are often converted into the most deadly poison.

The Christian religion had not yet extended northwards, farther than the conquests of Charlemagne. Scandinavia, and Denmark, which was at that time called the country of the Normans, were plunged in the grossest idolatry. They worshipped Woden, and fancied, that after death, the happiness of man consisted in carousing in the hall of Woden, and drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies. We have still extant translations of some of their old ballads, in which this notion is expressed: it was a great deal for them even to believe a future state. Poland was equally savage and idolatrous. The Muscovites, as barbarous as the rest of Tartary, scarce knew enough to be ranked among Pagans; yet all these nations lived peaceably in their ignorance: happy in being unknown to Charlemagne, who sold so dear the knowledge of Christianity!

The English began to receive the Christian religion, which had been lately carried thither by Constantius Chlorus, the secret protector of
that

that faith which was then under persecution. There, however, it did not prevail; idolatry, for a long time, had the ascendant. Some missionaries from Gaul, indeed, rudely instructed a small number of those islanders*. The famous Pelagius, too zealous a defender of human nature, was born, though not educated, in England: we must, therefore, reckon him among the natives of Rome†.

Ireland, distinguished by the name of Scotland, and Scotland, known by the appellation of Albany, or the country of the Picts, had likewise received some seeds of Christianity, choaked, however, by idolatry, that still predominated. The monk Columba‡ was born in Ireland, in the sixth century; but it appears from his retreat to France, and the monasteries he founded in Burgundy, that there was very little to be done, and a great deal to be feared, by those who fought in Ireland and England for those rich and quiet establishments, that were

* Our author seems to be wholly ignorant of the British church, which was established soon after the beginning of the fourth century; as appears from the history of the council of Arles, to which three British bishops subscribed by the names of Eborius, Reftitutus, and Adelfius, *de civitate colonie Londinensium*.

† It does not appear, by any authentic history, that Pelagius was not educated in Britain. His real name was Morgan. He lived in the beginning of the fifth century, and made a considerable figure both in Italy and Palestine.

‡ St. Columba was born in the province of Leinster, in the year 559. At the age of thirty, he repaired to France, where he met with an honourable reception from Childbert II. He founded several monasteries; and being obliged to leave France, retired to Lombardy, where he died in the abbey of Bobio, of which he himself had been the founder.

found in other countries, under the shelter of religion. After an almost total extinction of Christianity in England, Scotland, and Ireland, it was revived by conjugal tenderness. Ethelbert, one of the barbarous Anglo-Saxon sovereigns of the Heptarchy in England, whose petty kingdom was the province of Kent, where Canterbury stands, was desirous of being allied to a monarch of France, and married a daughter of Childebert, king of Paris. This Christian princess, who crossed the sea, attended by the bishop of Soissons, disposed her husband to receive baptism, in the same manner as Clovis had been subdued by Clotilda. In the year 598, pope Gregory the Great sent thither Augustin, with some other Roman monks; but they met with little success in converting the people*; for one must, at least, understand the language of the country, before he can hope to change the religion of the natives: nevertheless, they were enabled, by the queen's favour, to build a monastery.

It was, properly, the queen who converted the little kingdom of Canterbury: the barbarous subjects, who had no opinions of their own, implicitly followed the example of their sovereigns. This Augustin found no great difficulty in prevailing upon Gregory the Great, to declare him primate. He wanted to be metropolitan of the Gauls; but Gregory gave him to understand, that he could only invest him

* St. Augustin and his companions met with surprising success in converting the English. The pope, in a letter, congratulates him upon it, and expresses his hope that he will bear it with moderation.

with the jurisdiction over England: he was, therefore, first archbishop of Canterbury, and first primate of England. One of his monks he created bishop of London, and to another he gave the bishopric of Rochester; but we cannot compare these bishops to any thing better than to the prelates of Antioch and Babylon, who are termed bishops *in partibus infidelium*. In time, the English hierarchy was formed; their monasteries, in particular, were extremely rich in the eighth and ninth centuries. They enrolled in the catalogue of saints, all the great lords from whom they had received benefactions; hence we find among their saints of those times, seven kings, as many queens, eight princes, and sixteen princesses. Their chronicles relate, that ten kings and eleven queens ended their days in cloisters. It is probable that these ten kings and eleven queens caused themselves, in their last moments, to be clad in religious habits, and, perhaps, to be carried into convents: but it is hardly credible that, in good health, they actually renounced the affairs of the public, in order to live the life of a recluse*.

* It is true, nevertheless. The famous Ina, king of Wesssex, turned monk at Rome, and his queen Ethelburga retired into a monastery at Barking. This was the case with Cealwulph and Edgbert kings of Northumberland, Sigebert of East Anglia, Ethelred, Sebba, and Offa, sovereigns of Mercia, and others of a later date.

C H A P. XIII.

Sequel of the CUSTOMS that prevailed in the
Time of CHARLEMAGNE.

Of Justice; of the Laws; of particular Customs.

THE counts appointed by the king, administered justice in a summary manner. Each had his separate district assigned to him; and they were obliged to be well versed in the laws, which were neither so difficult nor so numerous as those under which we now live. The process was altogether simple: every man pleaded his own cause in France and Germany. Rome alone, and the countries that depended upon her, still retained many laws and forms of the Roman empire. The Lombard laws prevailed in other parts of Hither Italy.

Every count had under him a lieutenant, called *Viguier*, seven *Scabini* or assessors, and a secretary, *Notarius*. The counts, in their several jurisdictions, published the order of march in time of war, enrolled the soldiers under the respective captains, and conducted them to the rendezvous, leaving their lieutenants to administer justice in their absence.

The kings sent commissaries with letters patent, *missi Dominici*, who examined the conduct of the counts. Neither these commissaries, nor the counts, except very rarely, condemned criminals to death, or torture: for, exclusive of Saxony, where Charlemagne enacted sanguinary laws, almost all sorts of crimes were bought off, through the rest of the empire. Rebellion alone was punished with death; and

the kings reserved the trial to themselves. The Salique law, together with those of the Lombards and the Ripuarii, set a pecuniary fine upon most other crimes, as we have already observed.

Their jurisprudence, however, which at first sight appears to have been humane, was, in fact, more cruel than ours. It left every man at liberty to do mischief, who could afford to pay for the crimes he had committed. The most gentle law is that which prevents guilt, by laying the most terrible restriction upon iniquity.

Among the Salique laws which were revived by Charlemagne, there is one that strongly marks the contempt into which the Romans were fallen among those barbarous nations. The Frank who had killed a Roman citizen payed but one thousand and fifty deniers; whereas the Roman payed two thousand and five hundred, for having embrued his hands in the blood of a Frank.

In criminal causes that could not be determined by evidence, the parties purged themselves by oath. The defendant was obliged not only to swear himself, but likewise to produce a certain number of witnesses to swear with him. When both parties opposed oath to oath, the cause was sometimes determined by duel, either with a pointed iron, or with the sword, to extremity.

These duels were called, as every body knows, The judgment of God: such was the name bestowed upon one of the most deplorable follies of that barbarous government. The accused were likewise subjected to the proof, by
cold

cold water, boiling water, and red hot iron. The celebrated Stephen Balure has collected all the antient ceremonies of those trials. They began with the mass, and the defendant received the communion. The cold water was first blessed and then exorcised. The accused person being fettered, was thrown into the water: if he sunk to the bottom, he was deemed innocent; if he floated, he was pronounced guilty. Mr. de Fleury, in his ecclesiastic history says, it was a sure method of not finding any person criminal. For my own part, I dare believe it was a method by which many innocent persons perished. There are many men whose chests are so large, and whose lungs are so light, that they will not sink to the bottom, especially when they are bound with many turns of a thick rope, which, together with the body, forms a volume specifically lighter than water*. This unhappy custom, which was in the sequel prohibited in the great cities, has been preserved even to our days in many provinces. It has been often imposed even by the judge's sentence, upon those who passed for wizards; for nothing lasts so long as superstition; and it has been the death of many unfortunate wretches. \

* This is a childish observation, which will not hold true in fact. Our author seems to be but little acquainted with natural philosophy; for he says, "forms a volume less heavy than an equal quantity of water." Now it is well known that the quantity of water is altogether out of the question with respect to bodies immersed, whether they are put into a tub of twenty inches diameter, or plunged into the Atlantic ocean.

The judgment of God by hot water was executed by causing the accused person to plunge his naked arm into a tub of boiling water. He was obliged to take up a consecrated ring from the bottom. The judge, in presence of the priests and people, wrapped up the patient's arm in a bag which was sealed with his own seal; and if in three days after the trial, no mark of scalding appeared on the arm, his innocence was acknowledged.

All the historians relate the example of queen † Teutberga, daughter-in-law to the emperor Lotharius, grandson of Charlemagne, who was accused of having committed incest with her brother, though a monk and sub-deacon. She nominated a champion, who in her stead underwent the trial of boiling water, in presence of a numerous court; and took up the ring without being in the least injured. Certain it is, there are secrets that enable persons to bear the action of the fire for some seconds without being hurt. I have seen instances of this nature. These secrets were then more common, as they were the more necessary: but there is none that can render us absolutely impassible. In all probability, upon those strange trials, the proof was inflicted in a manner more or less rigorous, according as the judge desired to condemn or acquit the person accused.

† Her name was Thietberga, daughter of Hubert Duke de Outre-le-mont-jou. She was also called Bercinda. Lotharius, her husband, repudiated her, and married Waldrada, the sister of Gonthier, archbishop of Cologne; but pope Nicholas I. obliged him to dismiss this new wife, and take back his former queen, whom he treated with great cruelty, and accused of adultery.

This trial by boiling water was particularly appointed for the conviction of adulterers. These customs were more ancient and extensive than they are commonly imagined. Women accused among the Jews, were subjected by the law of Moses to the proof of the waters of jealousy. They drank, in presence of the priests, some water in which a little consecrated ashes had been thrown; and this water, which was salutary to innocence, made the guilty swell and burst upon the spot.

The learned very well know, that in Sicily the person accused wrote his oath in the temple of the Gods called Palici*. This was thrown into a basin of water, and if it floated he was acquitted. The temple of Træzenum† was famous for the like trials. At the extremity of the East, in Japan, we still find such customs, founded on the simplicity of the primitive times; and that superstition which is

* The Gods Palici were twin-sons of Jupiter by the nymph Thalia: according to the Heathen mythology, they were begotten on the banks of the river Simethus, near Catanea in Sicily. Thalia finding herself pregnant, prayed to the earth to swallow her up. Her prayer was heard: she brought forth the twins, and the earth discharged them from her bowels by a second opening. From this double birth they acquired the name Palici, from *παλις* *rursus*, again. At those openings appeared two small lakes, on the waters of which, the above trial was made: though others alledge that the accused person, after having given sufficient security, threw himself into the lake: if he swam on the surface, he was acquitted: if he was drowned his bail was condemned.

† Træzenum is a town of Peloponnesus, now called Pleda. It was famous for a temple dedicated to Minerva the Deceiver, at whose shrine the maidens offered up their girdles before marriage.

common to all nations. The third proof was that of a red hot bar of iron, to be carried in the naked hand for the space of nine paces. It was more difficult to deceive the spectator in this, than in the other trials; therefore, I do not find that any person submitted to it even in those times of ignorance.

With regard to the civil laws, the most remarkable, in my opinion, was that by which a man who had no issue of his own, was at liberty to adopt children. Married men could repudiate their wives in course of law; and after the divorce, they were allowed to contract other conjugal engagements. Marculfus has given us a detail of these laws: but what will perhaps appear more astonishing, though not the less true is, that in the second book of those formularies published by Marculfus, we find that nothing was more commonly allowed or practised, than a deviation from that famous Salique law, by which daughters were excluded from inheritance. A man brought his daughter before the count or commissary, and pronounced words to this effect: "My dear daughter, An antient and impious custom which prevails among us, deprives female children of all paternal inheritance; having considered this impiety, I am of opinion, that as you have been all equally bestowed upon me by God, I ought to love you all alike: therefore, dear daughter, it is my will that you should inherit by equal portions, with your brothers, in all my lands, &c." Among the Franks, who lived according to the Salique and the Ripuary laws, the distinction was not known of noblemen and ple-

beians ; of noblemen *ab avo*, or persons who lived like the nobility. There were but two ranks of people, those that were free, and the serfs, nearly the same as at this day in the Mahometan empires, and in China. The term *Nobilis* is but once employed in the capitularies, and that is in the fifth book, to signify the officers, the counts, and the centurions. All the cities of Italy and France were governed by their own municipal laws. The tributes they payed to their sovereigns, consisted in *Foederum*, *Paratum*, and *Mansionaticum*, forage, provisions, and furniture. For a long time, the emperors and kings maintained their dignity, with their own demesnes, and these taxes payed in kind when they travelled. There is still extant a capitulary of Charlemagne concerning his farms. He there enters into the most circumstantial detail ; and ordains that an exact account of his flocks should be duly delivered. One of the principal articles of wealth in the country, consisted of bees. In a word, the most important affairs, and the most inconsiderable matters of those times, makes us acquainted with laws, manners, and customs, of which scarce any traces now remain.

C H A P. XIV.

LEWIS the FEEBLE, or the DEBONNAIR †.

THE history of the great events of this world is scarce any thing but a detail of crimes. I do not find any age which the ambition of the laity and the clergy has not filled with horrors. Charlemagne was hardly in his grave, when his family and empire were desolated by a civil war.

The archbishops of Milan and Cremona were the first that kindled the flame, on pretence that Barnard, king of Italy, was chief of the Carlovingian house, as being the eldest son of Charlemagne. The true reason, however, is easily found in that turbulency of spirit and mad ambition which avails itself of the very laws made to suppress it. A bishop of Orleans entered into their intrigues, and both the uncle and nephew levied troops, and were ready to come to an engagement at Chalons on the Saone; but the emperor, partly by money, and partly by promises, found means to gain over one half of the Italian army. Negotiations were now set on foot; or in other words, each side endeavoured to cheat the other. Lewis, surnamed le Faible, on account of his being a weak prince, and who was cruel merely from that weakness, caused his nephew's eyes to be put out, though he begged for mercy

† There is no English word that expresses Debonnaire. It signifies good-natured, liberal, and graceful. This prince was also called Louis the Devout.

upon his knees. The unhappy king died three days after this cruel act, of the torments he suffered in his mind and body. He was buried at Milan, with this inscription engraved on his tomb, "Here lies Bernard of holy memory." It would seem that this epithet *holy* was in those times used as a mere honorary title. After this, Lewis caused three of his own brothers to be shaven and shut up in a monastery; being apprehensive lest the blood of Charlemagne should command too much respect, and light up commotions in the state. But this was not all: the emperor caused all Bernard's friends whom that prince had discovered, in hopes of their obtaining mercy, to be arrested: these met with the same punishment as their king, the clergy only being excepted out of the sentence. Thus those were spared who had been the chief authors of the war, and met with no other chastisement than deposition or banishment. Lewis kept fair with the church; and the church soon made him sensible that he ought to have been less cruel and more resolute.

In 817 Lewis followed his father's ill example, in giving kingdoms to his children; and not having either the courage or understanding of his father, nor that authority which courage bestows, he exposed himself to the effects of ingratitude; and though too cruel an uncle, and too severe a brother, he was too indulgent a father.

Having made his eldest son Lotharius his colleague with him in the empire, given Aquitaine to the second named Pepin, and Bavaria to Lewis his third son, there still remained an
 infant

infant whom he had had by a new wife† : this was Charles the bald, who afterwards came to be emperor : having provided for his other sons, he was resolved not to leave this child, the son of a wife he loved, destitute of dominions.

One of the sources of Lewis's misfortunes, and of the number of still greater disasters which have since disturbed Europe, was the abuse which then began to take its rise, of granting worldly power to those who had renounced the world.

This memorable scene was opened by one Vala, abbot of Corbie, a relation of the emperor's, a man outrageous through a warmth of zeal or spirit of faction, or perhaps both together ; and one of the heads of a party which has been so frequently known to cause the greatest evils, by preaching up too rigid a virtue, and to throw every thing into confusion, by pretending to reduce all to rule.

In a parliament held at Aix-la-chapelle, in the year 829, a parliament to which abbots had been admitted, as being lords of very large manors, this Vala openly reproved the emperor as the cause of all the disorders in the state. " It is you, said he, that are guilty of them." He then proceeded to address himself to each member in particular, in a still more

† After the death of the empress Hermengard, his ministers, in order to divert him from a life of privacy, to which he was inclined, prevailed upon him to marry Judith, daughter of duke Guelfe, descended, by father and mother from the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. This marriage was the source of all his succeeding misfortunes.

seditionous manner, and had even the insolence to accuse the empress Judith, of adultery. He strove to prevent and hinder the gifts which the emperor had resolved to bestow on the son he had by this empress; thus he went on disturbing the peace and honour of the royal family, and consequently the state, under the pretext of promoting its welfare.

The emperor being at last enraged at these proceedings, sent Vala back to his convent, from whence he ought never to have come out; and resolving to satisfy his wife, gave the son he had by her a small part of Germany, towards the Rhine, which is now called Switzerland, and the Franche Comté.

If the laws of Europe had been founded on paternal authority; and if every mind had been penetrated with a due sense of the necessity of filial respect, as the first of all duties, as I have already shewn to be the case in China, the three children of the emperor who had received their crowns from him, would never have rebelled against their father for bestowing an inheritance on a child by a second marriage.

At first they shewed their discontent by murmuring; immediately upon this, the abbot of Corbie joined with the abbot of St. Denis, a man of a still more factious spirit; and who by possessing the abbeys of St. Medard, Soissons, and St. Germain-des-prez, was able to raise troops; which he accordingly did. The bishops of Vienne, Lyons, and Amiens uniting with these monks, pushed on the princes to engage in a civil war, and declared all who refused to join them, rebels to God and the church. In
vain

vain did Lewis, instead of raising an army, convoke four councils, in which were made some good but unnecessary laws: his three sons had recourse to arms; and, I believe, this is the first instance we have of three sons joining in rebellion against their father. The emperor himself at length took up arms, and two camps were seen filled with bishops, abbots, and monks: but Gregory IV. declaring on the side of the princes; his name added great weight to their party. It was already become the interest of the popes to humble the emperors. One Stephen, Gregory's predecessor, had already been installed in the pontifical chair, without the consent of Lewis the Feeble; and the raising disputes between the father and his children, seemed a ready means of aggrandizing themselves on their ruins. Pope Gregory then came to France, and threatened the emperor with excommunication, a ceremony which did not at that time carry the same idea which has been since affixed to it; no one then daring to pretend that an excommunicated person was to be deprived of his possessions by excommunication alone. Their intent was to render the party execrable, and cut asunder by this sword all the bands which could attach mankind to him.

The bishops of the emperor's party made use of their privilege, and boldly told the pope, *Si excommunicaturus veniet, excommunicatus abibit*; "That if he came to excommunicate, he himself should return excommunicated." They wrote to him with a noble freedom, treating him indeed like a pope, but at the same time like

a brother. Gregory, still more haughty than they, wrote back to them in these words: "The term brother expresses too great an equality; adhere to that of pope; acknowledge my superiority, and know that the authority of my chair is above that of Lewis's throne." In short, in this letter he evaded the oath he had taken to the emperor.

In the midst of this war they entered upon negotiations. The pontiff made himself arbiter, and went to meet the emperor in his camp, where he had the same advantage that Lewis formerly had over Bernard; he seduced his troops, or at least suffered them to be seduced; and deceived Lewis, or was deceived himself by the rebels in whose name he came to speak; and scarce had he left the camp, when the very same night one half of the emperor's army went over to his son Lotharius.

This desertion happened near Basle, and 830 the plain where the pope carried on this negotiation is still called "The field of Lies." In this situation the unhappy monarch was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to his rebellious children, together with the empress Judith, his wife, the principal object of their hatred: he delivered up to them his son Charles, then only ten years old, and the innocent pretence for this war. In more barbarous times, like those of Clovis and his children, or in a country such as Constantinople, I should not have wondered if they had put Judith and her son, and even the emperor himself to death; but here the conquerors contented themselves with ordering the empress to be

be shaven and confined in prison in Lombardy †; with shutting up young Charles in the convent of Prum, which is situated in the middle of the forest of Ardes; and with obliging their father to abdicate the throne. Methinks, in reading the disasters which beset this too affectionate parent, we must at least feel a secret satisfaction in seeing his unnatural sons behave no less ungratefully towards the abbot Vala, who was the first author of all these troubles; and to the pope, who had so effectually carried them on. The pontiff returned to Rome, despised by the conquerors, and Vala shut himself up in a monastery in Italy.

Lotharius, who was so much the more culpable as he had been made co-partner in the empire, dragged his father as a prisoner to Com-

† Here our author is mistaken in the date; and seems to have confounded two events together. True it is, in this year 830, the empress Judith was surprised at Leon by a detachment from the army of Pepin, who after having insulted her with reproaches, told her she had no other way of escaping death but that of taking the veil; and persuading his father the emperor to receive the tonsure. He sent her to the camp of Louis with these proposals, which were refused; and she being weak enough to return with his answer, was veiled in the monastery of St. Radigonde, in Poitiers. The emperor's affairs taking a more favourable turn in the sequel, she was brought from thence, and three years after involved in her husband's second disaster, as it is here related. The emperor was deposed and she banished to Tortona in the Milanese. It does not however appear that the pope was concerned in debauching the emperor's army; at last this circumstance is not mentioned by the historians whose works we have seen. *Tbeg. de gestis Ludovici pij--Vita valæ abbati, Epist. Pap. Greg IV. Nitbard. de dissentionibus filiorum Ludovici pii Daniel Hist. de France, &c.*

piegne. There had been at that time a fatal abuse introduced into the church, which forbade the carrying arms, or the exercising any of the civil functions during the time of public penance. These penances were seldom practised, and rarely fell upon any besides some unhappy wretches among the dregs of the people. It was however resolved that the emperor should undergo this infamous punishment under the colour of a voluntary and christian act of humiliation; and to impose upon him a perpetual penance that would degrade him for ever.

Lewis intimidated, had the meanness to consent to this proposal, which was so insolent in them to make. An archbishop of Rheims, named Hebo, who had been raised from a servile condition to this dignity, by Lewis himself, contrary to the laws, was the person pitched upon to depose his sovereign and benefactor. The emperor was obliged to make his appearance, surrounded by thirty bishops, canons, and monks, in the church of Nôtre Dame, of Soissons. His son Lotharius was present at this ceremony, and seemed to take an unnatural pleasure in the humiliation of his father. A hair-cloth was spread before the altar; and the archbishop ordered the emperor to take off his belt, sword, and coat, and prostrate himself on the hair-cloth. Lewis, with his face to the earth, asked for public penance, which he too well deserved for his meanness in submitting to it †.

The

† The emperor being accused in an assembly of the prelates and nobility, of certain crimes against the church and state, the bishops enjoined him a canonical penance for the
rest

The archbishop then obliged him to read aloud a paper in which he was accused of sacrilege and murder; and the unhappy prince read deliberately the list of his crimes, among which it is expressly mentioned, that he had caused his troops to march in Lent, and had called a parliament on Holy Thursday. A verbal process was prepared of the whole action, which still subsists a monument of insolence and meanness. In this process they do not so much as deign to give Lewis the title of emperor: he is there called Dominus Ludovicus, a nobleman, a venerable person.

It has always been customary to support extraordinary proceedings by some former examples. The penance performed by Lewis, was authorised by the precedent of a certain king of the Visigoths, named Vamba, who reigned in Spain in the year 681, and who growing weak and childish, had public penance inflicted on him by a council held at Toledo, after which he retired to a cloister, and his son Herviquez, who succeeded him, acknowledged that he held his crown of the bishops. This fact was cited on this occasion, as if any example could justify a villainous procedure. They likewise alledged the penance of the em-

of his life, and this was the most effectual expedient they could have chosen against his resuming the sovereignty: for by the canons of the church it was decreed, that during the time of penance, the penitent was not permitted to bear arms, nor to concern himself in public affairs. Another perhaps stronger security, they derived from his own superstition, which was so great, that he had formerly of his own accord done public penance for his cruelty to his nephew Bernard, king of Italy.

peror

peror Theodosius ; but this was a very different case. Theodosius had caused fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Theſſalonica to be maſſacred, not from a ſudden emotion of anger, as is ſo falſely and repeatedly aſſerted by a number of writers, but in conſequence of a long and cool reflection†. This deliberate piece of cruelty juſtly drew upon him the vengeance of a people who had not choſen him to be their butcher. St. Ambroſe did a moſt noble action in reſuſing him entrance into the church ; and Theodosius was no leſs prudent in endeavouring to alleviate the hatred of the empire againſt him, by forbearing to enter the church during eight months ; a poor and inſufficient atonement for the moſt atrocious piece of wickedneſs that ever ſullied the royal character.

Lewis‡ was confined for a year in a cell in the convent of St. Medard of Soiſſons, cloathed in ſackcloth, as a penitent, without ſervants, without conſolation, and dead to the reſt of the world. If he had had but one ſon he had been loſt for ever ; but his three ſons quarrelling

† It was in the year 390, that the emperor Theodoſius, ſurnamed the Great, was ſo incenſed againſt the inhabitants of Theſſalonica, who in a ſedition had murdered one of his generals, that he abandoned the city to the revenge of his troops, who maſſacred fifteen thouſand perſons in cold blood. Some time after Theodoſius being at Milan, and going to church, St. Ambroſius ordered the gate to be ſhut, and would not allow him to enter until he had done penance for eight months.

‡ The miſfortunes of Lewis were not more owing to the ambition and inſolence of the clergy, than to the influence of his firſt wife, which induced him to make an impolitic diviſion of the empire, and the intrigues of the ſecond, who was equally artful and turbulent.

about the spoils they had stript him of, their dissensions restored the father to his liberty and crown.

Having been sent to St. Denis, two 834
of his sons, Lewis and Pepin, went thither to replace him on the throne, and restore to his arms his wife and son Charles. The assembly of Soissons was anathematized by another at Thionville; but it cost the archbishop of Rheims only the loss of his see; moreover, he was only tried and deposed in the vestry; whereas, the emperor had been publicly degraded at the foot of the altar. Some other bishops were likewise deposed. The emperor either would not, or durst not inflict any greater punishment on them.

Soon after, Lewis of Bavaria, one of the same sons who had re-established him on the throne, rebelled against him again: this second defection touched the unhappy father so nearly, that he died with vexation, in a tent near Mentz, saying, "I forgive Lewis, June 20,
but let him know that he has been 840.
the cause of my death."

It is said that he confirmed in a solemn manner, by his last will, the donation made by Pepin and Charlemagne to the church of Rome.

This confirmation is liable to the same doubts as the gifts which it tends to ratify. It can hardly be thought that Charlemagne and his son should have made a present to the pope of Venice, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, countries to which they had at best but a precarious claim to the sovereign jurisdiction. And at what time could Lewis dispose of Sicily, which belonged

160 State of EUROPE, after the Death
belonged to the Greek emperors, and was
moreover infested by the continual inroads of
the Barbarians?



CH A P. XV.

Of the State of EUROPE, after the Death of
LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE, or the FEEBLE.

AFTER the death of Charlemagne's son,
his empire suffered the same fate as that
of Alexander; and, as will hereafter be seen,
befel that of the caliphs. Founded on a sud-
den, on a sudden it sunk to ruin; being rent
and divided by intestine wars.

It is not to be wondered at, that princes who
had dethroned their own father, should be for
getting rid of one another; each strove to strip
his brother; the emperor Lotharius was for
getting all into his own hands. Charles the
Bald †, king of France, and Lewis king of Ba-
varia, joined together to oppose him. A son
of Pepin king, of Aquitain, (who was son to

† By a partition made in the life of his father, with the
consent of Lotharius, and by a subsequent agreement with
this last, Charles the Bald was left in possession of great
part of the country now called France. Lotharius the em-
peror reigned over Italy, and all the country between the
Rhine and the Schelde, Hainault and Cambresis; his em-
pire likewise extended from the source of the Meuse to the
conflux of the Saone and the Rhone, and on both sides of
the Rhone as far as the sea. Lewis king of Bavaria ruled
beyond the Rhine, and therefore acquired the name of king
of Germany,

Lewis

Lewis the Debonnaire, and king after the death of his father) joined Lotharius. These laid the empire waste, and drained it of its soldiers. In fine, two kings opposed against 841 two kings, and three of these brothers, and the other nephew to them all, gave each other battle at Fontenoy, in the Auxerrois, with a fury truly worthy of a 842 civil war. Several authors affirm, that upwards of an hundred thousand men perished in this action. Indeed we are sure that these writers were not cotemporaries, and are therefore at liberty to doubt whether so much blood was really shed. This engagement ended in the defeat of Lotharius, who afterwards gave the world an example of a policy quite the reverse to that of Charlemagne.

The conqueror of the Saxons had obliged them to submit to Christianity; as a necessary curb; but their frequent revolts, and continual endeavours to return to their own worship, gave convincing proofs of their hatred to a religion which they looked upon as their punishment. Lotharius, in hopes to attach them to him, granted them full liberty of conscience: the consequence of which was, that one half of the country relapsed into idolatry, but still remained faithful to their king. The conduct of this prince, and that of his grandfather Charlemagne, may serve to shew mankind in how many different ways kings may make religion subservient to their interests.

The misfortunes of Lotharius furnish us with yet another example of this: his two brothers, Charles the Bald, and Lewis of Bavaria, assembled a council of bishops and abbots at Aix-la-Chapelle,

Chapelle, in which Lotharius was, by the unanimous voice of these prelates, declared to have forfeited his right to the crown †; and his subjects absolved of their oath of fidelity: "Do you promise to govern better than he has done?" said they to the two brothers: "We do," replied these two princes. Then said the bishop who presided at the council, "We, by the divine authority invested in us, permit and command you to take the reins of government in his stead."

When we see bishops thus disposing of crowns, we should deceive ourselves, were we to suppose that they were then what the electors of the empire are at present. They had great authority indeed, but none of them were sovereign princes. The authority annexed to their character, and the veneration the people had for them, were the instruments made use of by kings to serve their own purposes. These

† They did no more than declare he had no right to any part of France, the crown of which had, with his own consent, been given to his brother Charles. It is true, the president of the assembly addressing himself to the two kings, on this occasion, said, "Receive the kingdom by the authority of God, and govern it according to his divine will: we advise you, we exhort you, we command you so to do." This injunction, however, is very different from a permission to reign in the room of their brother: it was very natural to consult the opinions of the clergy, whether it was lawful to deprive their brother of his share of the dominions in France, without however receiving them as a gift of the church; and for the rest, the promise they made, to reign according to the laws of God, was no more than is exacted by the archbishop of Canterbury of the king of England at his coronation. Lothaire was afterwards put in possession of the dominions he lost by this partition, and peace re-established among the three brothers.

eccle-

ecclesiastics shewed much more weakness than grandeur, in thus determining the right of kings, in servile compliance to the orders of the stronger party.

We ought not then to be surprised, that, a few years afterwards, an archbishop of Sens, with twenty other bishops, should have had the boldness, in a like conjuncture, to depose Charles the Bald, king of France. This audacious attempt was undertaken to please Lewis king of Bavaria. These two monarchs, who were as bad kings as they had been unnatural brothers, finding themselves not able to destroy each other, procured one another to be anathematized by turns ; but what is really surprising, is, the acknowledgment made by Charles the Bald, in a rescript he condescended to publish against the archbishop of Sens, in these words : “ At least, the archbishop ought not to have proceeded to depose me, before I had appeared before the bishops who consecrated me king : it was just that I should first have undergone their censure, to whose paternal correction and chastisement I was always ready to submit myself.” The race of Charlemagne reduced to speak in these terms, were visibly marching with long strides to their ruin.

I shall now return to Lotharius, who had still a powerful party in Germany, and remained quiet possessor of Italy. He passed the Alps, and had his son Lewis crowned, who afterwards went to Rome to try pope Sergius II. That pontiff made his appearance, and answered in a formal manner to the allegations brought against him by the bishop of Mentz : in the course of his
trial

trial he fully justified himself, and afterwards took an oath of fidelity to that very Lotharius who had been deposed by his bishops. Lotharius himself at the same time made that famous and useless decree, that to prevent seditions, which were so frequent at that time, the Pope should no longer be elected by the people; and that the emperor should henceforward be made acquainted whenever the holy see became vacant.

It may appear surprising to find this emperor, who was at times so humble, behaving so haughtily on this occasion; but let it be considered, that he had an army within a little distance of Rome when the pope swore obedience to him, and had none at Aix-la-Chapelle when the bishops deposed him.

Their decree only served as an additional scandal to the desolations of Europe. The provinces from the Alps to the Rhine were at a loss to know whom they were to obey. Cities were every day changing their tyrants, and the countries round about were ravaged in turns by different parties. Nothing was to be heard of but battles, in which there were always monks, abbots, and bishops perishing with sword in hand. Hugh, one of the sons of Charlemagne, who had formerly been forced to embrace a monastic life, and afterwards came to be abbot of St. Quentin, was killed before Toulouse, together with the abbot of Farriere; and at the same time and place two bishops were made prisoners.

These civil broils ceased for a while, but it was only to return again with redoubled fury.
The

The three brothers, Lotharius, Charles, and Lewis, made a fresh division of the empire between them, which did but prove a subject of fresh animosities and wars.

The emperor Lotharius, after having thrown all Europe into confusion, without acquiring either success or glory, finding himself growing weak and feeble, turned monk, and retired to the abbey of Prum. He lived however but six days in his new state, and died a fool, after having lived a tyrant.

After the death of this third emperor of the West, there started up new kingdoms in Europe, like heaps of earth after the shocks of a mighty earthquake.

Another Lotharius, son to the deceased emperor, gave the name of Lotharingia to a pretty large tract of country called since by contraction, Lorrain; lying between the Rhine, the Scheld, the Maese, and the sea: what we now call Brabant, was then called Upper Lorrain, and the rest Lower Lorrain. At present there is no more remaining of Upper Lorrain than a small province of that name, lately swallowed up in the kingdom of France.

A second son of the emperor Lotharius, named Charles, had Savoy, Dauphiné, and a part of Lyonnais, Provence, and Languedoc. This state composed the kingdom of Arles, so called from the name of its capital, which had formerly been an opulent city, and greatly embellished by the Romans; but now a poor, petty, insignificant place, as indeed are all the towns on this side the Alps.

A barbarian, by some writers called Solomon,

mon *, soon after made himself king of Britanny, a part of which still continued in paganism : but all these petty kingdoms sunk almost as quickly as they were raised.

The shadow of the Roman empire still subsisted. Lewis, the second son of Lotharius, who had a part of Italy for his share, was proclaimed emperor by Pope Sergius II. in 855. He did not reside at Rome, nor did he possess the ninth part of Charlemagne's empire, having only an authority in Italy, and that contested by the popes and the dukes of Benevento, who were then in possession of a considerable tract of dominion.

By his death, which happened in 875, if the Salique law had had any degree of weight, with respect to the family of Charlemagne, the empire of right devolved to the elder branch of that house ; and Lewis of Bavaria, as such, ought to have succeeded his nephew on his dying without children. But arms and money determined the right to Charles the Bald, who shut up the passages of the Alps against his brother, and hastened to Rome with a body of troops. Reginus and the annals of Metz and Fulden tell us for certain, that he purchased the empire of pope John VIII. who not only made him pay handsomely for it, but, profiting of so favourable a conjuncture, for raising the

* This Solomon became duke of Bretagne by the death of his kinsman Harupogus, whom he treacherously murdered with his own hand, although he had taken refuge at the altar. He assisted Charles the Bald in his wars with the Normans, and in recompence this prince honoured him with the ensigns of royalty : but he was dethroned by his own subjects, and in his turn assassinated at the altar.

authority of his fee, gave the empire as a sovereign, and Charles received it as a vassal; declaring that he held it of the Pope, in like manner as he had before declared in France, in 859, that he ought to submit to the decision of the bishops; but he did not care how much he debased his dignity, provided he could but enjoy it.

Under him then the Roman empire was composed of France and Italy. It is said that he died poisoned by his own physician, who was a Jew, by name Sedecias; but no one has ever pretended to say for what reason he committed this crime. What could this physician gain by poisoning his master? Under whom could he enjoy a more happy lot? No writer makes mention of the punishment inflicted on him; and therefore we have a right to doubt the truth of this poisoning story, and content ourselves with reflecting on the ignorance of Christendom at that time, when kings were obliged to send in search of physicians amongst the Jews and Arabs.

This shadow of an empire still continued to be a bone of contention; Lewis the Stammerer, king of France, the son of Charles the Bald, disputed the possession of it with the other descendants of Charlemagne: but all the parties asked it of the Pope. A duke of Spoleto, and a marquis of Tuscany, who had been invested with these states by Charles the Bald, seized on the person of pope John VIII. and plundered a part of Rome, in order, as they said, to oblige that pontiff to confer the imperial dignity on a king of Bavaria, named Carloman, the eldest of the descendants of Charlemagne. And this pope John had not only

only these persecutions to suffer in Rome from Italians, but had just before, in 877, been obliged to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver to the Mahometans, who were possessors of the island of Sicily and the Neapolitan coast. This was the money which Charles the Bald had given him for the empire; but it soon passed from the hands of the Pope into those of the Saracens; and the former was even obliged to agree, by an authentic treaty, to pay them the like sum annually.

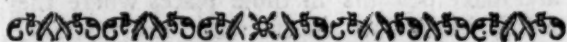
However, this pontiff, who was a tributary to the Mahometans, and a prisoner in Rome, made his escape, took shipping, and got over to France; where he performed the office of consecrating the emperor Lewis the Stammerer, in the city of Troyes, after the example of his predecessors Leo III. Alexander, and Stephen III. who, though persecuted and driven from their own dominions, still continued to dispose of the crowns of other kingdoms.

Under the reign of Charles the Fat*, emperor and king of France, the desolations of Europe were redoubled. The farther the blood of Charlemagne ran from its source, the more it degenerated. Charles the Fat was

887 declared incapable of reigning, by an assembly of French and German nobles, who deposed him in a council called by himself, at a place near Mentz. This was not the act of a set of bishops, who, while they are

* For what reason our author has omitted mentioning Lewis III. we are at a loss to comprehend. His reign indeed was short, but not inglorious,

basely serving the ambition or revenge of a prince, affect to dispose of crowns; this was an assembly of the principal nobility, who thought they had a right to make choice of the person who was to govern them, and under whose command they were to fight. It is said that Charles the Fat grew weak in his intellects; weak he always was, without doubt, since, by his conduct, he had brought himself to such a pass, as to suffer himself to be dethroned, without offering to make the least resistance, and to lose, at one stroke, all Germany, France, and Italy, and be reduced, at length, to depend upon the charity of the archbishop of Mentz for the common necessities of life. It is evident, that in these times the natural order of succession was reckoned as nothing, since Arnold the bastard of Carloman, son to Lewis the Stammerer, was declared emperor, and Eudes, or Odo, count of Paris, made king of France. There was then neither the right of birth, nor the acknowledged right of election. Europe was a chaos †, in which the strongest rose upon the ruins of the weakest, to be again tumbled down, in their turns, by others.



C H A P. XVI.

Of the NORMANS towards the Ninth Century.

EUROPE was now all confusion; every thing was divided, every thing weak and miserable. This opened a passage to the people of Scandinavia, and those who inhabited the

† Still excepting England, which at that period enjoyed uninterrupted felicity under the rule of the incomparable Alfred.

parts of the Baltic Sea. These savages; grown too numerous for the lands they possessed, lands in themselves barren and ungrateful to the labourer's toil; without any manufactures of their own, and destitute of all knowledge of the arts, sought only how to spread themselves at a distance from their own country. Robbery and piracy were as necessary to them, as carnage to beasts of prey. The Germans called these people by the general name of Normans, or men of the North, in the same manner as we still say in general, the corsairs of Barbary, or the Saltee rovers. As early as the fourth century they mingled in the fleets of other Barbarians, and assisted in carrying desolation even into Rome and Africa: we have already seen that, during the reign of Charlemagne, they kept at home for fear of slavery. In the time of Lewis the Debonnaire they began to cruize abroad. The vast forests with which their country was overspread, furnished them with sufficient quantities of timber for building their vessels, which were worked with two sails and with oars, and would contain about an hundred men, with all the necessary provisions for a cruize. They used to coast along the sea-shore, and make descents in those places where they were likely to meet with no resistance, and afterwards returned home with what booty they could pick up, of which they made a regular distribution, according to the laws of piracy, as is now done among the pirates on the coast of Barbary. As early as the year 843, we find them entering France by the mouth of the river Seine, and plundering the city of Rouen; another fleet made its way by the river Loire, and laid all the country

waste as far as Touraine. The men they took in these cruizes they kept in slavery; the women and girls they divided amongst themselves. They even brought away the young children, in order to train them up to the business of piracy: where-ever they landed, they cleared all before them, bringing away cattle, moveables, and every thing that came in their way; and would sometimes sell upon one coast what they had brought off from another. The success of their first expeditions excited the avarice of their indigent countrymen. The inhabitants of the sea-coast of Germany soon joined them, and entered on board their vessels in like manner as the renegadoes of Provence and Sicily have served in the fleets of Algiers.

In the year 844, they covered the sea with their ships, and made descents almost at the same time in England, France, and Spain. There were no measures taken, indeed, either by the French or English, to prevent these invasions; but in Spain the sea-coasts were guarded by the † Arabs, who, at length, drove these pirates off.

† Our author seems to be particularly attached to the Mahometans, especially the Arabs, whom he on all occasions compliments at the expence of the European Christians. The government of France, it must be owned, was weak under Charles the Bald: but, at this period, the English had a vigorous administration, a spirited prince, and an established militia. In the year 833, the Danes, even tho' joined by a strong body of Britons, were routed with great slaughter by king Egbert, who united the Heptarchy. They were, in the sequel, as often engaged as they presumed to land. In the year 851, they were defeated at Wenebury by the militia under count Ceorl. King Athelstan, having equipped a fleet, obtained a victory over them on their own element; and in the year 853, they were totally routed at Okely in Surry. In such an extended coast as that of Great Britain, it is simply impossible for any government to take such precautions as will totally prevent the

In 845, the Normans plundered the town of Hamburg, and penetrated a considerable way into Germany. They were no longer, as at their first setting out, a confused rabble of pirates without order : they had now a fleet of six hundred barks, containing a very formidable army, and commanded by a king of Denmark, whose name was Eric, under whom they gained two considerable battles before they reimbarked. This piratical prince, after returning home loaded with German spoils, sent one of the admirals of the corsairs, whom historians call Regnier, on an expedition against France : this man sailed up the river Seine with a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail. We can hardly suppose that these hundred and twenty sail could carry twenty thousand men ; and yet, with a number probably inferior, he plundered the city of Rouen for the second time, and even advanced as far as Paris. In these kinds of invasions, where the weakness of the government has not provided against such surprizes, the apprehension of the people always augments the danger, and the greater number frequently flies before the lesser. This was precisely the case on the present occasion ; the Parisians, who at other times had been wont to defend themselves with so much bravery, now abandoned their city to the enemy, who found nothing there but wooden houses, which they burnt to the ground. The unfortunate king Charles the Bald, who had entrenched himself at St. Denis with a few troops, instead of making head against these Barbarians, purchased their retreat

and descents of such pirates : besides, they were encouraged by their countrymen settled in Northumberland, and often joined by the Britons of Wales and Cornwall.

for the sum of fourteen thousand marks of silver. It is provoking to read in some of our authors, that many of these barbarians were struck dead for having pillaged the church of St. Germain-des-prez. Neither the people nor their saints made the least defence, and yet must the conquered indulge themselves in the pitiful satisfaction of imaginary miracles wrought against their victors.

Charles the Bald, in thus purchasing a peace of these pirates, only furnished them with fresh means for carrying on the war, and deprived himself of that of supporting it. The Normans employed the money they had gotten from Charles in carrying on the siege of Bourdeaux, which they took and pillaged; and, to complete the general horror and humiliation, Pepin, king of Aquitain, a descendant of Charlemagne, finding himself unable to make head against these barbarians, joined them; and then, (about 858,) France was totally ravaged. The Normans, having considerably encreased in strength by the several parties who had joined them, continued for a long time to spread desolation through Germany, Flanders, and the English coast. We have lately seen armies of one hundred thousand men scarcely able, even after signal victories, to take two towns; to such a perfection has the art of fortifying and preparing places against an attack, been carried in our times; but in those days, a band of Barbarians fighting against other Barbarians at variance with each other, found nothing to oppose their incursions after succeeding in the first blow. Sometimes indeed they might be defeated, but then it was only to return with additional force. Godfrey king of Denmark, to

whom Charles the Fat had ceded a part of Holland in the year 882, penetrated from thence into Flanders, when his Normans passed from the Somme to the Oise without meeting with any resistance, and took and burnt Pontoise; after which they came before Paris by land and water.

885 The Parisians, who then expected an irruption of Barbarians, did not abandon their city as before. Odo, or Eudes, count of Paris, whose valour afterwards raised him to the throne of France, put the city into such good order, and made such excellent regulations, as animated the courage of the inhabitants, and served them instead of towers and ramparts. Sigefroy, who commanded the Normans in this expedition, pushed the siege with the most obstinate fury, but yet not destitute of art. He taught his people to use battering rams for making a breach in the walls, which they at length effected, and then gave three general assaults, which the inhabitants stood with incredible bravery. The Parisians were not headed by count Eudes only, but by their bishop Goslin likewise, who every day, after giving his benediction to the people, mounted the breach in person, and, with a helmet on his head, a quiver of arrows at his back, and an ax at his girdle, after having planted a cross on the ramparts, fought with it in his view. This prelate seems to have had at least as much authority in the city as the count himself; for when Sigefroy endeavoured to obtain permission to enter Paris, Goslin was the person to whom he addressed himself. This good bishop died with fatigue in the midst of the siege, leaving behind him a valued and respected memory; for tho' he armed those hands which

religion reserves wholly for the service of the altar, yet it was for the safety of that altar, and of his fellow-citizens, fighting in the most just of all causes, and a necessary defence, which is ever above to laws. His brethren had only armed themselves in civil wars, and against Christians: and perhaps if an apotheosis is due to any man, this prelate, who died fighting for his country, had a much better title to heaven than so many obscure people, whose virtues, if they had any, were of little or no real service to the world.

The Normans continued to besiege the city for a year and half: during which time the inhabitants suffered, with the utmost resolution, all the horrors of famine and contagion, the general concomitants of long sieges. At length the emperor Charles the Fat, king of France, appeared upon the mount of Mars, since called Montmartre, with a body of forces which he had brought to their relief; but he was afraid to attack the Normans, and only came to purchase a second shameful truce. The Barbarians raised the siege of Paris, to invest the city of Sens, and pillage Burgundy, while Charles went to Mentz, and called a parliament, which deprived him of a throne he was so unworthy to possess.

The Normans still continued their devastations: but, tho' enemies to the name of Christian, it never once entered into their thoughts to oblige any one to renounce Christianity. They were nearly the same kind of people as the Franks, the Goths, the Alans, the Huns, and the Heruli, who, when in search of new settlements about the fourth century, were so far from imposing a new religion upon the Romans, that they very readily accommodated themselves to theirs: in like manner the Turks,

at the time they ravaged the empire of the caliphs, conformed to the mahometan religion.

At length Rollo, or Raoul, the most illustrious of these northern banditti, being driven out of Denmark, assembled in Scandinavia all those who were willing to follow his fortunes: with these he went in search of new adventures, founding his hopes of future greatness on the weak and indefensible state in which he knew Europe to be at that time. He landed first in England, where his countrymen were already established: but after two fruitless victories, he turned his views towards France, which others of the Normans race had found the means to ruin, but had not been able to enslave.

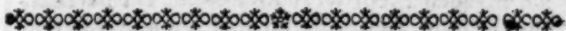
Rollo was the only one of these Barbarians who ceased to deserve that name, by seeking for a settled habitation. Having made himself master of Rouen with very little trouble, instead of destroying it, he ordered the towers and walls to be rebuilt, and made it his arsenal, from whence he made excursions at different times, into England and France, always making war with as much policy as fury. France was at her last gasp under the reign of Charles the Simple, who had indeed the name of king, but had his monarchy more rent and divided by the dukes, counts, and barons, his subjects, than even by the Normans themselves. Charles the Fat had given only money to the Barbarians. Charles the Simple offered Rollo his daughter, and with her a part of his provinces.

912 Rollo at first demanded Normandy, which Charles thought himself very happy to give him. After this he insisted upon Brittany, but here he met with a refusal: however, in the end, Charles was obliged to

comply with his demands, and yield him that province, and with such clauses too, as the strongest generally explains to his own advantage. Thus Brittany, which a little before had been a kingdom, became a fief to Neustria; and Neustria, which quickly came to be called Normandy, from the name of its conquerors, became a separate state; whose dukes paid an empty homage to the crown of France.

The archbishop of Rouen found means to persuade Rollo to become a Christian, that prince being very ready to embrace a religion that secured to him his power.

Those are truly conquerors who know how to make laws. Their power is fixed on a solid basis, whilst that of others passes away like a torrent. Rollo, now grown peaceable, was the only law-giver of his time on the christian continent. It is well known with what inflexibility he administered justice: he abolished theft among his Danes, who, till then, had lived only by rapine. For a long time after his death, the very mentioning his name was a sufficient order to the officers of justice to run and suppress any act of violence; from hence came the custom well known in Normandy, of crying *Harp*. The Danes and Franks mingling together, produced those heroes whom we shall see conquering England, Naples, and Sicily.



C H A P. XVII.

OF ENGLAND towards the Ninth Century.

THE English, now so powerful and famous throughout the world, both for war and commerce, who are governed by the love of their

own laws, and that spirit of freedom which consists in obeying the laws only, were a very different people then to what they are at present.

They had lately shaken off the Norman yoke; but it was only to fall under that of the Saxons, who having conquered England about the sixth century, were themselves conquered in the eighth by Charlemagne. These usurpers divided

828 the country into seven cantons, which they called kingdoms: these seven provinces were afterwards united under king Egbert of the Saxon race, when the Normans came to ravage England as well as France. It is said, that in 852, these pirates sailed up the Thames with a fleet of three hundred sail. The English defended themselves no better than their neighbours the Franks had done: like them they bought off their conquerors, and one of their kings, named Ethelbert †, following the unhappy example of Charles the Bald, gave them money. The same fault met with the same punishment. The pirates made use of this very money to conquer the country more effectually; in short, they over-run the better half of the island. Certainly the English, who are by nature brave, and are so well defended by their situation, must have some very essential defects in their government, since we find them always subdued by people, who should not seemingly have invaded them with impunity. The relations of the dreadful ravages that laid this wretched island waste, still surpass those we have already seen in France. There are cer-

† It is very strange that the historian should introduce Ethelbert as paying tribute to the Danes in the year 852, whereas that prince did not ascend the throne of England till above a whole century after this period.

tain periods in which the whole globe is but one scene of slaughter, and these periods are but too frequent.

It must certainly be pleasing to the reader to breathe a little after such a scene of horrors, and to behold some great man arise, to rescue his bleeding country from slavery, and govern her like a good king.

I do not think that there ever was in the world a man more worthy of the regard of posterity than Alfred the Great, who did all this for his country, supposing what is related of him to be true.

This prince succeeded his brother 872 Ethelred I. who left him only a contested right to the crown, and a kingdom more than ever divided into petty sovereignties, most of them occupied by Danes. Almost every year produced a succession of new pirates, who came to invade the coasts, and dispute with the first usurpers the little that was left of their former depredations.

Alfred, who was master of only a single province in the West, was soon vanquished by these Barbarians, in a pitched battle †, and deserted by every body : yet he did not follow the example of his uncle Butred, who, when driven by the Danes from a small province of

† Alfred, far from being vanquished in the beginning, compelled the Danes in the very first month of his reign, to evacuate his dominions ; and next year he obliged them to sue for peace. In the year 876 he defeated and destroyed their whole armada, consisting of one hundred and twenty ships. It was after this period that he was suddenly overwhelmed by a torrent of fresh comers, who joined their countrymen, who had been for some time in possession of Northumberland, East-Anglia, and Mercia ; and poured in like a deluge upon his unguarded country.

which he was king, retired to the English college at Rome; on the contrary, though alone and unassisted, he resolved to perish, or revenge the wrongs of his country. He concealed himself for six months in a shepherd's cottage in the middle of a morass, without imparting the secret to any one but the earl of Devon, who still continued to defend a weak fortress against the Barbarians. After some time this nobleman, having gathered together a body of forces, gained a small advantage over the enemy. At this juncture Alfred, cloathed in a shepherd's tattered dress, ventured into the Danish camp as a player on the harp, where, after being eye-witness of the situation and defects of the camp, and having learnt that the Barbarians were soon to celebrate a grand festival, he flew to inform the earl of Devon of it, who had some troops in readiness, and marching back to the Danes with this small but resolute army, he surprized them in the midst of their merriment, and gained a compleat victory. The Danes were at that time divided by intestine factions; and Alfred, who was no less able a negotiator than courageous warrior, was, to the general surprize, unanimously chosen king by the Danes and English. London was now the only place that remained to be conquered, which he took, fortified, and embellished: he then fitted out fleets, kept the English Danes in subjection, and guarded his sea-coasts against foreign invasions; and finally employed himself, during a peaceable reign of twelve years, in improving and polishing his country. His laws were mild, but strictly enforced. He was the first who settled juries, and divided England into shires and counties, and encouraged the spirit of com-

merce among his subjects. We are told that he lent ships and money to certain learned and enterprising men, who made a voyage as far as Alexandria; and from thence passing the isthmus of Suez, traded in the Persian Gulph. He established militias, erected several councils, and introduced that regularity throughout his kingdom, which is the never-failing source of peace and plenty.

It appears to me, that there never was a truly great man, who was not at the same time a person of good understanding. Alfred founded the university of Oxford, and sent for books from Rome, England being at that time so barbarous as not to have any of its own; nay, it is said that he even complained that he had not one priest in all his kingdom who understood Latin; as for himself he was a perfect master of it, and was at the same time a tolerable mathematician for the age he lived in: he had likewise a competent knowledge of history, and some writers pretend that he wrote poems in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. All the time he had to spare from public occupations were dedicated to study. By a prudent oeconomy he had it in his power to be liberal; for we find that he built several churches, but not one monastery*, being doubtless of opinion, that in a depopulated state which wanted recruiting, it would have been but ill serving his country to countenance those numerous families, which, without parents or children, perpetuate themselves at the expence of the nation: for this reason it is, in all probability, that we do not find his name in the catalogue of saints; but history, that reproaches him neither with crimes nor

* It is expressly said by Assirius, in his life of Alfred, that he rebuilt monasteries and churches.

weakness, places him in the first rank of those heroes who have been of service to mankind, who, without such extraordinary personages, would still have remained in a state little better than that of savage beasts.



C H A P. XVIII.

Of SPAIN and the Mussulmans towards the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.

WHEN I turn my eyes towards Spain, I behold misfortunes and revolutions of another kind, which merit our particular attention. Let us then in a few words trace matters back to their source, and recall to our remembrance that the Goths, who usurped this kingdom, and became outwardly christians, though still as much Barbarians as before, were expelled from hence about the eighth century by the Mussulmen of Africa. I am of opinion that the imbecility of king Wamba*, who on that account was shut up in a monastery, was the original cause of the downfall of this kingdom. To his weakness was owing the ravages committed by his successors. Witiza, a prince still more senseless than Wamba, as he added cruelty to his other follies, caused his subjects whom

* Wamba was one of the most glorious of the Visigoth kings, whether we consider him as a conqueror or legislator. His imbecility was no more than the temporary effect of a stupifying dose, administered by Erviga, during which he was shaven and put into the habit of a penitent: he soon recovered the use of his senses, and had power and courage sufficient to have punished the treacherous Erviga; but being far advanced in years, and having no children, he chose to finish his days in a convent, rather than involve his country in the miseries of a civil war.

he feared, to be disarmed †, and in so doing deprived himself of the benefit of their assistance.

Roderiguez, or Roderic, whose father this Wititza had assassinated, murdered him in his turn, and proved still more wicked than himself. We need not therefore look any farther for the cause of the superiority gained by the Mussulmen in Spain. I cannot say whether it is true that Roderick ravished Florinda, called La Cava, or the wicked, the unhappily famous daughter of count Julian; who upon this account called in the Moors to assist him in revenging the honour of his family. Perhaps the adventure of Cava is partly copied from that of Lucretia, and indeed neither the one nor the other of these stories seem founded on very authentic proofs. In my opinion there wanted not the pretext of a rape, which is commonly as difficult to prove as to commit ‡, for calling in the Africans: for before that, in the reign of king Wamba, count Herwig, who was afterwards king himself, had brought over an army

† So indeed we are told by some Spanish historians, such as Alphons. Mag. Chron. Luc. Tudens, and Roderic Toletan, who likewise add that he dismantled every town in his dominions except three: but the first allegation is improbable, and the last untrue; for the Moors found many other cities in Spain well fortified, and obstinately defended.

‡ Difficult indeed in a court of justice, but not in the breast of a father, a Spaniard, a nobleman, proud, jealous, and vindictive---There is nothing at all improbable in the story of Cava's being ravished by Roderig; or according to some authors, by his predecessor Wititza, and that her father was exasperated into treachery and rebellion by this injury. It is not, however, mentioned by the more ancient historians, Isador of Badajoz, Alphonso the Great, or the author of the Chronicle of the Alreyda. The truth is, the Moors had long endeavoured to subdue Spain, and as they were more powerful at sea than the Spaniards, it was impossible to prevent their landing,

of Moors. Opas, archbishop of Seville, who was the principal instrument in this great revolution, had interests of a deeper concern to support than that of a lady's honour. This prelate, who was son to the usurper Wititza, who had been dethroned and murdered by the usurper Roderic, was the person whose ambition occasioned the calling in of the Moors this second time. Count Julian found sufficient reason, as being son-in-law to Wititza, to take up arms against the reigning tyrant, and a bishop named Toriza joined in the conspiracy with the count and the archbishop Opas. Is it likely then that two bishops should have thus trusted themselves with the enemies of the christian name, merely on account of a woman?

But be that as it will, the Mahometans were the masters, as they are to this day, of all that part of Africa which had formerly belonged to the Romans, and had but a little time before founded the city of Morocco, near Mount Atlas. The caliph Valid Almanzor, who was sovereign of that delightful part of the world, had his residence at Damascus, in Syria. His viceroy, Muzza, who at that time was governor of Africa, made the entire conquest of all Spain, by one of his lieutenants. Immediately after which he sent his general, Tarif, ever thither, who in 714 gained that famous battle in which the tyrant Roderic lost his life. Some say that the Saracens did not observe their engagements with count Julian, whom they doubtless mistrusted: but archbishop Opas was better satisfied with them, and swore fidelity to the Mahometan government, under which he continued to preserve a considerable authority over the christian churches, which were tolerated by the conquerors.

As to king Roderic, he was so little regretted, that his widow Egilona publicly espoused young Abdalis, son to the conqueror Muzza, to whose arms her former husband had fallen, and who had reduced her country and religion to a state of slavery.

In the space of fourteen months all Spain was brought under the subjection of the empire of the caliphs, excepting a few scarcely habitable rocks and caverns in the kingdom of Asturias, where† Pelagius Teudomer, the Goth, a relation of the late king Roderic, had concealed himself, and thus preserved his liberty. I cannot conceive why authors have given the title of king to this prince, though indeed worthy of it, since the whole of his royalty consisted in not being a slave. The Spanish historians, and those who have followed their accounts, have made him gain several great victories, fancied miracles in his favour, have settled him a court, and given him his son Favilla, and son-in-law Alfonso, as peaceable successors of this pretended kingdom. But how

† According to all the Spanish historians, except Pellecier, Pelagius, or Pelago and Theodomer, were two persons. Our author cannot conceive that the Moors in the zenith of their power would allow any independent dynasty to subsist in Spain: but this objection will, we apprehend, vanish entirely, when we consider that the government of Don Pelago was founded in the little province of Liebana, surrounded by inaccessible mountains, and indeed, not worth the trouble of subduing: besides, it appears, that as soon as Pelago began to extend his territories, he was invaded by a very numerous army of Moors, who were defeated in the year 719, among the mountains of St. Mavia de Cavadonga: our author is therefore mistaken in saying the christians were not able to make head against the Moors till the year 759, when they were weakened by the victories of Charles Martel, and their own intestine divisions.

can it be supposed that the Mahometans, who under Abderames in the year 734 had subdued one half of France, should have suffered this kingdom of Asturias to have submitted quietly on the other side of the Pyrennees? It was a great point for the christians to be suffered to retire to these mountains, and live upon what they could get for paying a tribute to these Infidels; nor was it till about the year 759 that they began to be able to make head against their conquerors, weakened by the many defeats they had sustained from the arms of Charles Martel, and their own intestine divisions: but the christians, still more divided among themselves than the Mahometans, soon relapsed under the former yoke. Mauregato,

to whom historians have been pleased 783 to give the title of king, had leave granted him to govern the Asturias and some other neighbouring territories, on paying homage and tribute to the Mahometans; and he even submitted to furnish one hundred beautiful young women every year for Abderames' seraglio †. It had been for a long time a custom among the Arabs to exact such kind of tributes from their vassals; and to this day the caravans, among the presents which they make to the wild Arabs, always give a certain number of marriageable young women.

Historians tell us of a deacon named Veremond, who succeeded this Mauregato, and was chief of these mountain refugees, yielded the same homage, and payed the same tribute of

† This is a meer fable rejected by the best historians. Mauregato was an usurper, who supported his usurpation by engaging in a close alliance with the Mirammolin: but we have no reason to believe he was his tributary.

handsome women. But is this a kingdom, or can such as these be called kings †?

After the death of this Abderames, the emirs or governors of the Spanish provinces aspired to independency. We have already seen under the article of Charlemagne, that one of them, named Ibna Larabi, had the imprudence to call that conqueror in to his assistance. Now if there had really been any christian kingdoms existing at that time in Spain, would not Charles have taken such kingdom under his protection, preferably to joining his arms with Mahometans? however, he took this emir under his protection, obliging him do him homage for the dominions lying between the Ebro and the Pyrennees, which the Mahometans then possessed. We find that in 794 the Moor Abutar did homage to Lewis the Debonnaire, who at that time governed Aquitain under his father, with the title of king.

Some time afterwards the divisions among the Spanish Moors began to encrease, which the council of Lewis the Debonnaire turned to their own advantage; for they laid siege to Barcelona, which they kept invested for two years, and at length Lewis entered it in triumph in the year 796. This was the beginning of the decline of the Moorish empire. These conquerors were no longer supported by the assistance of the Africans and the caliphs,

† This prince's name was Barmudo. Without all doubt these were kings, and glorious kings too, howsoever their conduct and valour may have disoblged our author, M. de Voltaire, who lets slip no opportunity of expressing his regard and admiration of the Arabs, than whom, notwithstanding all he can alledge in their favour, there never was a more perfidious, cruel, and barbarous people on the face of the earth,

whose yokes they had thrown off. The successors of Abderames having fixed the seat of their kingdom at Cordova, were but ill obeyed by the governors of the more distant provinces.

At this favourable period it was that Alphonso, of the race of Pelagius, began to render the Spanish christians who had retired into the mountains of Asturias considerable. He refused to pay the customary tributes to masters whom he knew himself in a condition to dispute it with, and after having gained some few victories over them, he found himself in the quiet possession of the kingdoms of Asturias and Leon, at the beginning of the ninth century.

With this prince then we must first look for the revival of christian kings in Spain. Alphonso was artful and cruel: he is called the chaste, because he was the first who refused to pay the tribute of the hundred damsels to the Moors. But without reflecting at the same time that it was not on account of refusing this tribute that he incurred the war, but because that being determined to shake off all submission to the Moors, and be no longer tributary to them, he must have refused the tribute of the virgins as well as every other kind of homage.

The success Alphonso had met with, in spite of the many obstacles he had to encounter, emboldened the christians of Navarre to chuse themselves a king. The inhabitants of Arragon took up arms under one of their counts: thus, towards the latter end of the reign of Lewis the Debonnaire, neither the Moors nor the French retained any possessions in those barren countries; but the rest of Spain still continued under the dominion of the Mussulman kings. It was at this time that the Normans ravaged the coasts

of Spain; but being quickly repulsed, they returned back and plundered France and England.

We must not wonder to find the Spaniards of Asturias, Leon, and Arragon, at that time Barbarians. The military life, which succeeded their former servitude, had by no means civilized them; and they were in a state of such profound ignorance, that one of the Alphonso's, surnamed the Great, who was king of Leon, and Asturias, was obliged to have Mahometan masters for his son.

I cannot get over my astonishment at seeing historians so lavish of their titles to the kings of those times. This Alphonso, whom they stile the Great, put out the eyes of four of his brothers; and his whole life was one continued series of cruelties and deceit†. This king finished his career with making his subjects take arms against him, and was obliged to resign his small kingdom to his son, in the year 910.

While these things were transacting, and the Mahometans lost that part of Spain which bor-

† Mariana, indeed, says that Froila, Nunez, Veremond, and Odour, were the brothers of Alphonso. But this assertion is refuted by the monk of Silos, a cotemporary historian, who expressly affirms that Don Alphonso was the only son of Don Ordogno. Be that as it may, those four noblemen were taken in actual and unprovoked rebellion, after the king had generously forgiven the ringleaders of several insurrections. He is indeed extolled for his clemency by the best Spanish historians, who characterize him as an excellent prince, wise, valiant, unaffectedly pious, mercifully liberal, a patron of learning, himself so learned that he composed a chronicle, beginning at the death of Receswintho, and ending with his own father. Of his cruelties we know none, unless we give that name to the blood which was necessarily shed in the course of a long war against the Moors, the favourites of our author, over whom Alphonso obtained a great number of glorious victories.

aders upon France, they were extending their dominions on every other side. If I consider their religion, I find it embraced all over India, and the eastern parts of Africa, where they traded. If I view their conquests, I find in the first place, that the caliph Aaron Rachild (or Haroun Alrasched) imposed a yearly tribute of ten thousand crowns of gold, on the empress Irene; and that on the emperor Nicephorus refusing to pay this tribute, Aaron seized upon the island of Cyprus, and proceeded to ravage all Greece. In 826 the lieutenants of his grandson Almamon, a prince otherwise estimable for his own learning, and the love he bore the sciences, seized on Crete. At this time the city of Candia was built by the Mahometans, who have made themselves masters of it again in our time.

In 828 these same Africans, who had subdued Spain and made incursions into Sicily, returned again to lay waste that fruitful island, being encouraged thereto by one of the natives, named Euphemius, who having after the example of his emperor, Michael, married a nun, and been prosecuted by those very laws which the emperor had made to yield to his desires, acted nearly the same part in Sicily which count Julian had done in Spain.

So badly was the eastern and western empires governed at that time, that neither of the emperors could drive the Mahometans out of Sicily. These conquerors might have become masters of all Italy, had they only been united among themselves; but their mistakes were the means of saving Rome, as those of the Carthaginians had been heretofore. They set sail from Sicily in 846, with a numerous fleet, and sailing up the mouth of the Tiber, where they met with nothing but a desert country,

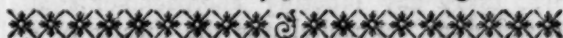
they proceeded to Rome, which they besieged. They soon made themselves masters of the suburbs, and after plundering the rich church of St. Peter without the walls, they raised the siege to meet and fight an army of French, which was coming to the assistance of Rome, under one of the emperor Lotharius's generals. They beat the French army, but missed taking the city, which had in the mean time been supplied with provisions; so that this expedition, which stood so fair to have made a considerable conquest, through their own misunderstandings ended in nothing more than an incursion of barbarians. However, they returned soon after with such a formidable army as seemed to threaten the total destruction of Italy, and to turn the capital of Christendom into a Mahometan town. In this dangerous conjuncture Pope Leo IV. taking up that authority which Lotharius's generals seemed to have quitted, proved himself worthy by defending Rome of being its sovereign: he employed the church treasures in repairing the walls, raising towers, and stretching chains across the river Tiber. He armed the militia at his own expence, engaged the people of Naples and Gaieta to come to the defence of the coasts, and port of Ostia, taking at the same time the prudent precaution of requiring hostages from them, as well knowing that those who are powerful enough to defend us, are likewise powerful enough to hurt us. He visited all the posts in person, and received the Saracens at their landing, not in the garb of a warrior, as Goslin, bishop of Paris had done on a like occasion, but in the character of a pontiff who exhorted a christian people, and a king who watched over the security of his subjects. He was a Roman by birth,

and the courage of the first ages of that republic seemed revived in him, at a time of general cowardice and corruption, like one of those noble monuments of antient Rome, which are sometimes found amongst the ruins of the modern: nor were his courage and care unseconded; his people adding their effects to his, received the invaders of their country on their landing with the greatest bravery; and a tempest having dispersed most of their ships, a part of those Barbarians who had escaped shipwreck were made slaves. The pope made an excellent use of this victory, by employing the very hands which had been armed for the destruction of his city, in repairing its fortifications, and beautifying the public edifices. Notwithstanding this check, the Mahometans continued in possession of the coast between Capua and Gaieta, but rather like freebooters than disciplined conquerors.

In the ninth century then I see the Mussulmans formidable both at Rome and at Constantinople; the masters of Persia, Syria, the whole coast of Africa, as far as Mount Atlas, and of three-fourths of the kingdom of Spain: but without forming any nation, like the Romans, who in extending their conquests as far, still made but one people.

About the year 815, a little after the death of Charlemagne, and under the famous caliph Almamon, Egypt was independent, and the city of Grand Cairo was the residence of another caliph. The prince of Mauritania Tinjitana, under the title of the Mirammolin was absolute sovereign of the empire of Morocco. Nubia and Lybia were under the dominion of another caliph. The race of Abderames, who had founded the kingdom of Cordova, could
not

not hinder other Moors from erecting that of Toledo. All these new dynasties revered the caliph as a descendant from their prophet; and in like manner as the christians went in crowds on a pilgrimage to Rome, so did these Mahometans repair from all parts of the world to Mecca, which was under the government of a sherif, or xerif, appointed by the caliph; and it was principally to this pilgrimage, that the caliph, who was master of Mecca, was indebted for that respect and veneration paid him by all the princes of the Mahometan belief. But these princes wisely distinguishing their religion from their political interests, stript the caliph at the same time that they paid him homage.



C H A P. XIX.

Of the Empire of CONSTANTINOPLE in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.

WHILE the empire of Charlemagne was thus dismembered, and the inundations of the Saracens and Normans laid waste the whole Western Empire, that of Constantinople still subsisted, like a large tree, vigorous, tho' grown old, stript of some of its roots, and buffeted on every side by storms and tempests. This empire had nothing left in Africa, and had been despoiled of Syria and a part of Asia Minor. It still continued to defend its frontiers towards the eastern coast of the Black Sea against the Mahometans; and sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered, it might, by being continually used to war, have been able at last to strengthen itself against them: but towards the coast of the Danube, and the western borders of the Black Sea, it was ravaged by other ene-

mies. A nation of Scythians, called the Abari, or Avari, as also the Bulgarians, another tribe of Scythians, from whom the province of Bulgaria has taken its name, spread desolation over all the fine country of Romania, where the emperors Adrian and Trajan formerly built such beautiful villas, and those noble highways of which there are only a few causeways now remaining.

The Abari, particularly, spread themselves over Hungary and Austria, falling sometimes upon the Eastern Empire, and at others on that of Charlemagne. Thus, from the frontiers of Persia to that of France, the globe was a prey to almost continual incursions.

While the frontier of the Greek empire was every day suffering encroachments and devastations, its capital was the theatre of revolutions and crimes. A mixture of Greek artifice and Thracian ferocity formed the reigning character of that court; and indeed what a spectacle does Constantinople exhibit to the view? the emperor Maurice and his five sons murdered! Phocas assassinated, as a reward for his murders and incestuous proceedings! Constantine poisoned by the empress Martina, who has her tongue pulled out, while the nose of her son Heracleonas is cut off before her face! Constans knocked on the head in the bath by his own servants! Constantine Pogonatus putting out the eyes of his two brothers! Justinian II. his son, while about to act the same scene at Constantinople that Theodosius had done at Thessalonica, is mutilated and laid in irons by Leontius, at the instant that he is going to put to death the principal citizens! Leontius soon afterwards treated in the same manner as he had treated Justinian! this same

Justinian restored again, and coolly looking on while the blood of his enemies washes the public market-place, and afterwards dying himself by the hands of the common hangman ! Philip Bardanes dethroned and condemned to lose his eyes ! Leo the Isaurian, and Constantine Copronymus, dying indeed in their beds, but after a bloody reign, as unhappy for the prince as for his subjects ! the empress Irene, the first woman who mounted the throne of the Cæsars, and the first too who murdered her own son to attain the imperial dignity ! Nicephorus, her successor, hated by his subjects, taken prisoner by the Bulgarians, beheaded, and thrown for food to the beasts of the field, while his skull is used as a cup by his conqueror ! lastly, Michael Curopalatus, cotemporary with Charlemagne, confined in a cloister, dying a less cruel, tho' not less shameful death than his predecessors ! In this manner was the empire governed during the space of two hundred years. What history of private robbers, publicly executed for their crimes, can be more horrid or disgusting ?

But we must proceed, and view, in the ninth century, Leo the Armenian, a brave warrior, but an enemy to image-worship, assassinated at mass, while he is singing an anthem : his murderers, applauding each other for having killed an heretic, repair to the public prison to release from thence an officer, surnamed Michael the Stammerer, who had been condemned to die by the senate, and, instead of being executed, is invested with the imperial purple. This was the same, who falling in love with a nun, made the senate intreat him to marry her, without any one bishop daring to interfere ; and this fact is the more worthy

of our attention, as, almost at the same time, we see Euphemius the Sicilian prosecuted for a like marriage; and that, a little time afterwards, the lawful marriage of the emperor Leo the Philosopher, was condemned in this very city of Constantinople. In what country then must we look for laws and manners at this time? certainly not in our western hemisphere.

The old quarrel about image-worship still disturbed the repose of the empire; the court was sometimes for it, and sometimes against it, according as they found it suit with the disposition of the multitude. Michael the Stammerer begun his reign with the consecration of images, and ended it by the demolition of them.

His successor Theophilus, who reigned about twelve years, viz. from 829 to 842, declared himself against this worship. Writers tell us that he did not believe in the resurrection, that he denied the existence of evil spirits, and would not acknowledge the divinity of Christ. It is not unlikely that an emperor might think in this manner; but then are we to believe, I do not mean with respect to princes only, but even to private men, the evidence of their enemies, who, without proving one single fact, vilify the religion and morals of men who do not happen to think like themselves?

This Theophilus, the son of Michael the Stammerer, was almost the only emperor who had peaceably succeeded his father for above two centuries. During his reign the image-worshippers underwent a greater persecution than ever. These long persecutions shew us plainly that the people were divided among themselves.

It is remarkable that two women were the restorers of images: one was the empress Irene,

the other Theodora, widow to Theophilus.

Theodora, mistress of the empire of the East, during the nonage of her son Michael, persecuted in her turn the enemies of image-worship: but in this she carried her zeal, or her politics, still farther than the other party had done; for in Asia Minor there were a great number of the Manichean sect †, who lived quietly and peaceably, because the fury of enthusiasm, which seldom rages but at the first establishment of a sect, was over with them: now these people were grown rich by industry and trade; and, whether the design was upon their treasures or their opinions, the most severe edicts were issued against them, and enforced with the extremest cruelty. Persecution revived their original fanaticism, and thousands of them died under the torture, whilst the rest, driven to despair, threw off all subjection, and took up arms in their own defence.

846 Above forty thousand of them went over to the Mahometans, and from the peaceable, inoffensive Manicheans, became implacable enemies to the empire; and, joining with the Saracens, carried desolation and havoc thro' all Asia Minor, to the very gates of the imperial city, which had been depopulated by a dreadful plague in 842, and was become an object of pity.

The plague, properly so called, is, as the small-pox, a disorder peculiar to the people of Africa, and is brought over to us from those countries in merchant-ships. It would soon

† This was a sect founded in Persia, in the third century, by a slave called Curbicus, who assumed the name of Manes, and even stiled himself the Holy Ghost. Like the Magi, he taught there were two principles that governed all things, one good, the other evil.

overspread all Europe, were it not for the wise precautions taken in our sea-ports; and it was very probably owing to the negligence of the government in this particular, that it found entrance into the imperial city.

And this very inattention exposed the empire to another scourge: the Russians embarked at the port now called Afoph, on the Black Sea, and came and ravaged all the sea-coast of the Pontus Euxinus. The Arabs, on the other hand, pushed their conquests beyond Armenia, and into Asia Minor. At length Michael the younger, after a reign of cruelty and misfortunes, was assassinated by Basilus, whom he had raised from the most abject condition, and made partner with him in the empire.

Basilus's administration was not more fortunate than that of his predecessor: this reign is the epocha of the grand schism which divided the Greek church from the Latin.

The miseries of the empire were not greatly repaired under Leo, called the Philosopher, not from his being an Antoninus, a Marcus Aurelius, a Julian, an Aaroun Alraschid, or an Alfred, but on account of his being learned. He passes for the first who opened the Turks a way into the empire, who, a long time afterwards, made themselves masters of Constantinople.

It is doubtful, whether the Turks, (who afterwards fought against the Saracens, and incorporated with them, were their support, and the destroyers of the Greek empire,) had already sent colonies into the countries bordering on the Danube? We have no authentic histories of these emigrations of Barbarians.

This is, in all likelihood, the manner of life which mankind had led for a long succession of

time : no sooner was a country cultivated, than it was invaded by a hungry people, who again in their turns were driven out by others. Do we not find that the Gauls made descents on Italy, and penetrated as far as Asia Minor ? and have not twenty different nations come from Great Tartary in search of new lands ?

Notwithstanding all the disasters that had befallen Constantinople, it continued for a long time to be the most opulent and best peopled of all the Christian cities, and the most eminent for the polite arts. Its situation alone, by which it has the command of two seas, necessarily made it a place of trade. The plague in 842, notwithstanding the great havoc it made, was but a temporary scourge : cities which are the seats of commerce, and where the court holds its residence, are quickly repopled by the continual concourse from other neighbouring nations. Neither the mechanic nor polite arts can be lost in a great capital, which is the residence of the rich.

All these sudden court-revolutions, and the crimes of so many emperors, murdered by one another, are storms which never fall upon private heads, who are left to cultivate in peace the professions which no one envies them.

The riches of the empire were far from being exhausted : we are told, that in 857, Theodora, mother to the emperor Michael, when, much against her will, she was obliged to part with the regency, and was treated nearly in the same manner by her son as Mary of Medicis was of late days by Lewis XIII. gave the emperor to understand, that there was in his treasury an hundred and nine thousand pounds weight of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver.

It was in the power then of a wise administration to have still supported the power of the empire. It was contracted indeed, but not dismembered, often changing its emperors, but always united under the person who swayed the sceptre, and was besides richer, better furnished with resources, and more powerful than that of Germany. Yet it is now no more, and the German empire still subsists.



C H A P. XX.

Of ITALY and the POPES, together with the Divorce of LOTHARIUS, King of LORRAIN, and other affairs relating to the CHURCH, in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.

THAT we may not lose the chain which links together so many events, let us recal to mind with what prudence the popes conducted themselves under Pepin and Charlemagne; how dextrously they stifled all religious disputes, and in what manner each of them secretly established the foundations of the pontifical grandeur.

Their power was already become very great, since Gregory IV. repaired the port of Ostia, and Leo IV. fortified Rome at his own expence. But all the popes could not be great men, nor could every conjuncture prove alike favourable to them. Every vacancy of the papal see caused the same disturbances at Rome as the election of a king does in Poland. The pontiff elect was obliged at the same time to manage the Roman senate, the people, and the emperor. The Roman nobility held a great share in the government; and, at that time, had the chusing of two consuls every year, and

the making a prefect, which was a kind of tribune of the people. They had a court of twelve senators, and these had the nomination of the principal officers of the dutchy of Rome. This municipal government possessed sometimes a greater, sometimes a lesser degree of authority. The popes of Rome had rather a high degree of credit, than any real legislative power.

However, if they were not sovereigns of Rome, they lost no occasion of exercising a supreme authority over the western church. The bishops set up for judges of kings, and the popes claimed judicial authority over the bishops; but nothing can give us a clearer insight into the numberless disputes about authority, the farrago of religious superstition and weakness, the knavery that prevailed in all their courts of justice, and the insufficiency of the laws themselves, than the story of the marriage and divorce of Lotharius, king of Lorraine, nephew to Charles the Bald.

Charlemagne had repudiated one of his wives and married another, not only with the approbation of pope Stephen, but actually in consequence of that pontiff's pressing solicitations. The kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, and Dagobert, had had several wives at a time, without the least murmur being made; and if it was a scandal, it was not attended with any disturbance. Lotharius having married Teutberga, daughter of a duke of Burgundia Transjurana, resolves to put her away upon being accused of incest with her own brother, and to marry his mistress Valrada. What follows of this story is singularly romantic: at first the queen proves her inno-

cence by the trial of boiling water : her champion plunges his hand into a vessel of boiling water, from the bottom of which he brings up a consecrated ring, without appearing to be the least hurt. Upon which the king complains of some trick being used in the trial. It is certain, if any such thing was done, that the queen's champion understood the secret of preparing the skin against the action of the boiling water ; which it is said may be done by rubbing the part a long time with a composition of spirit of vitriol, alum, and the juice of onions. No one of the members of our academy of sciences have been at the pains to inform themselves relative to this pretended method of trial, of what every mountebank is well acquainted with.

862 The success of this trial passed for a miracle, and the very decision of the Almighty himself ; and yet this Tuetberga, justified by heaven, acknowledges to several bishops, in the presence of her confessor, that she was really guilty of the crime laid to her charge. There is not the least probability that a prince, who was desirous to part with his wife on suspicion of adultery, would ever have thought of accusing her of incest with her brother, unless the fact had been publicly known. People seldom think of looking for crimes of so far-fetched and extraordinary a nature, and so difficult to be proved : besides, in those days what we call the point of honour was entirely unknown. Both king and queen were covered with shame in this affair ; he by his accusation, and she by her confession. The two national councils met on the occasion, and agreed to the divorce.

Pope Nicholas I. dissolved the two councils, and deposed Gontier, archbishop of Cologne, who

had been the most strenuous in the affair of the divorce: upon which Gontier writes circular letters to all the churches, in these terms: "Tho' the lord Nicholas, who is called Pope, and who looks upon himself as pope and emperor, has excommunicated us, we have withstood his foolish proceedings." And, in another part of his letter, addressing the pope himself, he says, "We do not acknowledge your cursed sentence, we despise it; and even cast you out of our communion, being satisfied with that of our brethren the bishops, whom you condemn, &c."

A brother of the archbishop of Cologne carried himself this protest to Rome, and laid it upon St. Peter's tomb with sword in hand; but, in a little time afterwards, the political state of affairs being changed, this same archbishop changed likewise, and repaired in person to mount Cassin, where he prostrated himself at the feet of pope Adrian, the successor of this Nicholas, whom he thus addressed; "I declare, said he, before God, and in the presence of his saints, and to you my lord Adrian, sovereign pontiff, and to the bishops who are under your jurisdiction, and to all this assembly, that I humbly submit to the sentence of deposition canonically denounced against me by pope Nicholas, &c." We may easily conceive how greatly an example of this kind must have strengthened the authority of the church of Rome; and the nature of the times rendered these examples frequent.

This same Nicholas I. excommunicated the second wife of Lotharius, and ordered that prince to take his first wife back again. All Europe took part in these transactions. The emperor Lewis II. brother to Charles the Bald,

and uncle to Lotharius, instantly declared himself, in the strongest manner, for his nephew against the Pope. This emperor, who resided in Italy, bid defiance to Nicholas; this brought on an effusion of blood; and the flames of war were lighted up in Italy. Negotiations were set on foot, and the different parties entered into cabals. Teutberga repaired to Rome, to plead her cause there; Valrada, her rival, undertook the same voyage, but dared not proceed with it. Lotharius, finding himself excommunicated, went thither in person to ask pardon of Adrian II. successor to Nicholas, fearing lest his uncle Charles the Bald, who had taken arms against him under the banners of the church, should seize on his kingdom of Lorrain. Adrian II. when he gave him the sacrament at Rome, made him swear that he had not made use of the rights of marriage with Valrada, after the order which pope Nicholas had sent him to abstain from it. Lotharius accepted this oath, received the sacrament, and died in a short time afterwards. The historians of those times have not failed to assert, that his sudden death was a punishment on him for his perjury; and that those of his domestics who had taken the same oath with him, all died within the year.

The prerogative assumed on this occasion by Nicholas I. and Adrian II. was founded on the false decretals, which were even at that time regarded as the universal code. The civil contract by which a couple were united, being become a sacrament, was subject to ecclesiastical decision.

This adventure was the first scandal that happened relating to the marriage of crowned heads in the empire of the West. Since that we have seen the kings of France, Robert, Philip I. and

Philip Augustus, excommunicated by the popes on the same occasions, or even for marriages contracted between very distant relations. The national bishops did, for a long time, assume the right of being judges in these causes: the pontiffs of Rome always referred these causes to them.

We shall not pretend to examine in this place how far this new law was useful or detrimental, as we do not write in the character of a civilian or a controversist: but it is certain that these proceedings occasioned much scandal and disturbance to all the Christian provinces. The antient Romans and the people of the East were much happier in this point. The rights of the father of a family, and the secrets of the marriage-bed were never laid open to the eye of the public curiosity: they were wholly unacquainted with these kinds of processes relating to marriages and divorces.

This descendant of Charlemagne was the first who ever went three hundred leagues from his own kingdom, to plead his cause before a foreign judge, and to know what woman he was to love. His subjects were on the brink of falling victims to these unhappy differences. Lewis the Debonnaire had been the first example of the power of the bishops over the emperors. Lotharius of Lorrain fixed the epocha of the pope's authority over the bishops. Upon the whole, then, we may gather from the history of these times, that there were very few rules for society among the western nations; that the kingdoms were very weak in laws; and that the church was very willing to give them new ones.

C H A P. XXI.

Of PHOTIUS, and the Schism between the
EASTERN and WESTERN CHURCHES.

THE weightiest affair which the church was then engaged in, and which is, to this very day, of the greatest importance to her, was the origin of the total separation of the Greek and Latin churches. The patriarchal chair of Constantinople being, as well as the throne, the object of ambition, was equally subject to revolutions. The emperor Michael III. being dissatisfied with the patriarch Ignatius, compelled him to sign his own dismissal, and put one Photius in his place, who was an eunuch of the palace, a man of great quality, prodigious genius, and universal knowledge: he was master of the horse to Michael, and minister of state. The bishops, to prepare the way for ordaining him patriarch, made him pass through all the requisite degrees in six days time. The first day he was made monk, because the monks were at that time considered as constituting a part of the hierarchy; the second day he was made lecturer; the third sub-deacon; the next deacon, then priest, and lastly, on Christmas-day 858, was declared patriarch.

Pope Nicholas took part with Ignatius, and excommunicated Photius, reproaching him chiefly with having passed in so short a time from the state of a layman to the dignity of bishop. To this Photius replied, with reason on his side, that St. Ambrose, governor of Milan, and scarcely, in fact, a Christian, had with still greater rapidity passed from the one to the other state, and joined the episcopal dignity with that of governor; and accordingly excom-

municated the pope in his turn, declaring him deposed from his pontifical function. He then took the title of œcumenical patriarch, and openly accused the bishops of the West, who were in the pope's communion, of heresy. The principal objection he brought against them, was for holding the procession from the father and the son. "A set of men, says he in one of his letters, sprung out of the darkness of the West, have corrupted all things by their ignorance; and to put the finishing hand to their impiety, have dared to add new words to the sacred symbol authorised by all the councils, by saying, that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Father alone, but from the Son also, which is at once renouncing all Christianity."

By this passage, and several others of the like kind, we may perceive the superiority the Greek church affected in all things over that of the Latins. They pretended that the Romish church was indebted for every thing to the Greek, even for the names of their customs, ceremonies, mysteries, and dignities. Baptisms, the eucharist, liturgy, diocese, parish, bishop, priest, deacon, monk, church, all was Greek; and they looked upon the Latins as so many ignorant scholars, who had rebelled against their masters.

The other subjects of anathema were, that the Latins made use of unleavened bread in the eucharist; that they eat eggs and cheese in Lent; and that their priests did not shave their beards. Strange reasons these for creating a breach between the eastern and western churches!

But every impartial person must allow that Photius was not only the most learned of any of the churchmen of those times, but likewise a great bishop. He followed the conduct of

St. Ambrose; for when Basilius, who had murdered the emperor Michael, presented himself to communicate in the church of St. Sophia, he told him with a loud voice, "That he was not worthy to approach the holy mysteries, who had his hands yet stained with the blood of his benefactor." Photius did not find a Theodosius in Basilius: that tyrant did an act of justice from a motive of revenge; he deposed Photius, and reinstated Ignatius in the patriarchal chair. Rome took advantage of this conjuncture to call the eighth oecumenical

869 council at Constantinople, composed of three hundred bishops. The pope's legates presided there; but not one of them knew a word of Greek, and very few of the bishops understood Latin. Photius was, by the general voice, declared an intruder, and condemned to do public penance. The names of the five patriarchs were signed before that of the pope, which was very extraordinary: for as the legates held the first place, they were undoubtedly entitled to sign the first. In all this session, there was not a word mentioned of the disputes which then divided the two churches: their whole aim was to depose Photius.

A short time after, the true patriarch, Ignatius, dying, Photius had the address to get himself reinstated by the emperor Basilius. Pope John VIII. received him into his communion, acknowledged him as patriarch, wrote to him, and notwithstanding he had been publicly anathematized by the eighth oecumenical council, the pope sent legates to another council at Constantinople, in which Photius was declared innocent by four hundred bishops, three hundred of which had before signed the sentence of

condemnation ; and the very legates of the same see of Rome, who had concurred in anathematizing him, were now the instruments of annulling the decree of the eighth œcumenical council.

How surprisingly do things change with mankind ! and how frequently does that become truth, according to particular times and circumstances, which but a little before was false ! “ Whosoever shall not acknowledge the authority of Photius, cried the legates of John VIII. in full council, let his lot be with Judas.” “ Long life to our patriarch Photius, and to pope John,” replied the council.

Moreover, at the end of the acts of this council we find a letter from the pope to this learned patriarch, wherein he says, “ We think after the same manner as yourself ; we hold for transgressors of the word of God, and rank with Judas, all those who have added to the symbol, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the son ; but we think that it is best to use lenity towards them, and only to exhort them to renounce their blasphemy.”

It is evident, then, that the Roman and Greek churches thought differently at that time, to what they do now. It happened afterwards that Rome adopted the procession from the Father and the Son ; and it even fell out that, in the year 1274, when Michael Paleologus was applying for a new crusade against the Turks, and sent his patriarch and chancellor to the second council of Lyons, they both joined with the council in singing in Latin, *qui ex patre filioque procedit*. But the Greek church returned to its former opinion, and again seemed to depart from it in the transient union which it made with pope Eugenius IV. Let mankind from

hence learn to tolerate the opinions of each other: here we have seen differences and disputes upon a fundamental point, without either raising disturbances in the state, or bringing any one to the dungeon or the stake.

Those who blame pope John VIII. for the concession he made to the patriarch Photius, do not sufficiently consider that this pontiff stood in need at that time of the assistance of the emperor Basilus. A king of Bulgaria, named Bogoris, overcome by the artifices of his wife, embraced the Christian religion, after the example of Clovis and king Egbert. It now became a question on which patriarchate this new Christian province was to depend. Constantinople and Rome disputed it with each other: the decision rested with the emperor Basilus. This was, in some measure, the occasion of that condescension which the bishop of Rome shewed towards him of Constantinople.

We must not forget that there were cardinals in this council, as well as in the preceding one. This was a title then given to all priests and deacons who assisted the metropolitans with their advice: Rome had them as well as the other churches. They were of some consideration even at that time: but did not sign till after the bishops and abbots.

The pope, both in his letters and by his legates, gave the title of holiness to the patriarch Photius: the other patriarchs are likewise in this council called popes. This is a Greek appellation, and common to all priests; but by degrees it has become the distinguishing title of the metropolitan of Rome.

Pope John VIII. seems to have managed with great prudence; for when his successors, on

having a dispute with the Greek empire, adopted the eighth œcumenical council of 869, and rejected that which had absolved Photius, the peace established by John was presently broke. Photius inveighed loudly against the church of Rome, upbraiding it with herefy in relation to the article *filioque procedit*, the eating of eggs in Lent, the using of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and several other customs. But the grand point of division was the primacy. Photius and his successors wanted to be the first bishops of Christendom, and could not bear that a bishop of Rome, a city which they looked upon as barbarous, separated by rebellion from the empire, and a prey to any one who thought it worth while to take possession of it, should hold precedency over the bishop of the imperial city. The patriarch of Constantinople, at that time, reckoned all the churches of Sicily and Apulia in his district; and when the holy see came under a foreign dominion, it lost at the same time its patrimonial and metropolitan rights in those provinces. The Greek church held that of Rome in great contempt. The sciences flourished in Constantinople, but in Rome every thing fell to decay, even to the Latin tongue itself; and though possessed of more knowledge than any other part of the West, yet the little learning they had bore a strong tincture of the unhappiness of the times. The Greeks now took ample revenge for the superiority the Romans had exercised over them, from the time of Lucretia and Cicero to that of Cornelius Tacitus. They never mentioned the Romans but in the most contemptuous manner. Bishop Luitprand, who was sent on an embassy to Constantinople by the Othos, relates, that the

hence learn to tolerate the opinions of each other: here we have seen differences and disputes upon a fundamental point, without either raising disturbances in the state, or bringing any one to the dungeon or the stake.

Those who blame pope John VIII. for the concession he made to the patriarch Photius, do not sufficiently consider that this pontiff stood in need at that time of the assistance of the emperor Basilus. A king of Bulgaria, named Bogoris, overcome by the artifices of his wife, embraced the Christian religion, after the example of Clovis and king Egbert. It now became a question on which patriarchate this new Christian province was to depend. Constantinople and Rome disputed it with each other: the decision rested with the emperor Basilus. This was, in some measure, the occasion of that condescension which the bishop of Rome shewed towards him of Constantinople.

We must not forget that there were cardinals in this council, as well as in the preceding one. This was a title then given to all priests and deacons who assisted the metropolitans with their advice: Rome had them as well as the other churches. They were of some consideration even at that time: but did not sign till after the bishops and abbots.

The pope, both in his letters and by his legates, gave the title of holiness to the patriarch Photius: the other patriarchs are likewise in this council called popes. This is a Greek appellation, and common to all priests; but by degrees it has become the distinguishing title of the metropolitan of Rome.

Pope John VIII. seems to have managed with great prudence; for when his successors, on

having a dispute with the Greek empire, adopted the eighth œcumenical council of 869, and rejected that which had absolved Photius, the peace established by John was presently broke. Photius inveighed loudly against the church of Rome, upbraiding it with heresy in relation to the article *filioque procedit*, the eating of eggs in Lent, the using of unleavened bread in the eucharist, and several other customs. But the grand point of division was the primacy. Photius and his successors wanted to be the first bishops of Christendom, and could not bear that a bishop of Rome, a city which they looked upon as barbarous, separated by rebellion from the empire, and a prey to any one who thought it worth while to take possession of it, should hold precedency over the bishop of the imperial city. The patriarch of Constantinople, at that time, reckoned all the churches of Sicily and Apulia in his district; and when the holy see came under a foreign dominion, it lost at the same time its patrimonial and metropolitan rights in those provinces. The Greek church held that of Rome in great contempt. The sciences flourished in Constantinople, but in Rome every thing fell to decay, even to the Latin tongue itself; and though possessed of more knowledge than any other part of the West, yet the little learning they had bore a strong tincture of the unhappiness of the times. The Greeks now took ample revenge for the superiority the Romans had exercised over them, from the time of Lucretia and Cicero to that of Cornelius Tacitus. They never mentioned the Romans but in the most contemptuous manner. Bishop Luitprand, who was sent on an embassy to Constantinople by the Othos, relates, that the

Greeks, when they spoke of St. Gregory the Great, called him by no other name than Gregory the Dialogist; as his dialogues, in truth, seem to be the productions of a very weak genius. But time has changed the face of affairs. The popes are become powerful sovereigns, Rome the center of politeness and the fine arts, and the Latin church learned; while the patriarch of Constantinople is at present a slave, or, at best, the bishop of a people in slavery.

Photius*, whose life was a scene rather of adversity than glory, was deposed by the intrigues of a party at court, and died miserably: however, his successors adhered to his pretensions, and supported them with vigour.

Pope John VIII. finished his life in a still more wretched manner; for if we believe the annals of Fulda, he was beat to death with hammers. The ensuing times will shew us the pontifical seat frequently bathed in blood, and Rome the principal, but, at the same time, the most pitiable object of all other nations.

The western church was not as yet disturbed by dogmatical disputes; we barely hear of a

† Photius was a person of illustrious birth, had been captain of the emperor's guards, ambassador in Persia, and secretary of state: all his learning he acquired by the strength of his own genius and application, without the assistance of teachers. He composed several homilies, scholastic tracts called Gnomiques, dissertations on theology and amphilogia, two treatises on the procession of the Holy Ghost, four books against the new Manicheans, a commentary on the epistle of St. Paul, now extant in M. S. in the University-library of Cambridge, annotations on the Prophets, a treatise against an heretic, a treatise against the Latins, a collection of the rights of metropolitans, with a lexicon; a commentary on some parts of Aristotle, and the catalogue of his library, containing an account and criticism of two hundred and eighty authors.

trifling contest raised in 814, by one John Godescald, relating to predestination and grace; and I shall take little notice of a kind of epidemic folly with which the people of Dijon were seized in 844, on occasion of one St. Benignus, who, they say, caused convulsions in those who paid their devotions at his tomb. I should not take any notice, I say, of this piece of popular superstition, had it not been revived of later times with great fury, and under almost the same circumstances. It seems as if the same follies were destined to make their appearance again at stated times on this great theatre of the world: but then good sense is found the same at all times, and nothing has been more wisely said on the modern miracles lately performed at the tomb of a certain deacon of Paris, than what was said by a bishop of Lyons in 844, relating to those of Dijon. "This is a strange sort of saint surely, who maims those who pay their addresses to him. I should think that miracles ought to be performed rather for curing diseases than inflicting them."

But these trifles in no wise disturbed the peace of the West; and theological disputes were in those times held for nothing, because no one thought of growing great by them. They had more weight indeed in the East, because the prelates of that church never being admitted to any share of secular government, studied to make themselves of consequence by the war of the pen. There is yet another reason to be given for the theological calm which reigned in the West, namely, the ignorance of the clergy, which was at least productive of this one good, amidst the numberless evils of which it was otherwise the cause.

C H A P. XXII.

The State of the WESTERN EMPIRE towards
the End of the Ninth Century.

THE empire of the West subsisted now only in name. Arnould, Arnold, or Arnolf, a bastard son of Carloman, made himself master of Germany; but Italy was divided between two lords, both of the blood of Charlemagne, by the mothers side. The one of these was named Guy, duke of Spoleto, the other Berengerius or Beringer, duke of Friuli. Both these lords had been invested with these duchies by Charles the Bald, and both made pretensions to the empire as well as to the kingdom of France. Arnold on his side, in quality of emperor, looked upon France as belonging to him of right; while that kingdom, rent from the empire, was divided between Charles the Simple, who lost it, and king Eudes, great uncle to Hugh Capet, who usurped it.

But there was yet another pretender to the empire, namely, one Bozo, or Bozon, king of Arles. Now at that time, Formosus, the insignificant bishop of unhappy Rome, dared not to refuse the sacred unction to whomsoever was strong enough to demand it. Accordingly he conferred the crown on this Guy, duke of Spoleto. The very next year he did the same for Berengerius, who was then the conqueror: and not long after he was again obliged to

894 crown Arnold, who came in person, and laid siege to Rome, which he took by assault. The equivocal oath which Arnold received from the Romans, proves that even at that time the popes pretended to the sovereignty of Rome. The form of the oath was as fol-

flows: "I swear by the holy mysteries, that saving my honour, the laws of my country, and the fidelity I owe to my lord Formosus, the pope, I will be true and faithful to the emperor Arnold."

The popes at that time in some measure resembled the caliphs of Bagdat, who were revered by all the Mahometan states, as the heads of their religion; but yet had no other privilege left them than that of bestowing the investiture of kingdoms on those who demanded them sword in hand: but there was this difference between the one and the other, that the caliphs were fallen from their authority, whereas the popes were every day rising in theirs.

In reality there was no longer an empire, either in right or in fact. The Romans, who had submitted themselves to Charlemagne with universal assent, would not however acknowledge bastards, foreigners, and persons who were hardly masters of the smallest part of Germany.

The Roman people, in the midst of their humiliation, and intermixture with foreigners, still preserved, as they do to this day, that secret haughtiness, which is ever the consequence of former grandeur. They could not bear that the Bructeri, the Catti, and the Marcomanni, should call themselves descendants from their Cæsars, nor that the banks of the Mayne and the rude forests of Hercynia should be made the centre of the empire of Titus and Trajan.

It produced an equal mixture of indignation and contempt at Rome, when it was known that after the death of Arnold, his son Hiludovic, whom we call Lewis, had been created emperor of the Romans at three or four years of age, in

900 sorry village called Forcheim, by a few German barons and bishops. This child was never reckoned among the emperors, though looked upon in Germany as the person who was to succeed to the empire of Charlemagne and the Cæsars; and indeed it was a strange sort of Roman empire, which had not a foot of country between the Rhine and the Maese; neither possessed France, nor Burgundy, nor Spain, nor yet any part of Italy; nor had even a single house in Rome that could properly be said to belong to the emperor.

From the time of this Lewis, the last German prince of the bastard blood of Charlemagne, and who died in 912, the Roman empire, now confined to Germany, was in the same condition as France, a country wasted by foreign and domestic wars, and governed by a prince chosen by faction, and obeyed with reluctance.

All governments have their revolutions: there could not be a more amazing one than that which raised those savage Saxons, who were treated by Charlemagne as the Helots of old were by the Lacedemonians, which raised these people, I say, in the space of 112 years, to that dignity which

912 was now lost, to the family of their conqueror. Otho, duke of Saxony, after the death of Lewis, by his interest and credit placed the crown on the head of Conrad, duke of Franconia; and after the death of Conrad, the son of Henry the Fowler, son to duke Otho of Saxony, was elected emperor. These elections were made by the conjunction of the several great men who

919 had made themselves hereditary princes in Germany; and the bishops, together with the principal citizens of the towns of the empire, who were called in upon the occasion

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the GERMAN EMPIRE and its FIEFS.

FORCE, which does every thing in this world, gave Italy and the two Gauls to the Romans. The barbarians usurped these conquests from them. Charlemagne's father usurped the two Gauls from the kings of the Franks. The governors under the descendants of Charlemagne, usurped in their turns whatever they could. The kings of Lombardy had already established fiefs in Italy, which served as models for all the dukes and counts from the time of Charles the Bald; and, by degrees, what were at first only governments, came now to be hereditary rights. The bishops of several large sees, already very powerful by their dignity, had but one step further to take in order to become princes; and this step they were not long in taking. This gave rise to the temporal power of the bishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trier, Wurtzburg, and a number of others both in Germany and France. The archbishops of Rheims, Lyons, Beauvais, Langres and Laon, laid claim to the royalties, or kings rights. This assumed power of the clergy did not last long in France; but in Germany it has been confirmed for a considerable time. In short, even abbots at length became princes: witness the abbots of Fulda, of St. Gal, of Kempten, Corbie, &c. who became petty kings, in the very place where, not above fourscore years before, they had, with their own hands, cleared the lands which had been bestowed upon

VOL. I. L them,

them, by the charitable proprietors, for their subsistence. All those lords, dukes, counts, marquisses, bishops, and abbots, paid homage to the sovereign. The origin of this feudal right has long been the subject of enquiry. It may be supposed that it has no other than the antient custom which has prevailed among all nations, of the stronger imposing an homage and tribute on the weaker. We know that the Roman emperors afterwards gave away lands in perpetuity, on certain conditions; and we have several instances of this, in the lives of Alexander Severus, and the emperor Probus. The Lombards were the first who erected duchies to be held in fief of their kingdom. Spoleto and Benevento were hereditary dukedoms under the kings of Lombardy.

Before the time of Charlemagne, Tassilo held the dukedom of Bavaria on condition of homage; and this dukedom would have gone to his descendants, if Charlemagne, after conquering this prince, had not dispossessed both the father and the children.

The consequence of this was, that there were few free towns in Germany, therefore little or no trade; and of course not much riches: nay, some of the towns had not even walls to defend them: and this state, which might have been so powerful, was now become so weak, through the number and division of its masters, that the Emperor Conrad was obliged to promise a yearly tribute to the Hungarians, Huns, or Pannonians, a people who had been so well kept within bounds by Charlemagne, and were afterwards so humbled by the emperors of the house of Austria; but at that time they seemed
to

to be the same they had been under the famous Attila. They ravaged Germany and the frontiers of France : they made incursions into Italy thro' Tyrol, after having plundered Bavaria, and then returned loaded with the spoils of the many nations they had over-run.

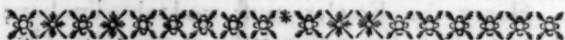
It was in the reign of Henry the Fowler, that Germany began to emerge a little from its chaos. Its boundaries were then the river Oder, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, the banks of the Rhine, the Scheld, the Moselle, and the Maese ; and Pomerania and Holstein were its barriers towards the North.

Henry the Fowler must undoubtedly have been a prince the most worthy of reigning. Under him we find the German lords, before so divided, were united. The first 920 fruits of this union was shaking off the tribute which had been paid to the Hungarians ; and a signal victory gained over this nation, which before appeared so formidable. Henry caused most of the cities of Germany to be encompassed with walls. He instituted militias ; and some say that he was the inventor of certain military games, which gave the first idea of tournaments. In short, under him, Germany began to recover herself ; but we do not find that she pretended to be the Roman empire. Henry the Fowler had been consecrated by the archbishop of Mentz ; but neither a legate from the pope, nor any deputy from the people of Rome, assisted at the ceremony. It seems as if Germany, during all this reign, had utterly forgot Italy.

But it was otherwise under the reign of Otho the Great, whom the German princes, bishops,

220 Of OTHO the GREAT.

and abbots, unanimously elected emperor
 936 upon the death of Henry his father.
 The acknowledged heir of a powerful
 prince, who has been the founder or restorer
 of a kingdom, is always more powerful than his
 father, if he be not wanting in courage and
 resolution; for he enters upon a career which is
 already opened for him, and begins where his
 predecessor had ended. Thus Alexander went
 farther than his father Philip; Charlemagne
 farther than Pepin; and Otho the Great, far
 surpassed Henry the Fowler.



C H A P. XXIV.

Of OTHO the GREAT in the Tenth Century.

OTHO, who restored a part of the em-
 pire of Charlemagne, like him propaga-
 ted the Christian faith in Germany, by con-
 quest. He obliged the Danes, by force of
 arms, to pay him a tribute, and to receive bap-
 tism, which had been preached to them
 948 above a century before, and which was
 now utterly abolished amongst them.

These Danes or Normans, who had conquer-
 ed Neustria and England, and over-run France
 and Germany, received laws from Otho. He
 established bishops in Denmark, who were at
 that time subject to the archbishop of Hambourg,
 metropolitan of the barbarous churches found-
 ed afterwards in Holstein, Sweden, and Den-
 mark. The whole of Christianity consisted
 then in making the sign of the cross. This
 prince

prince likewise subdued Bohemia, after an obstinate war. From his time, Bohemia and Denmark were reputed provinces of the empire; but the Danes quickly shook off their yoke.

Otho was now become the most considerable monarch of the western hemisphere, and the arbiter of princes: and so great was his authority at that time, that Lewis, the foreigner, king of France, son to Charles the Simple, the descendant of Charlemagne, being come to a council of bishops held by Otho, near to Mentz, in 948, delivered himself in the following words, which are to be found in the collection of acts of that council.

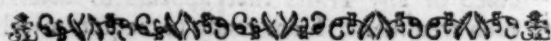
“ I was acknowledged and consecrated king,
 “ by the suffrages of all the lords and noblesse
 “ of the kingdom of France; notwithstanding
 “ which, I have been treacherously driven from
 “ my dominions by Hugh, who has detained
 “ me as a prisoner, during a whole year, without
 “ my being able to obtain my liberty,
 “ otherwise than by ceding to him the city of
 “ Laon, which was the only town I had left
 “ for my Queen Gerberga to hold her court
 “ with the rest of my household. If I am accused
 “ of any crime that appears to deserve
 “ such treatment, I am ready to acquit myself
 “ by the judgment of a council, and agreeable
 “ to the orders of king Otho; or else by single
 “ combat.”

This remarkable and important speech, serves at once to prove several things, *viz.* the great power of Otho; the weakness of France; the practice of single combats, and the established custom of bestowing crowns, not according to hereditary right, but by the suffrages of the

lords and great men of the nation : a custom soon after utterly abolished in France.

Such was the power of Otho the Great, when he was invited to pass the Alps by the Italians themselves ; who, ever factious and feeble, could neither submit to be governed by their own countrymen, to remain free ; nor were able to defend themselves, at the same time, against the Saracens and Hungarians, who still infested Italy by their incursions.

Italy, which even in its ruins was the richest and most flourishing country of the West, was incessantly torn in pieces by tyrants. But, in all these divisions, Rome still continued to be the spring which gave motion to all the other cities of Italy. If we reflect on what Paris was in the time of the league ; and again, under the reign of Charles *the mad* ; and what London was under the unhappy Charles I. we shall have some idea of the state of Rome in the tenth century. The pontifical chair was oppressed, dishonoured, and frequently stained with blood ; and the elections of the popes were carried on in a manner, of which there has been no example, either in former or succeeding times.



C H A P. XXV.

Of the P A P A C Y in the Tenth Century,
before OTHO the GREAT made him-
self master of Rome.

THE scandals and intestine divisions which gave so much trouble to Rome and its church in the tenth century, and which continued

nued for so long a time, happened neither under the Greek nor Latin emperors, nor yet under the kings of Lombardy, nor during the reign of Charlemagne. They were evidently the consequences of anarchy : and this anarchy was occasioned by these very steps which were taken by the popes to prevent it ; when, thro' a mistaken policy, they invited the Franks into Italy. Had they really been in possession of all the territories which they pretended Charlemagne had given to them, they would have been much more powerful sovereigns than they are even at present. The order and rule of elections and administration would have been the same as they are now. But all their pretensions were disputed them. Italy was ever the object of ambition to foreigners ; and the fate of Rome always uncertain. Let it still be remembered, that the principal object of the Romans was to restore the antient republic ; that tyrants were starting up in different parts of Italy and of Rome ; that the elections were seldom, if ever, free ; and that every thing was carried by faction and cabal.

Pope Formosus, son to Leo the Priest, when bishop of Oporto, had headed a faction against Pope John VIII. for which he had been twice excommunicated by that pontiff : but these excommunications, which afterwards became so terrible to crowned heads, were of so little consequence to Formosus, that he got himself elected Pope in 890.

Stephen VI. or VII. also the son of a priest, and who succeeded Formosus, joined all the virulence of faction to the spirit of fanaticism ;

and, having always been the declared enemy of Formosus while living, ordered his dead body, which had been embalmed, to be taken up again, caused it to be clad in the pontifical robes, and brought before a council, which had been purposely assembled to sit in judgment on his memory. The deceased had council allowed him, and was tried in form; and the lifeless trunk was found guilty of having exchanged bishoprics, by quitting the see of Oporto for that of Rome: for which it was condemned to have its head struck off by the hangman, three of the fingers of the right
 897 hand cut off, and the body cast into the Tiber; which sentence was accordingly executed.

Stephen rendered himself so odious, by this no less ridiculous than horrible farce, that the friends of the deceased Formosus quickly found means to raise the citizens against him, who loaded him with chains, and cast him into prison; where, soon after, he was strangled.

The faction who deposed Stephen caused diligent search to be made for the body of Formosus, which they interred in a pontifical manner, for the second time.

These disputes only served to inflame the minds of the people. Sergius III. who filled all Rome with his intrigues to get himself elected pope, was banished by his rival John IX. a friend of Formosus; but, being acknowledged pope, after the death of John IX.
 907 he again condemned the memory of Formosus. During these troubles, Theodora, mother of Marozia, whom she afterwards married to the marquis of Tuscany, with another

other Theodora, all three of them notorious for their amours, bore the principal sway in Rome. Sergius owed his election entirely to his mother Theodora; and, during the time of his pontificate, he had a son by Marozia, whom he publicly educated in his palace. This pontiff does not appear to have been hated by the people of Rome; who, being naturally addicted to debauchery, rather followed, than censured, his example.

After his decease, the two sisters, Marozia and Theodora, procured the papal chair for one of their favourites, named Lando: but this Lando dying in a short time, the younger Theodora got her gallant, John X. chosen pope, who had been bishop of Bologna, afterwards of Ravenna, and now of Rome. However, he escaped the censure that fell on Formosus for having exchanged bishoprics. These popes, whom posterity have been taught to look upon as irreligious prelates, were, however, far from being bad princes. This John X. whom love had made a pope, was a man endowed with a great share of genius and courage. He did more than all his predecessors had been able to do. He drove the Saracens out of that part of Italy called the Garrillan.

In order to render this expedition successful, he artfully prevailed on the emperor of Constantinople to furnish him with a body of troops; though this emperor had as much reason to complain of the rebellious Romans as of the Saracens. He obliged the count of Capua to take up arms, and got the militia of Tuscany to join him. He then put himself at

the head of his army, taking with him a young son of Marozia, and the Marquis Adelbert; and, marching against the Mahometans, drove them from the neighbourhood of Rome: after which, he formed the project of delivering Italy from the Germans and other foreigners.

Italy was then invaded, almost at the same time, by the two Berengers, by a king of Burgundy, and by a king of Arles: but this active pontiff prevented them all from having any mastery in Rome. However, some few years after, Guy, uterine brother to Hugh, king of Arles, and the tyrant of Italy, having married Marozia, who was all powerful at Rome; this very Marozia conspired against the pope, who had been so long her sister's gallant; and had him seized, imprisoned, and smothered between two mattresses.

929 Marozia, now mistress of Rome, procured one Leo to be elected pope; whom, a few months after, she caused to be thrown into prison and murdered. After this, she gave the chair to an obscure fellow, who lived but two years: and at last she conferred the papal dignity on her own son, John.

931 XI. the fruit of her adulterous commerce with Sergius III.

John XI. was but barely twenty-four years old when his mother made him pope; who invested him with this dignity, on condition that he should confine himself to his episcopal function, and be no other than her chaplain.

It is said, this Marozia afterwards poisoned her husband, Guy, marquis of Tuscany. It is a fact, that she married her husband's brother, Hugh, king of Lombardy, whom she put
in

in possession of Rome, in hopes that she should enjoy the imperial dignity in conjunction with him. But a son of her's, by a first marriage, headed the Romans against his own mother, and drove Hugh out of Rome; and confined Marozia, and the pope her son, in Adrian's mole, now called the castle of St. Angelo. Some say that John XI. was poisoned in prison.

Stephen VIII. a German by birth, was created pope in 959: but, on account of his country, he proved so odious to the Romans, that, in a tumult which arose in the city, the people so disfigured his face, that he could never afterwards appear in public.

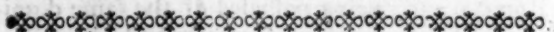
Some time after, a grandson of Marozia, named Octavianus Sporco, by 956 the great interest his family had in Rome, was elected pope at the age of eighteen. He took the name of John XII. out of respect to the memory of John XI. his uncle. He was the first pope who changed his name upon his accession to the pontificate. He was not in orders when his friends elected him pope. This John XII. was a patrician, or nobleman of Rome; and, being possessed of the same dignity which Charlemagne formerly had, he united in the pontifical chair the privileges of both temporal and spiritual authority, by a power whose legality could not be contested. But he was young, sunk in debauchery, and, in other respects, far from being a powerful prince.

It is surprising, that under so many scandalous and impotent popes, the church of Rome lost neither her prerogatives nor pretensions. But then indeed it is to be considered, that all the other churches were under much the same

kind of government. The Italian clergy might despise such popes, but they respected the papal function, because they aspired to that dignity themselves : in short, the public opinion held the place sacred, however detestable the person might be.

While Rome and the church were thus torn in pieces, Berengerius, surnamed the Younger, disputed the possession of Italy with Hugh, King of Arles. The Italians, as Luitprandus, a contemporary writer, always expresses himself, always wanted two masters, that they might in fact be subject to none, a policy equally false and fatal to their peace, as it produced a continual succession of new tyrants, and new calamities.

Such was the deplorable state of this fine country, when Otho the Great was invited thither by the complaints of almost all the towns, and even by this young Pope John XII. who was reduced, through the necessity of his affairs, to implore the assistance of Germans ; a people of all others the most odious to him.



C H A P. XXVI.

Continuation of the Reign of OTHO, and
of the State of ITALY.

961 **O**THO then entered Italy, where he
behaved as Charlemagne had done
before him. He conquered Berengerius,
962 who aspired at the sovereignty, and caused
himself to be consecrated and crowned
emperor

emperor of the Romans, by the hands of the pope; after which he took the name of Cæsar and Augustus, and compelled the pope to swear allegiance to him, upon the tomb where the body of St. Peter is said to be deposited. An authentic instrument of this act was drawn up; and the clergy and nobility of Rome obliged themselves never to elect a pope, but in presence of the emperor's commissioners. In this act Otho confirms the donations made to the see of Rome, by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Debonnaire, without specifying the donations in dispute; "Saving in all things," says he, our authority, and that of our son and descendants." This instrument, written in letters of gold, and signed by seven German bishops, five counts, two abbots, and a number of Italian priests, is still preserved in the castle of St. Angelo. It is dated the 13th of February, 962.

Some writers say, and Mézeray after them, that Lotharius, king of France, and Hugh Capet, who was afterwards king, assisted at the coronation of Otho. It is certain that the kings of France were at that time so weak, that they might serve as an ornament at the coronation of an emperor; but neither the name of Lotharius, nor of Hugh Capet, are to be met with among those who signed this act.

The pope having thus given himself a master in him whom he only wanted for a protector, soon proved false to his oath, and entered into a league against the emperor, with Berengerius himself, who had been driven to take refuge with the Mahometans, settled on the coast of Provence. He sent for Berengerius's son up to Rome,

Rome, while Otho was at Pavia. He sent likewise to the Hungarians, to engage them to make incursions again upon Germany. But he wanted power to carry him through this bold undertaking, and the emperor was strong enough to punish him for it.

Otho then returned immediately from Pavia to Rome, and having secured the city, called a council, in which he brought the pope to a formal trial. He convened the German and Roman lords, forty bishops, and seventeen cardinals, in the church of St. Peter, where, in presence of all the people, he publicly accused the holy father of having lain with several women, particularly one Etienne, who died in child-bed. The other heads of accusation were, that he had made a child of ten years of age bishop of Todi; that he had made a sale of ordinations and benefices; that he had put out the eyes of one of his relations; that he had caused a cardinal to be castrated, and afterwards put to death: in fine, that he did not believe in Jesus Christ, and had invoked the devil; two things which seem to contradict one another. Thus, as it generally happens, they blended falsehood and truth in their accusations; but not a syllable was mentioned of the true reason of assembling the council, the emperor being doubtless apprehensive of stirring up anew that revolt and conspiracy, in which even the pope's accusers themselves had been concerned. However, this young pontiff, who was then only twenty-seven years of age, appears to have been deposed for his incestuous and scandalous amours, though it was in truth only for having endeavoured, like every other Roman,
to

to overthrow the German power and authority in Rome.

Otho could not seize on the person of this pope; or if he could, he was guilty of a great oversight in leaving him his liberty: for no sooner had he elected Pope Leo VIII. in his room, who, if we will believe Arnold, bishop of Orleans, was neither a churchman, nor even a christian; scarcely had he received the homage of this new pontiff of his own making, and quitted Rome, from which certainly he ought not to have withdrawn himself, while affairs were in that situation, than John XII. had the courage to stir up the Romans again, and opposing council to council, Leo VIII. was deposed, and at the same time an act was passed, declaring, "that no inferior could ever degrade
" his superior."

By this decree, the pope not only meant, that the bishops and cardinals could never depose the pope, but likewise hinted at the emperor, whom the bishops of Rome always regarded as a layman, who owed to the church the very homage and oath of allegiance which he exacted from her. The cardinal named John, who had written and read the accusations against the pope, had his right hand cut off, and the person who acted as register to the council who deposed him, had his tongue plucked out, and his nose and two of his fingers cut off.

And yet in all these councils, which were guided by the spirit of faction and revenge, they constantly quoted the gospels and the fathers, and implored the light of the holy spirit, in whose name they pretended to speak, and even passed some useful regulations; so that a person
who

who reads those acts, without knowing something of history, would be tempted to believe that he was reading the acts of saints.

All this was done almost under the emperor's eye; and who can tell how far the courage and resentment of the young pontiff, and the revolt of the people in his favour, together with the natural antipathy which all the other towns of Italy bore to the German government, might have carried this revolution? But pope

496 John XII. was murdered about three months after, in the arms of a married woman, whose husband, with his own hands, revenged the injury done to his honour. Writers tell us, that he did not believe in the religion of which he was pontiff, and refused when dying, to receive the sacrament.

This pope, or rather patrician, had instilled such courage into the Roman people, that even after his death, they had the resolution to stand a siege, and did not yield till they were driven to the last extremity. Otho, twice conqueror of Rome, was now master of Italy, as well as Germany.

Pope Leo, a pontiff of Otho's own creation, together with the senate, the heads of the people, and the Roman clergy, solemnly assembled in the church of St. John Lateran, confirmed the emperor's right of chusing a successor to the kingdom of Italy, of confirming the election of a pope, and of giving the investiture to bishops. After all these treaties and oaths extorted by fear, the emperor should have resided at Rome, to see them observed.

Scarce was Otho returned back to Germany, when the Romans resolved to make another effort

effort to recover their freedom ; they seized on their new pope, the emperor's creature, and threw him into prison. The prefect of Rome, the tribunes of the people, and the senate, attempted to revive their antient laws ; but what at one time is an heroic action, at another becomes a seditious revolt. Otho hurries back to Italy, hangs up a part of the senate, and causes the prefect of Rome, who aimed at being a second Brutus, to be publicly whipped naked through the streets upon an ass, 966 and afterwards thrown into a dungeon, where he died of hunger.



C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Emperors OTHO II. and III. and
of ROME.

THIS was nearly the situation of Rome, under Otho the Great, and his successors Otho II. and III. The Germans held the Romans in subjection, and these embraced every opportunity of throwing off the yoke, when it was in their power.

A pope who had been elected by the emperor's order, or at least nominated by him, became the object of general detestation with the people of Rome, who still cherished in their hearts the design of restoring the antient republic ; but this noble ambition was productive only of a series of the most dreadful and humiliating calamities.

Otho.

Otho II. marches to Rome against his father. What a government ! What an empire ! And what a pontificate ! A consul named Crescentius, son to pope John X. and the famous Marozia, receiving with this title, a settled hatred to royalty, armed Rome against Otho II. He caused pope Benedict VI. the emperor's creature, to be murdered in prison ; and Otho, though at a distance, having by his authority, during these disorders, conferred the papal see on the chancellor of the empire in Italy, who was made pope, by the name of John XIV. This unhappy prelate was a new victim sacrificed by the Roman party. Pope Boniface VII. the creature of the consul Crescentius, though already stained with the blood of Benedict VI. caused John XIV. likewise to be put to death. The times of Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius, did not produce more deplorable calamities, nor more horrid barbarities. But the villanies and misfortunes of these popes, are as obscure as themselves. These bloody tragedies were performed on the theatre of Rome, when grown weak and ruined ; whereas those of the Cæsars had all the known world for their theatre.

While these things were transacting,
 981 Otho II. arrives at Rome. The popes had formerly shaken off the yoke of the emperors of the East, by calling the Franks into Italy. What did they in this present conjuncture ? They seemed in appearance ready to return under their old masters, and having imprudently called in the Saxon kings, they are now for driving them out again. This very Boniface VII. went in person to Constantinople, to press the emperors Basil and Constantine to come

come and restore the throne of the Cæsars in Rome. This unhappy city knew not truly what she was, nor to whom she belonged. The consul Crescentius, and the senate, were for restoring the antient republic: the pope was in fact neither for having a republic nor a master: Otho II. was resolved to reign despotic. He entered Rome, and invited the principal senators and followers of Crescentius to an entertainment, where, if we believe Godfrey of Viterbo, he caused them all to be put to the sword. Thus was the pope delivered by the hands of his enemy, from the senators of the republican party. But he wanted besides to get rid of the tyrant himself; and as if the troops of the emperor of the East, which filled all the neighbourhood of Rome, were not sufficient, the pope called in the Saracens likewise. If the massacre of the senators at this bloody banquet, such as it is related by Godfrey, be true, it was doubtless much better to have Mahometans for protectors, than this cruel Saxon for a master. After being beat at several times by the Greeks and Mahometans, he was at length made prisoner, but contrived means of escaping; and taking advantage of the divisions which subsisted among his enemies, he again entered Rome, where he dyed in 983.

After his death, the consul Crescentius maintained for a little time the shadow of the Roman republic. He drove Gregory V. nephew to Otho III. from the papal chair: but at length Rome was again besieged and taken, and Crescentius, who suffered himself to be drawn from his place of security in the castle of St. Angelo, by the hopes of an accommodation, and on the faith of the emperor's solemn promise, had his
head

head struck off, after which his body was hung up by the heels; and the new pope, elected by the people of Rome, under the name of John XV. had his eyes put out, and his nose cut off, and in this condition was thrown from the top of the castle of St. Angelo into the market-place.

The people of Rome then renewed to Otho III. the oaths they had sworn to Otho I. and to Charlemagne; and the new emperor, on his side, made an assignment of the lands in the Marche of Ancona, to the popes, to support their dignity.

After the death of the three Othos, the struggle for the German sovereignty and the liberty of Italy remained for a long time on the same footing. Under the emperors Henry II. of Bavaria, and Conrad II. named the Salic, whenever the emperor was employed in Germany, a party was formed in Italy. Henry II. like the Othos, immediately transported himself thither, to disperse factions, to confirm the popes in the donations they had received from former emperors, and to receive the same homage. In the mean time, however, the papal see was put up to the highest bidder, as well as all the other bishoprics.

Benedict VIII. and John XIX. purchased it publicly one after the other. They were brothers of the family of the marquis of Tuscany, which had always bore a great sway in Rome, since the time of Marozia, and the two Theodoras.

After their deaths, in order to perpetuate the pontifical dignity in their family, the suffrages were purchased for a child of twelve years old. This was Benedict IX. who had the bishopric of Rome in the same manner.

manner as we at present see a number of families privately purchase benefices for their children.

This irregularity had no bounds ; for in the pontificate of this Benedict IX. there were two other popes elected by dint of money ; and thus there were seen three popes at the same time in Rome, excommunicating each other : but by a happy agreement, these seeds of civil war were stifled in their beginning ; and the three pontiffs mutually consented to divide the revenues of the church between them, and to live in peace, each with his mistress.

This pacific, and very extraordinary triumvirate, lasted no longer than there was money to be had ; and at length, when that began to fall short, each sold his share of the pontificate, to Gratian a deacon, a man of quality, and very rich. But as young Benedict had been elected a long time before the other two, they left him by a solemn agreement, the enjoyment of the tributes paid by England to Rome, called Peter's Pence, to which a Danish king of England, named Etelvolft, Edelvoft, or Ethelwulph, had submitted himself and kingdom, in 852.

This Gratian, who assumed the name of Gregory VI. was in peaceable possession of the pontificate, when the emperor Henry III. son to Conrad II. called the Salic, came to Rome.

Never did any emperor exercise a fuller authority. He banished Gregory VI. and named for pope one Suiger, his chancellor, bishop of Bamberg, without any one daring to murmur at it.

After

After the death of this German, who
 1048 in the list of popes, is called Clement II.
 the emperor, who was then in Germany,
 made Popo, a Bavarian, pontiff, in his room.
 This is the Damasus II. who went with the
 emperor's brief to Rome, where he was installed,
 notwithstanding all the efforts of this Benedict IX.
 who wanted to get again into the chair, after
 having sold it a very little before.

This Bavarian, living but three and twenty
 days after his installation, the emperor gave
 the papacy to his cousin Bruno, of the family of
 Lorraine, whom he translated from the see of
 Toul, to that of Rome, by his absolute authority.
 Had the emperors kept this authority, the
 popes would have been no better than their
 chaplains, and Italy an enslaved country.

This pontiff, who took the name of Leo IX.
 and has been ranked in the number of saints,
 will be soon seen at the head of an army fighting
 against the Norman princes, founders of the
 kingdom of Naples, and falling into their hands
 a captive.

Could the emperors have fixed their residence
 at Rome, we may see that by the weakness of
 the Romans, the divisions in Italy, and the
 greatness of the German power, they must have
 always been masters of the popes; and that
 there would in effect have been a Roman empire.
 But these elective kings of Germany could not
 fix at Rome, at such a distance from the other
 princes of Germany, who were become too
 formidable to their sovereigns; the neigh-
 bouring states being always ready to invade the
 frontiers, which made it necessary to take arms
 at different times, against the Danes, the Poles,
 and

and the Hungarians. This it was that saved Italy for some time, from a yoke, which she would otherwise in vain have attempted to resist.



CH A P. XXVIII.

Of FRANCE, in the Time of HUGH CAPET.

WHILE Germany thus began to put on a new form of government, and Rome and Italy were without any, France became like Germany, a government entirely feudal.

This kingdom extended from the countries about the Scheld and the Maese, to the English channel, and from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone ; these were at that time its bounds ; for though so many historians pretend, that this great fief extended beyond the Pyrenees, as far as the Ebro, it does not at all appear, that the Spaniards of those provinces, lying between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, were subject to the feeble government of France, at the time they were fighting against the Moors.

France, in which neither Provence nor Dauphiny were included, was a kingdom of a pretty large extent ; but the king of France was far from being a powerful sovereign. Lewis, the last of the descendants of Charlemagne, had no other demesnes, but the cities of Laon and Soissons, and some few territories besides, which were disputed him. The homage yielded by Normandy only served to give the king of France

France a vassal, who was able to keep his master in pay. Each province had either its hereditary counts, or dukes; he who could only seize upon two or three small villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle held of him who had taken possession of a town: all which produced a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body.

Time and necessity established it as a custom, that the lords or possessors of great fiefs, should march with troops to the assistance of the king. One lord owed him forty days service, another twenty-five, and the under vassals marched at the orders of their immediate lords. But if these lords served the state for a few days, they made war with one another almost the year round. In vain did the councils, which in these wicked times, frequently made very just laws, enact, that no one should fight from Thursday till Monday at break of day, nor in Lent time, nor at other solemn seasons. These regulations not being supported by any coercive power, proved of no effect. Every castle was the capital of a small state of banditti, and every monastery an armed garrison. The advocates, whom they called Avoyers, and who were originally instituted to present their petitions to the prince, and manage their temporal affairs, were now the generals of their troops: the harvests were either burnt, cut down before their time, or defended sword in hand: the cities were reduced in a manner to desarts, and the country depopulated by long famines.

One would imagine that a kingdom thus left without a head, without government, and
without

without order, must have fallen a prey to foreigners, but a like anarchy, which prevailed in those times in almost every other kingdom, proved its security; and when under the Othos, Germany appeared the most to be dreaded, that kingdom was too much taken up with its own intestine broils, to think of foreign conquests.

From these barbarous times, we derive the custom of paying homage for a house or an hamlet, to the lord of another village. A lawyer, or a merchant, who is possessed of an antient fief, receives homage and fealty from another common man, or from a peer of the kingdom, who has purchased a mesne-tenure in his manor. The laws of fiefs no longer subsist, but the old custom of fief-dependency, homages, and duties, still continue. It is a maxim in most courts of justice, that, "there is no land without its lord;" as if it was not sufficient that it belonged to the state.

When France, Italy, and Germany, were thus divided under an innumerable set of petty tyrants; the armies, whose chief strength, under Charlemagne, as well as under the antient Romans, lay chiefly in the infantry, consisted now only of cavalry. There were no other troops but the *Gens d'armes*: and the infantry were not allowed this name; because, in comparison with the horsemen, they were not armed.

The possessors of the smallest lordships, never entered the field without as many horsemen as they could possibly bring: and their pride then, consisted in keeping a number of squires, whom they called *Vassets*, from the term *Vassales*, which signifies a petty vassal. The point of ho-

nour therefore was to fight on horseback. They introduced the custom of wearing a complete set of steel armour, which would have weighed a footman down to the ground. And the helmet and cuirass was a part of the dress. It is pretended that Charlemagne wore them: but they were not in common use till about the year one thousand.

Whoever was rich, came almost invulnerable to the field. This made the use of clubs more frequent than ever, with which they knocked down those horsemen whose armour was proof against their spears. The chief trade then was in cuirasses, bucklers, and helmets, ornamented with plumes of feathers. The peasants whom they dragged to the field, and who were alone left neglected and exposed to danger, served rather as pioneers than combatants. The horses, much more regarded than them, were barbed, and their heads covered with iron.

There were no other laws known then, but what were made by the most powerful for the service of the fiefs. Every other object of distributive justice was left to the caprice of stewards, provosts, and bailiffs, nominated by the possessors of lands.

The senates of those towns which, under the Romans, enjoyed a municipal authority, were almost every where abolished. The title Senior, Seigneur, (or Lord) for a long time peculiar to the principal senators of these towns, were now given only to the possessors of fiefs. The title of Peer began then to be first introduced into the Gallo-German tongue, which was then spoke in France. It was taken from the Latin word *par*, which signifies *equal*, or *fel-*
low.

how: in which sense only, it was used under the first and second race of the kings of France. The sons of Lewis the debonnaire stiled each other *pares*, in one of their interviews, in the year 851. And, a long time before, Dagobert had given the title Peer to the monks. Godegrand, bishop of Metz, in the time of Charlemagne, calls the bishops and abbots Peers, as remarks the learned du Cange. The vassals of the same lords, then, were wont to call each other *Peers*.

Alfred the Great had established juries in England. These were peers in each profession. Any person criminally arraigned had a right of chusing twelve men of his own profession to be his judges. Some of the vassals in France adopted this custom; but without limiting the number of peers to twelve. There were, in each fief, as many as there were barons, who all held of the same Lord, and who were peers among themselves, but not peers of their feudal lord.

The princes therefore, who paid an immediate homage to the crown; such as the dukes of Guienne, Normandy, and Burgundy, and the counts of Flanders and Toulouse, were in reality peers of France.

Of these, Hugh Capet was not the least powerful. He had, for a long time, been in possession of the dukedom of France, which extended as far as Touraine. He was also count (or earl) of Paris; and the vast demesnes he held in Picardy and Champagne gave him likewise a great authority in those provinces. His brother had the territories which, at present, compose the dukedom of Burgundy. His

grandfather Robert, and his uncle Eudes or Odo, had both of them worn the crown in the time of Charles the Simple. Hugh his father, surnamed the Abbot, on account of the abbeyes of St. Denis, St. Martin de Tours, and St. Germain-des-prez, and a number of others which he possessed, had both shaken and governed France. It may therefore be said, that, from the year 810, in which king Eudes began his reign, his family had held the reins of government almost without interruption : and that, excepting Hugh the abbot, who would not take the royal diadem, it forms a series of sovereigns for above 850 years : a filial descent scarcely known to any other kings.

987 It is well known how Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris, took the crown from Duke Charles, uncle to the last King Lewis V. Had the suffrages been free, the blood of Charlemagne properly regarded ; and the right of succession as sacred as it is at present, Charles would have been king of France*. He was not deprived of the rights of his ancestors by a national parliament ; but by that which makes and unmakes kings : force assisted by prudence.

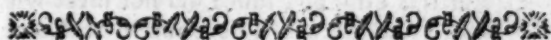
While Lewis, this last king of the Charlemagne blood, was upon the point of ending his obscene life, by a lingering disease, at 987 the age of twenty three ; Hugh Capet assembled his forces : and, so far from having recourse to the authority of a parliament,

* Charles had rendered himself odious to all France, by accepting the duchy of Lorraine, on condition of paying homage for it to the German emperor Otho.

he, by his troops, dispersed that which kept itself assembled at Compiègne, in order to secure the succession to Charles.

This fact is sufficiently authenticated by the letter wrote by Gerbert, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, and pope, under the name of Silvester II. published by Duchesne.

Charles, Duke of Brabant and Hainault, states that composed the Lower Lorraine, sunk under a rival more powerful and more fortunate than himself: and being betrayed by the bishop of Laon, and unexpectedly delivered up to Hugh Capet, he died a captive in the tower of Orleans, leaving two sons behind him, who were incapable of revenging their father's wrongs; though one of them succeeded him in the Lower Lorraine. These were the last princes of the male line of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet, thus raised to the throne by his peers, did not however gain an increase of territory.



CHAP. XXIX.

The STATE of FRANCE in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

FRANCE dismembered, lay languishing in her obscure maladies, from the reign of Charles the Fat, to that of Philip I. great grandson to Hugh Capet; that is for near 250 years. We shall see if the Crusades, which rendered the reign of Philip I. so famous about the end of the eleventh century, made that kingdom more happy or flourishing. But, during

the space of time of which I am speaking, nothing prevailed but confusion, tyranny, barbarism, and poverty. Every lord of the least consideration coined money; but then, any one could, at will, debase it. The fine manufactures were all confined to Greece and Italy; for the French could not imitate them in towns without privileges, and in a nation entirely dis-united.

Of all the events of those times, the most worthy the attention of a member of community, is the excommunication of King
999 Robert. This prince had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage, in itself lawful, and, what is more, necessary to the well-being of the state. We have, in our time, seen private persons marrying their nieces, on paying the common price for dispensations from Rome; as if that See could have any right over marriages made at Paris. But this king of France did not meet with the same indulgence. The church of Rome, though loaded with infamy and scandal, had the boldness to impose a seven year's penance on the king; ordered him to quit his wife; and excommunicated him in case of refusal. All the bishops, who had assisted at the solemnization of this marriage, were laid under an interdict by the pope, who ordered them to repair personally to Rome, to ask his pardon.

This appears an incredible stretch of audacity; but the ignorance and superstition of those times might have suffered it; and a stroke of policy might have occasioned it. Gregory V. who fulminated forth this excommunication, was, by birth, a German, and was governed
by

by Gerbert, formerly archbishop of Rheims, and a declared enemy to the house of France. The Emperor Otho III. who was no friend to Robert, assisted in person at the council where the excommunication was pronounced. Therefore we may suppose, that reasons of state had as great a share in this villainous proceeding, as bigotry and fanaticism.

Historians tell us, that this excommunication had such an effect in France, that the king was abandoned by all his courtiers, and even by his own domestics; two servants only staying with him: and these threw into the fire all the victuals he left at his meals; so fearful were they of even what had been touched by an excommunicated person. However low human reason might have been sunk in those times, one would hardly imagine, that folly and absurdity could have been carried to such lengths. The first author who takes notice of this stupidity of the court of France, is Cardinal Peter Damien, who wrote only sixty-five years after this happened: and he relates that, as a punishment for this pretended incest, the queen was brought to bed of a monster. However, there was nothing monstrous in all this affair, but the insolence of the pope, and the weakness of the king in putting away his wife.

Excommunications and interdicts are thunderbolts that never set a state on fire but when they meet with combustible materials. There were none then; but perhaps Robert was afraid that some might be formed.

This mean compliance in King Robert so emboldened the popes, that they afterwards excommunicated his grandson Philip I, as they

had done him. The famous Gregory VII. first threatened to depose him, if he did not clear himself, before his nuncios, of a charge of Simony brought against him; and another pope did actually excommunicate him. Philip had taken a dislike to his wife, and entertained a passion for Bertrade, wife to the Count of Anjou; he therefore made use of the laws to annul his marriage under pretence of kindred; and his mistress got her's dissolved on the same plea.

The king and his mistress were, after this solemnity, espoused by the bishop of Bayeux. They were certainly culpable; but they at least paid that respect to the laws, as to make use of them to cover their faults. However it be, one pope had excommunicated Robert for marrying his relation; and another excommunicated Philip for having put a relation away. But, what is still more extraordinary, Urban II. who pronounced this sentence, pronounced it in the very dominions of this king, viz. at Clermont in Auvergne, whither he had retired for shelter, and in the very council where we shall find him preaching the crusade.

However, it does not appear that Philip, tho' excommunicated, was held in horror by his subjects, which is another reason for calling in question the general desertion which they say beset king Robert on the like occasion.

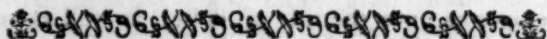
It is pretty remarkable, that king Henry, Philip's father, was married to a Muscovite princess. The Muscovites or Russians began at that time to embrace Christianity; but they had no commerce with the rest of Europe. They inhabited the countries beyond Poland, which

which had yet scarce any knowledge of Christianity, and held no commerce with France. However king Henry sent into Russia to demand the daughter of that prince, to whom the other emperors gave the title of duke, as well as to the chief of Poland. The Russians called him, in their language, *Tzaar*; from whence has been since formed the word *Czar*. It is pretended, that Henry was determined to this marriage through the fear of having a church-dispute upon his hands. Of all the superstitions of those times, there was no one more destructive to the welfare of states, than that of not being allowed to marry a relation in the seventh degree. Henry was related to almost all the sovereigns of Europe. But, in short, Anne, daughter to Jaraslau, Czar of Muscovy, was made queen of France; and it is to be observed, that after the death of her 10th husband, she did not enjoy the regency, nor ever made pretence to it. Laws change with the times. The count of Flanders, one of the vassals of the kingdom, was regent; and the queen dowager was afterwards married to a count of Crepi. All this would appear extraordinary now a-days, but it did not so then.

Neither Henry nor Philip I. did any thing remarkable; but, during their reign, their vassals and under-vassals conquered kingdoms.

We shall now see in what manner a few adventurers of the province of Normandy, without money, without lands, and almost without soldiers, founded the monarchy of the two Sicilies, which afterwards became such a bone of contention between the emperors of the house

250 The CONQUEST of
of Suabia and the popes; the houses of An-
jou and Arragon, and those of Austria and
France.



C H A P. XXX.

The CONQUEST of NAPLES and
SICILY, by a few NORMAN GENTLEMEN.

WHEN Charlemagne took the name of emperor, that title gave him nothing more than what he could secure by force of arms. He pretended to the lordship-paramount of the dutchy of Benevento, which then composed a considerable part of the states known at present by the name of the kingdom of Naples. The dukes of Benevento, more fortunate than the king of Lombardy, made head against him and his successors. Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, were a prey to the incursions of the Arabs. The Greek and Latin Emperors in vain disputed between them the sovereignty of those countries. Several private Lords shared the spoils of them with the Saracens. The inhabitants knew not who were their masters; nor whether they were to be of the Greek or Roman communion; or Mahometans. The emperor Otho I. exercised authority in those countries, as being the strongest, and erected Padua into a principality. Otho II. not so fortunate as his predecessor, was defeated by the Greeks and Arabs, who united against him. The emperors of the East at that time remained in possession of Apulia and Calabria, which they governed by a catapan.

tapan. Certain lords had usurped Salerno. The possessors of Benevento and Capua invaded, as often as they could, the territories of the catapan; who, in his turn, took every opportunity of stripping them. Naples and Gaieta were petty republics like those of Sienna and Lucca; and the Mahometans, who were in possession of several castles up and down, made depredations equally upon the Greeks and Latins. The churches of the provinces under the catapan were subject to the metropolitan of Constantinople, and the others to him of Rome. The manners took a tincture from this diversity of people, governments, and religions, and the natural genius of the inhabitants no longer darted a single ray. It no longer appeared like the place which had given birth to a Horace and a Cicero, and was afterwards to produce a Tasso. Such was the situation of this fertile country in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from Gaieta and the Garillan, as far as Otranto.

The taste for pilgrimages and adventures of knight-errantry prevailed in those days. Times of anarchy produce the greatest excess of heroism, its flight being more restrained in well regulated governments. Fifty or sixty Frenchmen *, having set out from Normandy in 983, on a journey to Jerusalem, returned by the sea of Naples; and in their way arrived at Salerno, at the time that this city, which had been besieged by the Mahometans, had just purchased

* Our author might have, with as good reason, called them English. They were no other than the offspring of those Danes who had settled in Neustria, about sixty years before this period.

its deliverance with money. They found the inhabitants busied in raising the sum for their ransom; and the conquerors in their camp, given up in full security to brutal merriment and debauch. This handful of foreigners reproached the besieged with the cowardice of their submission; and immediately marching with the greatest boldness in the middle of the night, attended by a few of the inhabitants, who had courage enough to follow them, they fell upon the Saracen camp, struck the enemy with a panic, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire on board their ships: and this, not only saved the riches of Salerno, but added to them the spoils of the enemy.

The prince of Salerno, struck with their valour, would have loaded them with presents, but found his astonishment increased by their refusal; they were however entertained a considerable time at Salerno, in a manner befitting heroes who had been the deliverers of the country; and at their departure they were obliged to promise that they would return again. The honour gained by so extraordinary an exploit, quickly engaged other Normans to make a visit to Salerno and Benevento: thus these people, by little and little, resumed their fore-fathers' habit of crossing the seas, to seek for warlike employments, and enlisted sometimes in the service of the Greek emperors, sometimes in that of the princes of the country, and sometimes in that of the pope: it mattered not with them for whom they signalized themselves, provided they reaped the fruits of their toils. There arose a duke of Naples, who had enslaved the rising republic. This duke thought himself happy to make an alliance

alliance with this small number of Normans, who assisted him against the duke of Benevento. They afterwards, in the year 1030, founded the city of Averfa between these two dukedoms; and this was the first sovereignty they acquired by their valour.

A short time after arrived three sons of Tancred of Hauteville, in the territory of Coutance, William, surnamed Fier-à-bras, Drogo, and Humphrey. Nothing more strongly resembles the fabulous times. These three brothers, together with the Normans of Averfa, accompany the catapan into Sicily. William Fier-à-bras kills a general of the Arabs, turns the victory in favour of the Greeks, and Sicily would again have been theirs, had they not proved ungrateful. But the catapan, beginning to fear these Frenchmen, who had been his defenders, was guilty of several acts of injustice towards them, which drew upon him their vengeance; they now turned their arms against him, for whom they had so lately fought; and three or four hundred Normans, make themselves masters of all Apulia. This fact seems 1041 almost incredible; but the adventurers of the country joined them, and soon became good soldiers under such masters; and those Calabrians who sought their fortunes by their courage, quickly became so many Normans. William Fier-à-bras made himself count of Apulia, without consulting either the emperor, the pope, nor the neighbouring lords, only his soldiers; as have done all the first kings of all countries. Each Norman captain had a town or a village given him for his share.

Fier-

Fier-à-bras dying, his brother Drogo
 1046 is chosen sovereign of Apulia in his
 room. Upon which Robert Guiscard,
 and his two younger brothers, leave Coutance,
 to have their share in so much good fortune.
 Old Tancred is astonished to see himself the
 father of a race of conquerors, and the Norman
 name strikes terror into the neighbouring states
 of Apulia, and even into the popes themselves.
 Robert Guiscard, and his brothers, followed by
 a train of their countrymen, go in small troops
 on a pilgrimage to Rome, and marching through
 the countries with their staves in their hands, at
 length arrive undiscovered in Apulia.

The emperor Henry III. though strong
 enough at that time to hold the Romans in sub-
 jection, was too weak to make head
 1047 against these conquerors; and therefore,
 by a solemn agreement, he invested them
 with those territories which they had acquired
 by invasion. They were at that time in pos-
 session of all Apulia, the earldom of Aversa,
 and one half of the dukedom of Benevento.

Soon after, we see this family raised to be a
 royal house, and founder of the kingdoms of
 Naples and Sicily, and a fief of the empire.
 How can it have happened, that this portion of
 the empire should have been so soon rent from
 it, and become a fief to the see of Rome, at
 a time when the popes possessed hardly a foot of
 territory, were not even the masters in Rome,
 nor so much as acknowledged in the March of
 Ancona, which had been given them by Otho
 the Great? This event is almost as astonishing
 as the conquests of the Norman gentlemen.
 But here follows the explanation of this ænigma.

Pope

Pope Leo IX. wanted to get possession of the town of Benevento, which belonged to the princes of the race of the kings of Lombardy, who had been dispossessed by Charlemagne. The emperor Henry III. did in effect give him this town, in exchange for the 1053 fief of Bamberg in Germany; and the sovereign pontiff are to this day in possession of Benevento, in virtue of this donation. The new Norman princes were dangerous enemies. There can be no conquests without acts of great injustice; these they committed, and the emperor wanted to have less formidable vassals. Leo IX. after having excommunicated them, took it in his head to march against them, at the head of an army, with which Henry III. had furnished him, and give them battle. History does not mention how the spoils were to be divided, it only takes notice of there being a numerous army, and that the pope further increased it by Italian troops, who enlisted themselves as for a holy war, and that among the captives, there were a number of 1053 bishops. The Normans, who had always conquered in small numbers, were not a fourth part so strong as the pope; but then they were accustomed to fighting. Robert Guiscard, with his brothers Humphrey and Richard count of Aversa, each at the head of a small, but well disciplined troop, cut the whole German army to pieces, and put the Italians to flight. The pope himself escaped to Civitate, a town near the field of battle; thither the Normans followed him, seized him, and carried him with them prisoner, into that very town of Benevento,

vento, which had first given occasion to this enterprize.

Pope Leo IX. has been made a saint, probably he might have done penance, for having spilt so much blood to no purpose, and for having carried so many of the clergy into the field. It is certain, that he did repent, especially when he saw himself treated with so much respect by his conquerors, who yet resolutely kept him prisoner for a whole year. They restored Benevento to the princes of Lombardy; and it was not till after the extinction of that family, that the popes at length got possession of this town.

It may easily be conceived, that the Norman princes were more piqued against the emperor, who had furnished such a powerful army for their destruction, than against the pope, who commanded it. They were now resolved to free themselves for ever, from any pretensions or rights, which either of the two emperors, between which they were situated, might claim over them. Accordingly they continued to push their conquests, and made themselves masters of Calabria and Capua, during the minority of Henry IV. and while the Greek empire was in a state still more feeble than that of a minority.

The conquest of Calabria was made by the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, and that of Capua, by the descendants of its first deliverers. These two victorious governments had none of those quarrels, which so frequently divide the victors, and lessen their power. The use of history obliges me to stop a little here, to take notice, that Richard of Aversa, who conquered Capua, caused himself to be crowned with the same ceremonies of consecration, and the holy oil,

oil, that had been made use of for Clovis. The dukes of Benevento were always consecrated in the same manner; and the successors of Richard did the like. Which shews beyond contradiction, that every one establishes customs as he pleases.

Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and Richard, count of Aversa and Capua, both so by right of conquest, and both determined to be independent of the two emperors, made use of the same precaution, in regard to their sovereignties, which several private persons did in those times of confusion and rapine, for their patrimonial possessions; they gave them to the church, under the name of an offering, *Ob-lata*, and continued in possession of them, on paying a slight acknowledgment. This was the only resource left the weaker party in the unsettled governments of Italy; and the Normans, though sufficiently powerful, made use of it as a safeguard against the emperors, who might in time become more powerful. Robert Guiscard, and his brother Richard of Capua, when excommunicated by pope Leo IX. kept him prisoner. The same conquerors excommunicated by Nicholas II. paid him homage, and put under the protection of the church, 1059 not only all that they had actually taken, but whatever they might take in time to come. Duke Robert did homage for Sicily, which he had not yet conquered, declared himself a feudatory of the see of Rome for all his dominions, promising to pay an acknowledgment of twelve deniers for each plough, which amounted to a considerable sum. This homage was an act of political piety, something like that of the Peter's pence, paid by England to the see of Rome, or the

the two pounds weight of gold given by the first kings of Portugal, or in short like the voluntary submission paid by many kingdoms to the authority of the church.

But, according to all the laws of feudal right established in Europe, these princes, as vassals of the empire, could not chuse a new lord paramount, without making themselves guilty of rebellion towards the emperor, and putting it in his power to confiscate their states. The disputes which happened between the church and the empire, and what is more, the power of the Norman princes themselves, put it out of the power of the emperors to exert their just rights. These conquerors, in making themselves vassals to the pope, became the protectors, and not unfrequently the masters of their new lords. Duke Robert having received a standard from the pope, and become the champion of that church whose enemy he had been, passed over to Sicily with his brother Roger, and conquered that island from the Greeks and Mahometans, who divided it at that time between them; these people submitted, upon condition of enjoying their religion and customs.

But there still remained to be reduced, all that part which at present composes the kingdom of Naples. And there were still reigning princes of Salerno, the descendants of those who had first called the Normans into that country. These the Normans at length drove out, and duke Robert made himself master of the city of Salerno: thus dispossessed of their dominions, these princes took refuge in the Campagna di Roma, and put themselves under the protection of pope Gregory VII. the same
who.

who made the emperors tremble by his great power. But Robert, this vassal and defender of the church, followed them thither; upon which Gregory VII. did not fail to thunder out his excommunications against him, which ended in the conquest of the whole territory of Benevento, of which Robert made himself master, after the death of the last duke of the Lombard race.

Gregory VII. whom we shall see so haughty and so dreadful to the emperors 1077 and kings, shewed nothing but the greatest complaisance towards the excommunicated Robert, to whom he gave absolution, and from whom he received the town of Benevento, which has ever since continued in the see of Rome.

In a short time after broke out that great dispute between the emperor Henry IV. and Gregory VII. of which we shall 1084 now give an account. Henry had made himself master of Rome, and held the pope besieged in the castle of St. Angelo. Robert, who was then in Dalmatia, making new conquests, flew to the assistance of the holy father, whom he rescued from the united powers of the Germans and Romans, made himself master of his person, and carried him to Salerno, where this pope, who had deposed so many kings, died the prisoner, and under the protection of a Norman gentleman.

We must not be surpris'd at seeing so many kingdoms sending forth knights errant, who became powerful sovereigns by their exploits, and enter'd into the imperial families. This is precisely what happened to Robert Guiscard, and
what

what we shall see more than once happen during the Crusades. Robert married his daughter to Constantine, son of Michael Ducas, emperor of Constantinople. But this marriage did not prove happy; he had soon both his daughter and son-in-law to revenge, and determined to go and dethrone the emperor of the East, after having humbled him of the West.

The court of Constantinople was but one continued tempest. Michael Ducas was driven from the throne by Nicephorus, surnamed Botoniatus. Robert's son-in-law was made an eunuch, and at length Alexius Comnenus, who afterwards suffered so much by the Crusades, mounted the throne. Robert, during these troubles, was already advancing through Dalmatia and Macedonia, and carried terror
1084 and dismay to the very gates of Constantinople. Bohemond, his son by a first marriage, who was afterwards so famous in the Crusades, accompanied him to the conquest of that empire. We may see by this, how much Alexius Comnenus had reason to fear the Crusaders, since Bohemond began by attempting to dethrone him.

The death of Robert, which happened
1085 in the island of Corsu, put a period to his enterprizes. The princess Anna Comnena, daughter to the emperor Alexius, and who wrote part of the history of those times, looks upon Robert as no better than a public robber, and is greatly incensed at his insolence, in presuming to marry his daughter to the son of an emperor; but she ought to have considered, that the history of the empire itself furnishes examples of much more considerable vicissitudes
of

of fortune; and that every thing in this world yields to strength and power.

C H A P. XXXI.

Of SICILY in particular, and of the Right of Legation in that Island.

THE design of making the conquest of the Greek empire vanished at the death of Robert. But his family secured their establishments in Italy. Count Roger his brother; remained master of Sicily, duke Roger his son, continued in possession of almost all the country now called by the name of the kingdom of Naples; and Bohemond, his other son, went and reduced Antioch, after a fruitless attempt to share in the dominions of his brother duke Roger.

But why did neither count Roger, the sovereign of Sicily, nor his nephew Roger, duke of Apulia, take the title of kings? There must be a time for all things. Robert Guiscard, the first conqueror, had been invested as duke, by pope Nicholas II. His brother Roger had likewise been invested by Robert Guiscard, in quality of count of Sicily. All these ceremonies did however only confer titles, without adding any thing to their power. But the court of Sicily enjoyed a right which has been always kept up, and which no other sovereign in Europe has ever had; he became a kind of second pope, in his own island.

The

The popes had assumed a right of sending legates to all the states of Christendom, whom they called legates à latere; these exercised jurisdiction over all the churches, exacting tithes, bestowing benefices, and exercising and extending the pontifical power, as far as the circumstances and interests of the potentates would admit. And temporal affairs being almost always connected with spiritual ones, they brought civil causes likewise before their tribunal; so that every thing in which the church was the least concerned, made a part of their department, as marriages, wills, promises by oath, and the like. They were indeed a kind of proconsuls, dispatched by the ecclesiastical emperor over all the West. By this means, Rome, always feeble, always plunged in anarchy, frequently enslaved by the Germans, and a prey to every sort of calamity, still continued to be the mistress of nations. Hence it is, that the history of each nation is always the history of Rome.

No sooner had count Roger conquered Sicily from Mahometans and Greeks, and settled the Latin church in that island, than pope Urban II. sent a legate thither. This country, indeed, seemed of all others, to stand the most in need of a legate, to regulate the hierarchy, or church-government, among a people, of which one half were Mahometans, and the other half of the Greek communion. And yet this was the only country where the right of legation was for ever abolished. Count Roger, though a great benefactor to the Latin church, to whom he restored Sicily, would not suffer a king to be
sent

sent under the title of legate, into a country which he had conquered.

Pope Urban, wholly intent upon the Crusades, and desirous to keep well with a family of heroes, so necessary to this grand enterprize, granted a bull to count Roger, in 1098, the year before his death, by which he recalled his legate, and made Roger and his successors, natural legates of the see of Rome, in the island of Sicily; investing them with all the rights, privileges, and authorities, belonging to that dignity, which was both spiritual and temporal. This is the famous privilege, which is called the monarchy of Sicily; that is to say, the privilege annexed to that monarchy; a privilege which the popes have ever since been for annulling, but which the kings of Sicily have always maintained. If this prerogative is incompatible with the christian hierarchy, it is evident that pope Urban had not the power of bestowing it; but if it is only a matter of church-discipline, not repugnant to religion, it is as evident that every kingdom has a right to claim the same privilege to itself. This privilege is at the bottom only the right which Constantine, and all the emperors had, of presiding over every part of the police of their own dominions; and yet in all the catholic countries of Europe, there was found but one Norman gentleman, who had power and address enough to procure himself this prerogative, and at the very gates of Rome.

The son of this count Roger succeeded to the whole patrimony of the 1130 Norman family, and was crowned and consecrated king of Sicily and Apulia. Naples, which was at that time only a small city, did
not

not then belong to him, and could not give a name to the kingdom. This city had always preserved itself in the form of a republic, under a duke who held in fee of the emperors of Constantinople, and who had found means, by well timed presents, to preserve his small state from the ambition of this conquering family.

This first king of Sicily, Roger, did homage for his kingdom to the see of Rome. There were at that time two popes; one called Anaclet, the son of a Jew, named Leo, and the same whom St. Bernard calls Judaicam sobolem, of Jewish race; the other called Innocent II. Roger acknowledged Anaclet, because the emperor Lotharius II. had acknowledged Innocent; and it was this Anaclet, to whom he paid his empty homage.

The emperors looked upon the Norman conquerors as no other than usurpers: accordingly St. Bernard, who was concerned in all the disputes between the popes and the kings, wrote both against Roger, and this son of a Jew, who had got himself elected pope by dint of money. "One, says he, has usurped the chair of St. Peter, and the other the government of Sicily: it belongs to Cæsar to punish them."

Roger supported Anaclet, who was acknowledged in Rome. Lotharius laid hold on this opportunity, to strip the Normans of a part of their conquests. He put himself at the head of an army, and taking pope Innocent with him, directs his march towards Apulia. It is plain that the Normans had good reasons for shaking off their dependence on the emperors, and placing a barrier betwixt them; for scarcely was Roger made king, when he found himself

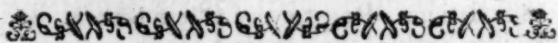
on the point of losing every thing. He was besieging Naples when the emperor marched against him. He lost several battles, and almost all his provinces on the continent. Innocent II. pursued him in person, and with his excommunications. St. Bernard, who at that time accompanied the emperor and the pope, 1137 in vain laboured to bring about an accommodation. Roger every where beaten, retires into Sicily; the emperor dies, and every thing is changed; Roger and his son recover their provinces. Pope Innocent II. at length acknowledged in Rome, enters into a league with the princes to whom Lotharius had given the provinces he had taken from Roger, and with an implacable enmity in his heart to that monarch; like Leo IX. he puts himself at the head of an army, and like him is defeated and taken prisoner. What was he to do in this situation? He did like the rest of his predecessors; he granted absolutions and investitures, and applied for protection against the empire, to that very race of Normans against whom he had before called in the assistance of the empire.

In a short time after, king Roger subdued Naples, and the rest of the territories from Gaieta to Brindis, which were wanting to make his kingdom compleat, and formed the monarchy such as it now exists. Naples became the capital of his kingdom, and the arts began to revive a little in these beautiful provinces.

Having now seen in what manner a few gentlemen of Coutances, in Normandy, founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; we must next see how a duke of Normandy and peer

266 The CONQUEST of ENGLAND.

of France, conquered England. Astonishing are the number of invasions and emigrations which lasted from the fourth century to the beginning of the fourteenth, and which ended with the Crusades ! All the nations of Europe were intermixed, and there was hardly one which had not had its usurpers.



C H A P. XXXII.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND, by
WILLIAM, duke of NORMANDY.

WHILE the children of Tancred of Hauteville founded kingdoms at such a distance from their native land, the dukes acquired one, which became more considerable than that of the two Sicilies. Britain, in spite of the native bravery of her people, has been always destined to be governed by foreigners. After the death of Alfred, * which happened in 900, England sunk again into barbarism and anarchy. The antient Anglo-Saxons, its first conquerors, and the Danes its new usurpers, were always disputing the possession, and fresh Danish pirates frequently came in also, to partake of the spoils of that unhappy island. These pirates continued so formidable, and the

* Alfred was succeeded by a series of great princes, Edward, Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, and Edgar, who governed the kingdom with equal capacity and success. The confusion did not begin till the reign of Ethelred, who ascended the throne about fourscore years after the death of Alfred.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND. 267

English so weak, that in the year 1000, the latter were obliged to purchase their quiet of them for 48000 l. sterling; and to raise this sum, a tax was imposed, which lasted for a long time in England, as indeed most other taxes do, which generally continue to be levied long after the occasion which gave rise to them is ceased. This humbling tribute was called *Dane-gelt*, or Danish money.

Canute, king of Denmark, surnamed the Great, only for performing great acts of cruelty†, reduced both Denmark and England under his subjection in 1017. The native English were then treated like slaves; insomuch that the historians of those times acknowledge, that when an Englishman met a Dane, he was obliged to stop till the latter had passed by.

The race of Canute failing in 1041, the states of the kingdom, resuming their liberty, conferred the crown on Edward, a descendant from the antient Anglo-Saxon kings, who was called the saint and the confessor. One of the great faults, or great misfortunes of this king, was his having no children by his wife Edith, daughter to one of the most powerful noblemen of his kingdom. He hated his wife, as well as his own mother, and for reasons of state, had them both removed from court. However, the barrenness of his marriage-bed proved the occasion of his canonization; for it was pretended

† Though Canute had shed an ocean of blood, and trampled under foot all laws divine and human, in making his way to the crown; he was no sooner established in the regal authority, than he seemed to change his disposition, and became conspicuous for his justice, piety, clemency, and moderation.

268 The CONQUEST of ENGLAND.

that he had made a vow of chastity; a rash vow surely for a married man, and highly absurd in a king, who stood in need of an heir to his dominions. But by this vow, real or pretended, he forged new chains for his wretched country.

The customs and manners of those times, appear to have been absolutely different from ours. William duke of Normandy, who conquered England, was so far from having any right to that kingdom, that he had not even any to Normandy, if birthright had taken place; for his father Robert, who was never married, had him by the daughter of a skinner of Falaise, whom history calls *Harlot*, a word which then signified, and still continues to signify in English, a common woman, a prostitute. This bastard, who was acknowledged in his father's life time his lawful heir, maintained himself by his dexterity and valour, in the possession of his dutchy, against all who attempted to dispute it with him, and reigned peaceably in Normandy, and Britany did him homage. Upon the death of Edward the Confessor, he had made pretensions to the kingdom of England. There was no established right of succession * at that time in any one state in Europe. The crown of Germany was elective, that of Spain divided between the Christians and Moors; Lombardy was every day changing masters; the race of Charlemagne, driven from the throne of France, was an ex-

* The right of succession was generally established all over Europe; though in some cases it was prevented from taking effect, by the violence of usurpation, against which no right or establishment can avail.

ample of what force can do against the right of blood. Edward the Confessor did not wear the crown by right of inheritance. Harold, who succeeded him, was not of his family, but came to the throne by the most incontestible of all rights, the suffrages of the people. The bastard William could plead neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance, nor even any party in his favour in England. He pretended that in a former voyage he had made to this island, king Edward had made a will in his favour, which however no one had ever seen. He pretended moreover, that he had formerly delivered Harold from prison, who had in return yielded up to him his right to the crown of England. These weak reasons he supported by a powerful army.

The Norman barons, assembled in form of a diet, refused to furnish their duke with money towards carrying on this expedition, alledging, that if he should not succeed, Normandy would be impoverished; and that, if he did, it would become only a province to England: nevertheless there were several Norman lords, who risked their fortunes with their duke. One single nobleman, named Fitz-Othbern or Fitz-Osborn, equipped forty vessels at his own expence. The count of Flanders, father-in-law to the duke, assisted him with a sum of money, and the pope himself engaged in his interest, and excommunicated all those who opposed his designs. At length he set out from St. Valeri with a numerous fleet, but the exact number of ships and soldiers is not known. He landed on the coast of Suffex, the 14th of October, 1066, and soon

after was fought in that country the famous battle of Hastings, which alone decided the fate of England. The English, with king Harold at their head; and the Normans, commanded by their duke, engaged for twelve hours together. The cavalry, who fought in armour, and began to be looked upon every where else as the chief strength of an army, does not appear to have been made use of in this battle*. The chiefs fought on foot; king Harold and his two brothers were slain, and the conqueror marched to London, having a consecrated banner, which he had received from the pope, carried before him. This banner was as a standard, to which all the bishops flocked, and declared unanimously in his favour. They came to the gates, attended by the magistrate of the city, and made him the tender of a crown, which they were not in a condition to refuse to a conqueror.

William knew equally as well how to govern, as to conquer, and signalized his reign, by extinguishing rebellions, frustrating invasions, and enacting, and severely executing rigorous laws. The antient Britons, the Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, lay now all confounded in the same state of slavery. His brave Normans, who had assisted him in his conquest, were rewarded by him with the lands of the conquered. Hence came that multitude of Norman families, whose descendants, or at least their names, still subsist in England. He caused an exact list to be taken

* The English historians affirm, that the Normans had a strong body of cavalry, armed cap-a-pee; and that these in the pursuit made a terrible carnage.

of all the goods of his subjects, of what nature soever; and by this artful management, writers tell us, that he raised a revenue of 400,000 l. of the then English sterling money, which would make five millions sterling of the present money of that country, and about an hundred millions of our French livres. But it is plain that historians are greatly mistaken in this account; for the revenue of England, which now includes Scotland and Ireland, does not all amount to so much, if we deduct what is levied for the payment of the national debt*: this however is certain, that William abolished all the antient laws of the country, to make way for those of Normandy. He moreover ordered

* The standing revenue is not so great, because it is established by a mild legislature, composed of the people themselves; but in cases of emergency, the annual revenue has been raised to near five times the sum. William, on the other hand, owned no restraint but his own will, and taxed the kingdom to the extent of its abilities. His revenue, exclusive of the old demesne lands set apart for supplying his household with all sorts of provision, consisted in a land-tax, called danegelt, a quit-rent out of all the lands of England, wardships, reliefs, and fines, livery of hereditary lands, assignation of dower, licences of marriage, leave to sue in the king's court, mulcts and forfeitures for marrying without licence, and other misdemeanours, besides the pecuniary penalties by which all sorts of crimes were punished; tolls and customs for passage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection, and liberty of buying and selling, duties laid upon merchandize, &c. Over and above these general branches, he received occasional aids, due from the fees of those who held of the crown by king's service; and occasionally levied tallage upon socage tenants, and trading towns. His revenue amounted to four hundred thousand pounds a year, every pound being equal to that weight of silver, consequently the whole to be estimated at twelve hundred thousand pounds of the present computation; a sum which, considering the different value of money, between that period and the present time, was equivalent to twelve millions of money of modern estimation.

that all pleadings should be in the Norman language, and all the public acts continued to be issued in that language, till the time of Edward the third. William was resolved that the language of the conquerors should be that of the country, and schools for teaching the Norman tongue were established in all the towns and villages. This language was a mixture of the French and Danish; which formed a barbarous dialect, that had not the least advantage over that spoken in England. He is said not only to have treated the conquered nation with severity, but even affected a whimsical and capricious kind of tyranny; as an instance of which they alledge his law called the *curfeu* or *couvre-feu*, by which he obliged the people, at the sound of a bell, to put out the fires in their houses, at eight o'clock in the evening. But this law was so far from being an act of tyranny, that it is an antient policy established in almost all the cities in the North; and was for a long time observed in cloisters. The houses were all built of wood, and the fear of fire made it the principal concern of the magistracy to prevent, by all possible means, accidents of that kind.

He is likewise reproached with having destroyed all the villages within the compass of thirty miles, to make a forest, in which he might take the diversion of hunting: but such an action is too absurd to be probable. Writers who relate this do not consider, that it would require at least twenty years to make a new plantation a proper place for hunting in. They tell us he planted this forest in 1080, when he was sixty-three years old. Now, is it probable that
a man

a man of any understanding should, at such an age, have destroyed so many villages, to sow a tract of land, of thirty miles in length, with trees, in hopes of one day hunting in it *.

The conqueror of England became the terror of Philip I. king of France, who endeavoured too late to humble this powerful vassal; and fell upon Mayne, at that time dependent on the dutchy of Normandy. William, upon the news of this, crossed the sea, recovered Mayne, and obliged Philip to sue for peace.

The pretensions of the church of Rome never shewed themselves in a more singular manner than with regard to this prince. Pope Gregory VII. took advantage of the time in which he was engaged in a war with France, to require homage of him for the kingdom of England; founding his pretensions on the antient *Peter's pence*, which had been paid by that kingdom to the church of Rome; amounting to about three livres of our money for each house, which had been always considered in England as a very bountiful donation, and at Rome as a tribute. William the Conqueror gave the pope to understand, that he might possibly continue this offering, but that, so far from paying him ho-

* The historian does not consider that there was no occasion to plant; the whole country hereabout was naturally a forest; and William had nothing to do but to turn out the inhabitants and inclose the ground. He depopulated the country in Hampshire to the extent of thirty miles; and destroyed all the villages, houses, and even churches, which stood in that tract; but he had no occasion to plant even a single tree.----With respect to the curfew, it was doubtless an institution in Normandy and other countries ruled by an arbitrary government; but not the less grievous to the free-born English,

mage, he would forbid his people of England to acknowledge any other pope than whom he should approve. Thus Gregory VII's proposal became ridiculous by being too insolent. This is the same Gregory who disturbed all Europe with his attempts to raise the sacerdotal dignity above the imperial one. But, before we come to speak of this memorable dispute, and of the crusades, which had birth much about the same time, we must take a short view of the other countries of Europe.



C H A P. XXXIII.

Of the STATE of EUROPE in the
Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

RUSSIA had embraced Christianity towards the end of the eighth century. At this time women seemed destined to convert kingdoms. A sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine, who was married to the father of that Czar Jaraslau of whom I have already made mention, prevailed upon her husband to receive baptism. The Russians, always the slaves of their sovereign, followed his example; but adopted only the superstitious part of the Greek ritual.

About that time likewise a woman brought over Poland to embrace Christianity; Micislaus duke of Poland being converted by his wife, sister to the duke of Bohemia. I have already observed, that the Bulgarians received the faith in the same manner. Gisella, sister to the emperor

peror Henry, also made her husband, the king of Hungary, a Christian in the first year of the eleventh century: so that it is an undoubted truth, that the one half of Europe is indebted to women for its knowledge of Christianity.

The Swedes, who had received the Gospel as early as the ninth century, were relapsed into idolatry. Bohemia, and all the countries north of the Elbe, renounced Christianity in 1013; and the inhabitants of all the East coast of the Baltic sea were pagans. In 1407, the Hungarians returned again to idolatry. But all these nations were still farther from being civilized than they were from being Christians.

Sweden *, which probably had for a long time been exhausted of its inhabitants by those ancient emigrations with which Europe had been over-run, appeared in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, to be wholly buried in barbarism; without having war or commerce with its neighbours, and wholly unconcerned in any of the great events of the times; by

* Sweden was first converted to Christianity in the reign of Charlemagne, by one Hubert, who founded the church of Lincolping; and in the year 829, St. Anscarus, a Frenchman, went thither, preached the Gospel, and founded the church of Berken. King Olaus I. embraced the Christian religion in the ninth century, and his subjects followed his example: but a famine intervening, they imputed it to the change in their religion; returned to their idolatry, and sacrificed the king himself to their idol Othinus. Eric VIII. surnamed *the Liberal*, was converted to the Christian religion, and massacred by his subjects, whom he endeavoured to convert: but his son, Olaus II. completed the conversion of his people about the latter end of the tenth century, and even raised a tax for the pope against the infidels. Sweden, at this period, was by no means so obscure as our author seems to imagine,

which it was in all likelihood so much the happier.

Poland, much more barbarous than christian, preserved till the thirteenth century all the customs of the antient Sarmatii; killing their children that were born with any imperfection, and the old men who were past their labour. From this we may form a judgment of the rest of the North.

The empire of Constantinople was neither more nor less extended than we have seen it in the ninth century. It defended itself in the West against the Bulgarians, and in the East, the North, and the South, against the Turks and Arabs.

We have seen in general the state of Italy. A certain number of great lords divided between them the whole country, from Rome to the Calabrian sea; and the Normans had the greatest part of the East. Florence, Milan, and Pavia, were governed by magistrates under the counts or dukes nominated by the emperors. Bologna indeed enjoyed a state of greater freedom.

The house of Maurienne, from whence the dukes of Savoy, kings of Sardinia, are descended, began now to raise itself. It possessed, as a fief of the empire, the hereditary county of Savoy and Maurienne, ever since Humbert the *white-handed*, the stock of this family, had in the year 888, obtained that small detached portion of the kingdom of Burgundy.

The Swiss and Grisons, likewise detached from the same kingdom, were under the government of bailiffs nominated by the emperors.

Two maritime cities of Italy began now to rise, not by those sudden invasions which have alone constituted the rights of almost all the princes who have passed in review before us ; but by a wise industry, which afterwards degenerated into the spirit of conquest. These two cities were Genoa and Venice. Genoa, which had been famous during the time of the Romans, considered Charlemagne as her restorer; that emperor having rebuilt the city some time after it had been destroyed by the Goths. It was governed by counts under Charlemagne and his first descendants ; but, in the tenth century, was sacked by the Mahometans, and almost all its citizens carried into slavery. But, being a trading port, it was quickly repeopled ; and commerce, which had first made it flourish, served to re-establish its former grandeur. It then became a republic, and took Corsica from the Arabians, who had made themselves masters of it. The pope exacted a tribute from that island, not only on account of being formerly in possession of some patrimonies there, but as pretending to be lord paramount of all the kingdoms conquered from the infidels. The Genoese paid this tribute at the beginning of the eleventh century, but soon after they freed themselves from it under the pontificate of Lucius II. At length, their ambition encreasing with their riches, from merchants they aimed at being conquerors.

The city of Venice, not by far so antient as Genoa, affected the empty honour of a more antient liberty, at the time they enjoyed the solid glory of a much superior power. This was at first the retreat of a few fishermen and fugitives

tives who, in the beginning of the fifth century, had fled from the Goths when they ravaged all Italy. There was then no city, only a few cabins on the borders of the Rialto, the name of Venice being then unknown. This Rialto was so far from being free, that for upwards of thirty years it was a sorry village belonging to the city of Padua, who governed it by consuls. The vicissitude of human affairs afterwards brought Padua under the dominion of Venice.

We have no proof that Venice enjoyed any acknowledged liberty under the kings of Lombardy. It is more probable that the inhabitants lay forgotten in their marshes.

The Rialto and its small neighbouring islands did not begin to be governed by magistrates of their own till the year 709. They then became independent of Padua, and considered themselves as a republic.

It was in the year 709 that they had their first doge, who was only a tribune of the people, elected by the citizens. There are many families still subsisting who gave their voice to the first doge. They are the most antient nobles in Europe, without excepting any; which proves, that nobility may be acquired without possessing a castle, or paying for patents to a sovereign.

Heraclea was the first seat of this republic till the death of its first doge; and it was not till the end of the ninth century that these islanders, retiring farther into their warrens, gave to this assemblage of small islands, which formed a town, the name of Venice, from the name of that coast which was called *terrae Venetorum*. The inhabitants of these marshes soon found it would be impossible to subsist without commerce;

merce : thus necessity proved the basis of their grandeur. It is not yet certainly decided, whether this little republic was at that time entirely independent. We find Berenger, for some time acknowledged emperor in Italy, granting, in the year 950, licence to the doge to coin money. And these doges were obliged to send annually to the emperors, by way of service, a mantle of cloth of gold ; but Otho III. in the year 998, excused them from paying this petty kind of tribute. But these slight marks of vassalage did not in the least diminish the real power of Venice ; for, while its people paid a mantle of cloth of gold to the emperors, they acquired, by their riches and their arms, the whole province of Istria, and almost all the coast of Dalmatia, Spalatro, Ragusa, and Narenza. Their doge, about the middle of the ninth century, took the title of duke of Dalmatia. But the republic was far less enriched by these conquests than by its trade, in which it even surpassed the Genoese : for, while the barons of Germany and France were building prisons and enslaving the subject, Venice got their money by furnishing them with all the commodities of the East. The Mediterranean was already covered with her ships, and she grew rich and flourishing by the ignorance and barbarism of the northern nations of Europe.

CHAP.



C H A P. XXXIV.

OF SPAIN and the MOORS.

*The State of that Kingdom till the Beginning of
the Twelfth Century.*

SPAIN was still divided between the Mahometans and Christians ; but the latter did not possess a fourth part, and even that the most barren corner of the whole country. The dominions of the Christians were the Asturias, the princes of which took the title of kings of Leon ; a part of Old Castile governed by counts : Barcelona, and one half of Catalonia also subject to counts ; Navarre, which had a king, and a part of Arragon which had for some time been united to Navarre. The Moors possessed Portugal, Murcia, Andalusia, Valentia, Grenada, Tortosa, and a tract of country stretching into the midst of the kingdom beyond the mountains of Castile and Sarragosa. The Moorish kings always kept their residence at Cordova, where they had built that large mosque whose roof is supported by 365 columns of curious marble, and which the Christians still continue to call *la Mosquita* ; i. e. the mosque, though now used as a cathedral.

Here the arts flourished ; and the court of the Moorish kings was the centre of gallantry, magnificence, and the choicest pleasures. Tournaments and tiltings probably owed their invention to these Moors. They had also shows and theatres ;

theatres; which, rude as they were, served at least to shew that they were more civilized than the other nations round about them. Cordova was the only place in the West, where geometry, astronomy, chemistry, and physic, were cultivated. Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was obliged to make a journey to Cordova in 956 to put himself under the care of a famous Arabian physician; who, invited by the king, resolved that the king should come to him.

Cordova is a most delightful country, watered by the Guadalquivir, and where groves of citrons, oranges, and pomegranates, perfume the air, and every thing invites to the softer pleasures. Luxury and effeminacy at last corrupted the Moorish kings. Their dominions were in the tenth century like those of almost all the Christian princes, divided into petty states. Toledo, Murcia, Valentia, and even Huesca, had their kings. This was the only time for crushing this divided power; but the Christians of Spain were still more disunited. They were perpetually at war among themselves, joined together only to betray each other, and frequently even made alliances with the Moors. Alphonso V. king of Leon, in the year 1000 gave his sister Theresa in marriage to Sultan Abdala king of Toledo.

Jealousies produce greater crimes among petty princes than among great sovereigns. War alone is capable of deciding the fate of great empires, but surprisals, treachery, assassinations, and poisonings, are the more common weapons of rival neighbours, who having much ambition and few means of gratifying it, have recourse to every art that can supply the place of strength.

strength. Thus, at the end of the tenth century, Sancho Garcia, Count of Castile, poisoned his own mother, and his son Don Garcia was stabbed by three noblemen of that country as he was going to be married.

In fine, in the year 1035, Ferdinand son of Sancho king of Navarre and Arragon, re-united to his dominions Old Castile, which had devolved to his family by the murder of this Don Garcia, together with the kingdom of Leon which he took from his brother-in-law 1036 whom he slew in battle.

Castile then became a kingdom, and Leon one of its provinces. This same Ferdinand, not satisfied with having robbed his brother-in-law of his crown and his life, took Navarre likewise from his own brother, whom he caused to be assassinated in a battle which he fought against him *. This is the Ferdinand on whom the Spaniards have bestowed the name of Great,

* Our author seems to be remarkably incensed against all the Spanish monarchs who rendered themselves great by their victories over the Mahometans; and these last he extols, upon all occasions, with a warmth that betrays an evident partiality. We know no author who says that Ferdinand caused his brother to be assassinated. In the history of Roderic de Toledo, in the chronicle of Luca Tudenfis, in Ferreras, Roderic Santius, Alphonsus a Carthagena, and other historians, we find that Ferdinand declined this battle, and sent ambassadors to accommodate the disputes between him and his brother: that he came into the field with great reluctance; and when his brother was slain in the course of the engagement, lamented his death with all the sincerity of grief, and immediately put an end to the pursuit. M. de Voltaire seems to be so enamoured of the Mussulmans in Barbary, that we should not be surprized to hear that he had moved his residence from Lausanne to Morocco.

surely,

surely only to render infamous a title too often lavished on usurpers and murderers.

His father Don Sancho, also surnamed the Great for having succeeded to the counts of Castile, and having married one of his sons to the princess of Asturias, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor; upon which Ferdinand resolved likewise to assume that title. It is certain that there neither is, nor ever can be, any title peculiar to sovereigns but such as they please to take themselves, or that custom gives them. The title of emperor every where signified the heir to the Cæsars, and master of the Roman empire, or at least one who pretended to be so: it can hardly therefore be thought that this could be the distinguishing mark of a prince whose power was but ill established, and who governed only a fourth part of Spain.

The emperor Henry III. mortified the pride of this Castilian, by requiring him to do him homage for his small dominions as a fief of the empire. It is difficult to say which of the two pretensions was the most idle, that of the German emperor or that of the Spaniard. These empty notions however had no effect, for Ferdinand's dominions still remained a little free kingdom.

In the reign of this Ferdinand lived Rodriguez or Roderick called *the Cid*, who actually married Chimene whose father he had murdered. Those who know nothing of this history, but from the tragedy so famous in the last age, suppose that king Ferdinand was in possession of Andalusia.

The Cid began his famous exploits by assisting Don Sancho, Ferdinand's eldest son, to strip his

his brothers and sisters of the inheritance left them by their father; but Sancho being
 1073 murdered in one of these unjust expeditions, his brothers entered again into the possession of their estates.

There were at that time near twenty kings in Spain, some Christians, some Mahometans; and besides these twenty kings, there were a considerable number of independent lords, who came on horseback completely armed, and followed by several squires, to offer their service to the princes and princesses who were engaged in wars. This custom, which at that time obtained throughout all Europe, was no where held in greater credit than in Spain. The princes with whom these knights engaged girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder. The Christian knights added other ceremonies to their dubbing, in particular that of watching their arms all night before the altar of the Virgin. The Mussulmans were contented with girding on a scymeter. This was the origin of knights-errant and of such numbers of single combats; the most celebrated of which was that fought after the death of king Sancho, who was assassinated while he was besieging his sister Ouraca in the city Zamora. Three knights maintained the honour of the Infanta against Don Diego de Lara, by whom she was accused. They fought by turns in a place railed in, and in presence of judges appointed on either side. Don Diego overthrew and killed two of the Infanta's knights, and the horse of the third having the reins of his bridle cut, and running away with
 his

his master out of the lists, the combat was adjudged to be undecided.

Of all this number of knights the Cid distinguished himself the most against the Moors. Several knights ranged themselves under his banner, and all together, with their squires and the horsemen, composed an army covered with iron, and mounted on the most beautiful steeds in the country. The Cid overcame several petty Moorish kings; and having at last fortified himself in the city of Alcañar, he there erected a little sovereignty.

Afterwards he persuaded his master Alphonso VI. king of Old Castile, to undertake the siege of the city of Toledo, offering him the assistance of all his knights for that expedition. The noise of this siege, and the Cid's reputation, brought many knights and princes from France and Italy, particularly Raymond, count of Toulouse, and two princes of the blood of France, of the branch of Burgundy. The Moorish king, named Hiaja, was the son of Almamon, one of the most generous princes recorded in history. This Almamon had given an asylum in Toledo to this very king Alphonso, when persecuted by his brother Sancho. They had lived together for a long time in strict friendship, and Almamon was so far from detaining him, when after the death of Sancho he became king, and consequently more to be feared, that he gave him part of his treasures; and it is said, that they both shed tears at their separation. Several of the Moorish princes went out of the city to reproach Alphonso with his ingratitude towards his benefactor, and more than

than one remarkable combat was fought under the walls of Toledo.

This siege lasted a whole year, at the 1085 end of which Toledo capitulated, but on condition that the Moors should be treated in the same manner as the Christians had formerly been, and left to the free exercise of their religion and laws. A promise which was at first kept, but which time afterwards occasioned to be broke. All New Castille at last yielded to the Cid, who took possession of it in the name of Alphonso; and Madrid, a small place, that was one day to be the capital of Spain, came then for the first time into the hands of the Christians.

Several families came from France to settle in Toledo, and had several privileges granted them, which are still called in Spain the franchises. King Alphonso immediately upon the reduction of Toledo, called an assembly of bishops, which, without the concurrence of the people, formerly thought necessary, promoted a priest, named Bernard, to the bishopric of Toledo; and pope Gregory VII. at the king's request, made him primate of Spain. The church reaped almost the whole advantage of this conquest; but the primate was imprudent enough to abuse this, by violating the conditions which his master had granted to the Moors. By the articles of capitulation, the great mosque was to remain in possession of the Mahometans, but the archbishop, in the king's absence, converted it into a church; by which imprudent act he stirred up a rebellion against him. Alphonso returns to Toledo, justly irritated against the prelate for his indiscretion, appeases the tumult,
and

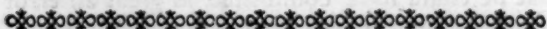
and restores the mosque to the Moors, threatening at the same time to punish the archbishop; but privately prevailed upon the Mahometans to petition for his pardon, which was granted him at their request: and thus the insurrection was quelled, and every thing restored to order.

Alphonso, either through policy or inclination, added to the dominions he had acquired by the valour of the Cid, in marrying Zaid, daughter to Benadat, the new Moorish king of Andalusia, with whom he received several towns in dowry.

He is reproached with having, in conjunction with his father-in-law, invited other Moors out of Africa into Spain. It is hardly to be supposed that he could have committed so great an error in politics; but indeed kings very often act contrary to all the rules of probability. Be it as it will, an army of Moors came over from Africa, and fell upon Spain, which encreased the general confusion of that kingdom. The Miramolin, who governed Morocco, sent his general Abenada to the assistance of the king of Andalusia: but this general not only betrayed the prince to whom he was sent, but likewise the Miramolin in whose name he came, who being at length enraged at his general's perfidy, came in person to give him battle, who was making war with the other Mahometans while the Christians were as much divided among themselves.

While Spain was thus torn in pieces by the Moors and Christians, the Cid Don Rodriguez, at the head of his army of knights, subdued the kingdom of Valentia. There were at that time few kings in Spain so powerful as himself; but whether he preferred the title of Cid, or whether his spirit of knighthood kept him faithful

ful to king Alphonso his master, he never assumed the regal title : nevertheless, he governed Valentia with all the authority of a king, receiving ambassadors, and being treated with the highest respect by all nations. After his death, which happened in the year 1096, the kings of Castile and Arragon continued their wars against the Moors ; and Spain was more drenched in blood than ever, and more desolated : the sad effects of the antient conspiracy between archbishop Opas and Count Julian, above 400 years before, which, a long time after, proved the source of numberless misfortunes to the kingdom of Spain.



C H A P. XXXV.

Of RELIGION and SUPERSTITION in the
Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

HERESIES seem to be the fruit of a little knowledge and a little leisure. We have already seen that the state of the church in the tenth century scarcely permitted either leisure or study. Every one was in arms, and the whole dispute was about riches and power. Nevertheless, during the reign of Robert king of France, there were several priests of that kingdom, and among others one Stephen, confessor to Queen Constance, accused of heresy. These people were stigmatized with the name of Manichæans, only to render them more odious ; for neither they nor their judges could possibly understand any thing of the doctrine

trine taught by the Persian philosopher Manes. They were probably a set of enthusiasts, who pretended to an extraordinary degree of perfection, in order to impose on the minds of the ignorant. This is the general character of the chiefs of all sects. They were charged with horrible crimes and unnatural sentiments, the common way of treating those whose doctrines are not understood. They 1028 were formally accused of repeating litanies in honour of evil spirits, with putting out the lights afterwards and then mingling together indifferently; with burning the first children they had by this incestuous commerce and swallowing their ashes. These are much the same kind of calumnies which were cast upon the first Christians by the Pagans, and which I believe were founded on the manner in which some of them celebrated the Lord's Supper, by eating bread made in the form of a child to represent the body of our Saviour, as still continues to be practised in some of the Greek churches.

The heretics of whom I am speaking, were moreover principally accused of having taught, that God did not come down upon earth, that he was not born of a virgin, and that he neither died nor rose again. If this is true, they were not Christians: and indeed accusations of this kind are generally found to contradict one another.

All that we can gather of certainty is, that King Robert and his Queen Constantia went to Orleans, where some of the people called Manichæans had assembled themselves, and that the bishops caused thirteen of these poor
O
wretches

wretches to be burnt alive : at which spectacle, so unworthy of their dignity, the king and queen are said to have assisted. Never before this execution was any one put to death in France for preaching what they did not understand. It is true that, in the fourth century, Priscillian was condemned to death with seven of his followers at Triers. But this city, which then made a part of the two Gauls, has not been annexed to France, since the declension of the house of Charlemagne. And let it be observed, that St. Martin of Tours would not communicate with those bishops who had sought the blood of Priscillian, declaring openly that it was a damnable action to condemn men to death for being mistaken. But there was no St. Martin to be found in the time of King Robert.

After this there arose some slight disputes about the Eucharist ; but these did not break out into any violent rupture. This subject, which ought to be only that of adoration and respectful silence, and not of persecution and contention, escaped even the warm imaginations of the Greek Christians ; or perhaps was neglected, from its giving no scope to the metaphysics cultivated by the Greek doctors after they had adopted the ideas of Plato. They had found sufficient employ for this philosophy in the explication of the Trinity, the consubstantiality of the Word, the union of the two natures and the two wills, and the abyss of predestination. But the questions, whether the bread and wine are changed into the second person of the Trinity, and consequently into God ? whether we eat and drink this second person by
faith

faith only? these questions I say were of another kind, and did not appear to be subject to the philosophy of those times. Accordingly, in the first ages of Christianity, people contented themselves with eating the Lord's Supper in the evening, and with communicating at the mass under both kinds, without having any fixed and determined ideas in relation to this mystery.

It appears that in many churches, and particularly in England, they believed that they only eat and drank the body and blood of Christ spiritually. And in the Bodleian library there is a homily, wrote in the tenth century, in which are these words, "It is truly by consecration the body and blood of Christ, not corporally but spiritually. The body in which Jesus Christ suffered and the eucharistical body are entirely different. The first was composed of flesh and bones, animated by a rational soul; but what we call the Eucharist has neither blood, nor bones, nor soul. We ought then to understand it in a spiritual sense."

Johannes Scotus, surnamed Erigenes, because he came from Ireland, had long before maintained the same opinion, in the reign of Charles the Bald, and that too, as we are told, by the emperor's own orders.

In the time of this Scotus or Scot, one Ratram, a monk of Corbie, and others, wrote on this mystery in such a manner as to leave room at least to doubt, whether they believed in what has since been called the *real presence*. For this Ratram, in his epistle addressed to the emperor Charles the Bald, says in express terms,

“ It is the body of Jesus Christ which is seen, received, and eaten, not by the bodily senses, but by the eyes of the minds of the faithful.”

Others however wrote against them, and the most common opinion certainly was, that the true body of Jesus Christ was eaten, since they disputed in order to know whether it was digested and voided again.

At length Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, about the year 1050, both by his writings and from the pulpit, taught that the real body of Jesus Christ was not, nor could possibly be under the appearances of bread and wine.

He affirmed that what would occasion an indigestion if eaten in too great a quantity, could be no other than an aliment, or that what would cause drunkenness, when too freely drank, was a real liquor; that there was no whiteness in a thing that appeared white, no roundness in an object that appeared round, &c. These propositions of Berenger's could not fail of setting many against him, and the more so as his great reputation had raised him a number of enemies. The person who distinguished himself most against him was Lanfranc of the Lombard race, born at Pavia, who was come to seek his fortune in France, and whose reputation was equal to that of Berenger. This is the method he made use of to confute his adversary, in his treatise *de corpore domini*.

“ It may truly be affirmed, that the body of our Lord, in the Eucharist, is the same as that which was brought forth by the Virgin; and that it is not the same: it is the same as to the essences and properties of real nature, and it is not

not the same as to the species of bread and wine ; so that it is the same as to the substance, and it is not the same as to the form."

Lanfranc's opinion seems to be, in general, that of the whole church; Berenger had reasoned only as a philosopher. Here the question was about a matter of faith, a mystery which was acknowledged by the church as incomprehensible. Now Berenger was a Member of the church, and therefore ought to have believed as she did, and, like her, have submitted to reason. However, he was condemned by the council of Paris in the year 1050, and again at Rome in 1079, and obliged to pronounce his recantation ; but this being forced, only served to rivet his sentiments more deeply in his heart, and he died in this opinion, which neither caused a schism nor a civil war. Temporalities alone were, at that time, the grand objects which employed the ambition of mankind, the other source, which was to produce the effusion of so much blood, not having been yet opened.

We may reasonably suppose, that the ignorance of those times strengthened the popular superstition. I shall relate some examples, which have long exercised human credulity. It is pretended, that the emperor Otho III. put his wife Mary of Arragon to death for being guilty of adultery. It is very possible, that a bigotted and cruel prince, such as Otho III. is painted, might have punished with death a wife less vicious than himself: but more than twenty authors have written, and Maimbourg has repeated after them, and others again after Maimbourg, that the empress having made advances

to a young Italian count, who rejected them from a principle of virtue, she accused this count to the emperor her husband of an attempt to seduce her, and he was punished with death. Upon this, the count's widow, say they, came with her husband's head in her hand, to demand justice on the accuser, and to prove his innocence. This heroic widow insisted upon being put to the trial of hot iron, and held in her hand an iron bar, red hot, as long as the judges thought proper; and this miracle serving as a legal proof of the empress's guilt, she was condemned to be burnt alive.

Maimbourg should have considered, that this fable is related by authors who wrote a long time after the death of Otho, and that they do not so much as give us the names of the Italian count, and of the widow, who handled a bar of red-hot iron with such impunity. In short, should even cotemporary authors pretend to give authentic accounts of such an event, they would not deserve greater credit, than the wizards, who depose before a court of justice, that they have assisted at the nocturnal meetings of witches.

The adventure of a bar of iron is alone sufficient to discredit the punishment of Mary of Arragon, related in so many dictionaries and histories, in which every page is a mixture of truth and falsehood.

The second event is much of the same kind. It is pretended, that Henry II. successor to Otho III. made trial of the fidelity of his wife Cunegunda, by making her walk bare-footed over nine ploughshares heated red hot. This
Story

Story related in so many martyrologies, deserves the same reply as that of Otho's wife.

Didier, Abbot of mount Cassin, and several other writers, relate a fact nearly resembling this. In 1063, the monks of Florence, displeased with their bishop, went through the town and country crying, "Our bishop is a Simonist, and a vile wretch;" and they had the boldness, says the Legend, to promise, that they would make good their accusation by ordeal trial. A day was set apart for this ceremony, which was on the Wednesday in the first week of Lent. Two piles of wood were prepared, each ten feet in length, and five in breadth, separated by a path a foot and an half broad, filled with dry wood. The two piles being lighted, and the wood in this space reduced to coals, a monk, named Aldrobandin, passed through this path with a grave and solemn pace, and even returned half way back, to take from the midst of the flames his cloak, which he had let fall. This has been related by many historians, and cannot be denied, without overturning the very foundations of history; but it is as certain, that we cannot give credit to it, without overturning the very foundations of reason.

It is, doubtless, very possible, that a man may pass swiftly between two burning piles of wood, and even over hot embers, without being entirely burnt; but to go gravely backwards and forwards, to take up a cloak, is one of those adventures of the *Golden Legend*, which ought no longer to be mentioned by men of common understanding.

The last proof I shall relate, is that made use of in Spain, after the taking of Toledo, to prove whether they were to repeat the Roman Office, or that called the Mosarabic. It was at first agreed on all hands, to terminate the dispute by single combat. Two champions, completely armed, fought according to all the rules of chivalry, and Don Ruis de Martanza, knight of the Mosarabic mass-book, made his adversary lose his saddle, and threw him half dead to the ground. But the queen, who had a strong inclination to the Roman Missal, resolved that they should make the trial of fire. All the laws of chivalry were against it. However, the two mass-books were thrown into the fire, where, most probably, they were both burnt; but the King, not to give umbrage to either party, ordered it so, that some churches prayed according to the Romish Ritual, and others kept to the Mosarabic.

Whatever was most venerable and august in religion, was debased throughout the whole West, by the most ridiculous and absurd customs. There was a festival of fools, and another of asses, observed in most of the churches. On these days, they made a bishop of the fools, and brought an ass into the body of the church, dressed in a cope and bonnet.

The ceremonies observed at those extravagant festivals, which continued to be in use in several diocesses for upwards of seven centuries, consisted in dancing in the church, feasting upon the altars, and exhibiting the most obscene and lewd farces. To consider only the customs which I have here related, one would imagine,
that

that one was reading a description of Negroes and Hottentots ; and indeed it must be confessed, that in many things we have been very little superior to them.

The church of Rome has always condemned these barbarous customs, as well as the trials by single combat and fire. And notwithstanding all the troubles and infamy which she has had to encounter, she has always preserved a greater decency and gravity in her worship than any of the other churches ; and has given proofs, that when in a state of freedom, and under due regulation, she was formed to give lessons to all others *.

* The reader will observe, that the author, in this place, speaks as a person who, bred up in the Romish faith, owes this compliment, even at the expence of his understanding, to the church of which he is a member.

The END of VOL. I.

recovered by Rights 124

Romanian Language Do

Leonidas 125

~~Adversus~~

Prophat Port 128

Look where a rise is
not a way from adrian
and mine 128

False facts 129

August in 1st minute

of England 549-140

Duke Gustaf 151

Alfred 179

Federic the last of the
Goths 183

Ammon on 195

Thomson 197

Matthew 198

Secret to preventing the skin
to be burnt by boiling
water 192

Who took the Church
made Patriarch of Constantinople — 206

Cardinals 210

Who ^{Emperor of Germany} crowned emperor of
the Romans had taken
the name of Caesar &
Augustus 214

atavichal. sentenced 230

Complete at most 242

Czar — 249

Who the Emperor was
at Bastar. 266

He landed here 14 Oct

1066

249

Who

Rome & Genoa 276 277

Disputes about yf

Euthanasia 290

Metformin

Aspirin

Angela

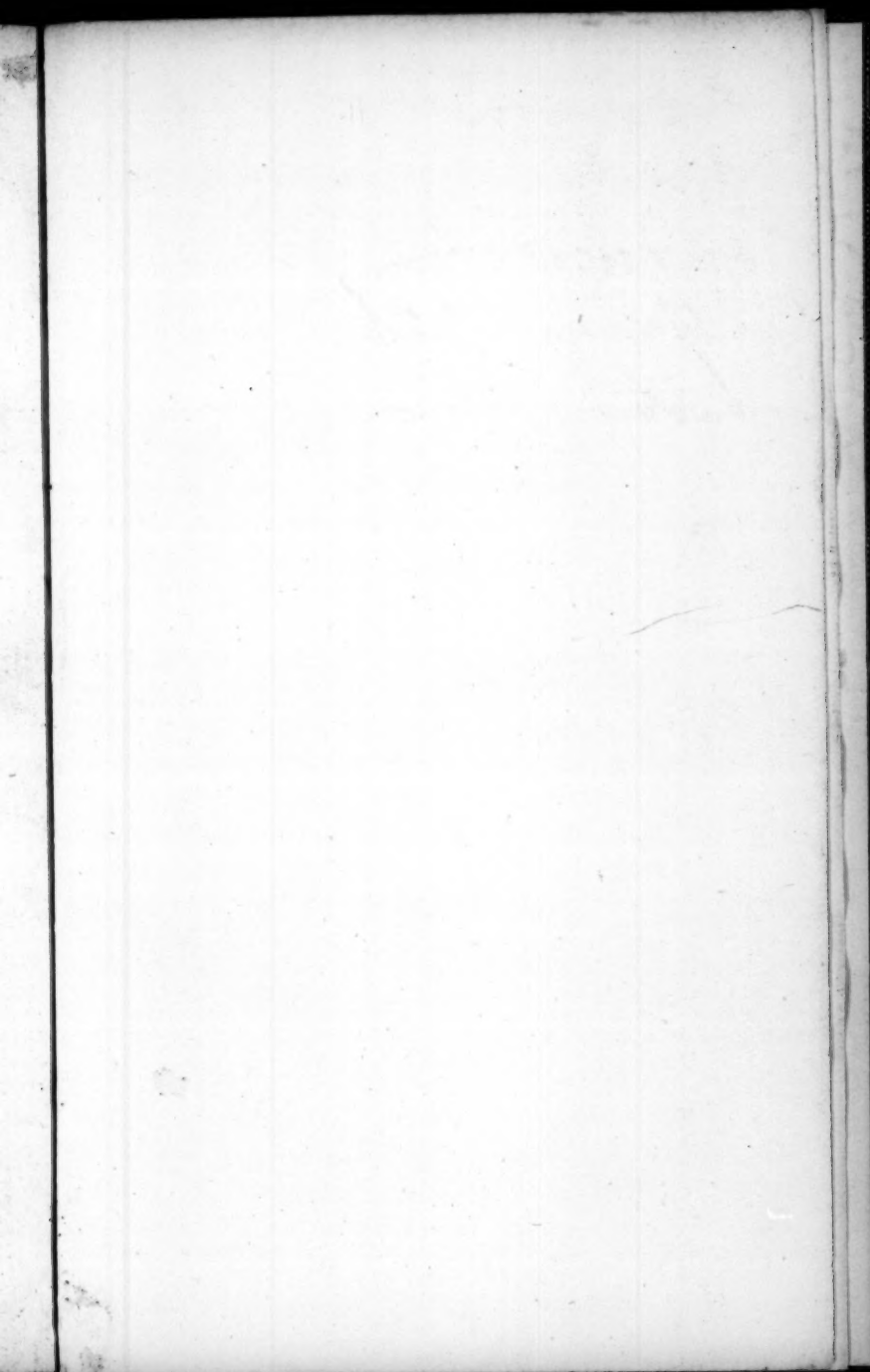
exercised

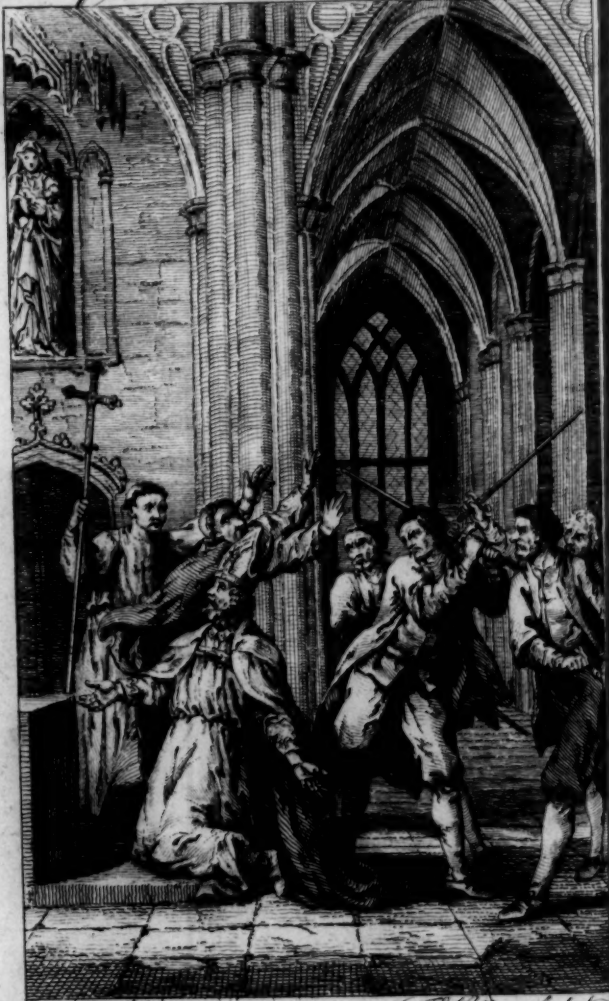
Metformin 226

barbit 247

Ammonian 195

M





J. Wale del.

J. Miller Sculp.

14 Ad i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

CONTENTS.

C H A P. XXXVI.	
O f the empire. Of Italy. Of the emperor Henry IV. and pope Gregory VII. Of Rome and the empire in the eleventh century.	1
C H A P. XXXVII.	
Of the emperor Henry V. and of Rome, 'till the time of Frederick I. called Barbarossa.	19.
C H A P. XXXVIII.	
Of Frederick Barbarossa	26.
C H A P. XXXIX.	
Of the emperor Henry VI. and of Rome.	34.
C H A P. XL.	
The state of France and England, 'till the reigns of St. Lewis, John Lackland, and Henry III. during the twelfth century. Great changes in the public administration in England and France: the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury: England made a fief to the see of Rome, &c.	39.
C H A P. XLI.	
Of Otto IV. and Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century.	
Of the battle of Bouvines, and of England and France, till the death of Lewis VIII. father to St. Lewis.	54.
C H A P. XLII.	
Of Frederick II. and his quarrels with the popes, and the German empire.	62.
C H A P. XLIII.	
Of the East at the time of the crusades	76.
C H A P. XLIV.	
Of the first crusade till the taking of Jerusalem.	82.
C H A P. XLV.	
Crusades after the taking of Jerusalem	96.
C H A P. XLVI.	
Of St. Lewis and the last crusade	124.
C H A P. XLVII.	
Continuation of the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders	137.
C H A P. XLVIII.	
Of the East and of Gengis-Can.	142.
C H A P. XLIX.	
Of Charles of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies; and of the Sicilian vespers.	157.
C H A P.	

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. L.	
<i>Of the crusade against the Albigenes</i>	161
C H A P. LI.	
<i>The state of Europe in the thirteenth century.</i>	169
C H A P. LII.	
<i>Of Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.</i>	175
C H A P. LIII.	
<i>Of Philip the Fair, and of pope Boniface VIII.</i>	187
C H A P. LIV.	
<i>Of the punishment of the Knights Templars, and the suppression of that order.</i>	195
C H A P. LV.	
<i>Of Swisserland, and the revolution in that country at the beginning of the fourteenth century.</i>	203
C H A P. LVI.	
<i>Sequel of the state of the empire, Italy, and the pontificate in the fourteenth century.</i>	207
C H A P. LVII.	
<i>Of Joan queen of Naples</i>	219
C H A P. LVIII.	
<i>Of the emperor Charles IV. and of the return of the holy see from Avignon to Rome.</i>	226
C H A P. LIX.	
<i>Of the great schism in the West.</i>	232
C H A P. LX.	
<i>The council of Constance</i>	241
C H A P. LXI.	
<i>Of John Hus, and of Jerom of Prague</i>	248
C H A P. LXII.	
<i>Of the state of Europe at the time of the council of Constance</i>	257
C H A P. LXIII.	
<i>Of France and England, in the time of Philip of Valois and Edward III.</i>	265
C H A P. LXIV.	
<i>Of France under king John</i>	283
C H A P. LXV.	
<i>Of the Black Prince. Of Don Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, and of the constable du Guesclin</i>	293
C H A P. LXVI.	
<i>Of France and England, during the reign of Charles V.</i>	300

[1]

A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of the Empire of ITALY. Of the Emperor
HENRY IV. and POPE GREGORY VII.
Of ROME and the EMPIRE in the Eleventh
Century.

IT is now time to return to the ruins of
Rome, and that shadow of the throne of
the Cæsars which began to appear again
in Germany.

It was yet uncertain who was to reign in
Rome, or what was to be the fate of Italy.
The German emperors thought themselves by
right masters of the whole western empire: and
yet they were scarcely sovereigns in Germany,
where the great feudal government of the lords
and bishops began to take deep root. The

Norman princes, who had conquered Apulia and Calabria, formed a new power. The Venetians had, by their example, inspired all the great towns of Italy with the love of liberty and independence. The popes were not yet sovereigns, but wanted to be so.

The right of the emperors to nominate the popes began to be established ; but it is easy to see that the first favourable circumstance might given a sudden turn to affairs. This soon fell out under the minority of the emperor, Henry IV. who was in the life-time of his father Henry III. acknowledged as his successor.

Even in the time of this last emperor the imperial authority began to decline in Italy. His sister the countess or dutchess of Tuscany, mother to that true benefactress of the popes, the countess Matilda d'Este, contributed more than any one to stir up Italy against her brother. Together with the marquisate of Mantua, she possessed Tuscany, and a part of Lombardy. Having had the imprudence to come to the German court, they detained her a considerable time prisoner there. Her daughter, the countess Matilda, inherited her ambition, and hatred to the imperial house.

During the minority of Henry IV. many popes were made by intrigues, money, and civil dissensions. At length, in 1061, Alexander II. was elected without the imperial court being at all consulted. That court in vain nominated another pope: its interest was upon the decline in Italy ; Alexander II. carried his point, and obliged his competitor to leave Rome.

Though

Though Henry IV. when he came of age saw himself emperor of Italy and Germany, yet he was very much circumscribed in his power. Part of the secular and ecclesiastical princes of his own country entered into cabals against him; and it is well known that he had no way of being master of Italy but at the head of a powerful army, and that he wanted. His power was trifling, but his courage was superior to his fortune.

Some authors relate, that being accused in the diet of Wurtzburg of having intended to assassinate the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia, he offered to fight the ac- 1073
cuser, who was only a simple gentleman. The day was fixed for the combat, and the accuser not appearing, the emperor was acquitted.

As soon as the authority of a prince comes to be disputed, an attack is generally made upon his morals. Henry was publicly reproached with having mistresses, while the meanest priest was suffered to keep them with impunity. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of a marquis of Ferrara, with whom he pretended he had never been able to consummate his marriage. Some little irregularities of his youth contributed to sour the minds of the people still more, and his conduct had weakened his power.

There was at that time at Rome a monk of Cluni, lately made a cardinal, a man of a restless, fiery, and enterprising disposition, and one who knew very well, upon occasion, how to join artifice to an ardent zeal for the pretensions of the church. Hildebrand was the name

of this daring man, who afterwards came to be the famous pope Gregory VII. He was born at Soan, in Tuscany, of obscure parents*; was brought up at Rome, received into the order of the monks of Cluni, under the abbot Odilon; and, being deputed to Rome upon some affairs of his order, was afterwards employed by the popes in all affairs which required dexterity and resolution; and began already to distinguish himself in Italy by an intrepid and violent zeal. The public voice declared him the successor of Alexander II. under whose pontificate he governed every thing. The various characters, favourable and unfavourable, which so many writers have given us of this Gregory, may be found comprised in a picture which a Neapolitan painter drew of him, in which he was represented with a sheep-hook in one hand, and a whip in the other, trampling upon sceptres; and by his side St. Peter's nets and fish.

Gregory engaged pope Alexander to strike an unheard of blow, in summoning young Henry to appear at Rome before the tribunal of the holy see. This was the first example of so signal an exploit; and in what times was it hazarded? When Rome had been accustomed by Henry III. the father of this very Henry, to receive her bishops at the sole command of the emperor. Now it was precisely this mark of servitude which Gregory aimed at throwing off; and to prevent the emperors from giving laws in Rome, he resolved that the pope should give laws to the emperor. This bold step was attended with no consequence at that time.

* He was the son of a carpenter.

In all this affair Alexander II. seems like a forlorn hope dispatched by Hildebrand against the empire before he would venture to give it battle. The death of Alexander followed soon after this first act of hostility.

1073 Upon the demise of this pontiff, Hildebrand had credit enough to get himself elected and installed by the people of Rome, without waiting for the emperor's permission. But he soon after obtained it, upon promising to be faithful to his interests; and Henry, accepting of his excuses, sent his chancellor of Italy to confirm his election at Rome. Upon this occasion, the emperor being cautioned by his courtiers to beware of Gregory, publicly declared that this pope could never be ungrateful to his benefactor; but no sooner was Gregory settled in the papal chair, than he declared excommunicate all who should receive benefices from laymen, and every layman who should presume for the future to confer them. He had formed the design of depriving all lay patrons of the right of presentation to church livings. This was engaging the church in an open quarrel with the sovereigns of all nations. The violent temper of this pontiff broke out at the same time against Philip I. king of France. The affair related to some Italian merchants who had been ransomed by the French. The pope wrote a circular letter to the bishops of France, in which he delivers himself thus: "Your king, says he, is rather a tyrant than a king; he spends his days in infamy and vice;" and immediately upon these indiscreet expressions follow the usual threats of excommunication.

OF HENRY IV.

1075 Not long after, while Henry was engaged in a war with the Saxons, the pope sent two legates to him, with a summons to come and answer to the charge of having granted the investiture of benefices, and threatening him with excommunication, in case of non-compliance. The two legates who brought this strange summons, delivered their message just as the emperor had obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, and was returned crowned with glory, and grown more powerful than they expected. It is easy to conceive with what indignation a young emperor of five and twenty, victorious, and jealous of his dignity, must have received such an embassy: yet he did not inflict any exemplary punishment upon the deputies, the prejudices of those times not allowing of such a step; he contented himself therefore with treating this piece of insolence with the contempt it deserved, and left these indiscreet legates to the insults of the servants attending his court.

1076 Almost at the same time this pope also excommunicated the Norman princes of Apulia and Calabria, (mentioned in the thirteenth chapter.) So many excommunications thrown out upon the back of one another would in these times be looked upon as the height of folly and imprudence; but it should be considered, that when Gregory issued his menaces against the king of France, he addressed his bull to the duke of Aquitaine, that king's vassal, who was nearly as powerful as the king himself; that when he broke out against the emperor, he had a part of Italy on his side, together with the countess Matilda, Rome, and

one

one half of Germany; and that as to the Normans, they were then his declared enemies; so that, upon the whole, Gregory's behaviour will appear rather the effect of an insolent and overbearing temper, than of rashness or folly. He was sensible that in endeavouring to set up his own dignity above that of the emperor, and all other crowned heads, he should have all the other churches on his side, who would be proud of being members of a head who knew so well how to pull down every superior power: and his design was not only to throw off the yoke of the emperors, but at the same time to bring Rome, the emperors and kings in general, under the papal dominion. This project was such an one as might have cost him his life, and he could expect no other; but the greater the danger the greater the glory.

Henry had too much business upon his hands in Germany to suffer him to go over to Italy; and his first step seemed rather that of an Italian lord than an emperor of Germany. Instead of employing a general and an army, he is said to have made use of a ruffian named Cencius, famous for his robberies, who seized upon the pope in the church of St. Mary Maggior, at the very time he was celebrating divine service. Some resolute fellows, his accomplices, gave the pontiff several wounds, and hurrying him away, shut him up in a tower of which Cencius had the possession.

Henry acted more in the character of a prince, in calling a council at Worms, consisting of bishops, abbots, and doctors, in which he deposed the pope; and the sentence was agreed to by all present, two only excepted. But this

council wanted troops to make its decisions respected at Rome. Henry only lessened his authority by writing to the pope, that he had deposed him, and to the people in Rome, forbidding them any longer to acknowledge Gregory as their pontiff.

As soon as the pope received these insignificant letters, he addressed himself in these words to a council he summoned upon the occasion: "In the name of almighty God, and by your authority, I prohibit Henry the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Germanic kingdom, and Italy. I release all christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king." This is well known to be the first instance of a pope's pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown. We have already seen Lewis the Debonnaire deposed by his bishops; but there was at least some colour for that step. They condemned Lewis in appearance, only to do public penance; and no one had ever since the first founding of the church, presumed to talk in the same strain as Gregory. The circular letters written by this pontiff breath the same spirit as his sentence of deposition. He there repeats several times, "That bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them:" expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated for bringing in all the churchmen of the world to his standard.

There is the greatest probability that when Gregory thus deposed his sovereign only by pronouncing a few words, he knew very well that he had in his favour the civil wars of Germany, which began to break out anew with the

the greatest fury. A bishop of Utrecht, who had been greatly instrumental in Gregory's condemnation, coming to be struck with a sudden and painful illness, of which he died, repented, it is said, upon his death-bed of what he had done, as an act of sacrilege. This repentance of the bishop, whether true or false, imposed upon the people. These were no longer the times when Germany was united under the Otho's. Henry saw himself surrounded near Spire by the army of the confederates, who availed themselves of the pope's bull. The feudal government which then prevailed in Germany, naturally produced such kind of revolutions. Each German prince was jealous of the imperial power, as the higher nobility of France were of their king. The flame of civil war still lay smothering, and a bull properly darted was sufficient to set it into a blaze.

The confederate princes granted Henry his liberty, only on condition that he should live as a private person, and under sentence of excommunication at Spire, without exercising any function either of a christian or a king, till the pope came to preside at a diet of princes and bishops, to be assembled at Augsburg, and by whom he was to be tried.

It is certain that those princes who had a right to chuse the emperor, had a right to depose him; but to make the pope president of the council appointed for trying him, was in fact to acknowledge the pontiff as the supreme judge of both emperor and empire. This was the victory of Gregory and of the popedom; and Henry, reduced to these extremities, still added to the triumph.

Willing to prevent this fatal trial at Augs-
 burg, he took an unheard of resolution, in sud-
 denly passing the Alps at Tirol, with a few do-
 mestic, to present himself to ask absolution of
 the pope. Gregory was then with the countess
 Matilda in the town of Canosa, the antient
 Canusium, on the Appennine mountains, near
 Rheggio, a fortress in these times deemed im-
 pregnable. This emperor, so celebrated for his
 victories, presents himself at the gates of the
 fortress without either guards or attendants.
 They stopped him in the inner court, stripped him
 of his cloaths, and put him on an haircloth.
 In this condition, and barefooted, he was suf-
 fered to remain in the court, though

1077 it was then the month of January.

They afterwards made him fast three
 days before he was admitted to kiss the pope's
 feet, who all that time was shut up with the
 countess Matilda, whose spiritual director he
 had long been. It is not at all surprising that
 this pope's enemies should have reflected upon
 him for his conduct with regard to the coun-
 tress. It is true he was an old man of seventy-
 two years of age; but then he was a spiritual
 director, and Matilda was a weak young wo-
 man. The devout language which we find in
 the pope's letters to this princess compared
 with the violence of his ambition, might tempt
 one to believe that he made use of religion for
 a mask to all his passions: but, on the other
 hand, we have not a single fact or circumstance
 to authorise such suspicions. The hypocritical
 debauchee has neither the settled enthusiasm
 nor the intrepid zeal of Gregory, whose great
 austerities made him so very dangerous.

At

At length the emperor was permitted to throw himself at the pontiff's feet, who deigned to grant him absolution, but not till he had sworn to wait for his solemn decision at the diet of Augsburg, and to be perfectly obedient to him in all things. Some bishops and German lords of the emperor's party made the same submission. Gregory, then looking upon himself, and not without reason, as the lord and master of all the crowned heads of the earth, said in several of his letters, "That it was his duty to pull down the pride of kings."

The people of Lombardy, who still held out for the emperor, were so incensed at his mean submission, that they were upon the point of deserting him. Gregory, was more hated by them than even in Germany. Happily for the emperor their detestation of the pope's arrogance overbalanced their indignation at his meanness. Henry turned this to his advantage; and, by a change of fortune hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he met with a strong party in Italy, when he was abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms against the pope, while he on his side was raising all Germany against the emperor.

On the one hand the pope made use of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany, and Henry left nothing undone to persuade the Italians to chuse another pope. The Germans chose Rodolph, duke of Swabia; upon which Gregory wrote word, that he would determine between Henry and Rodolph, and give the crown to him who would shew the most submission to his authority. Henry however trusted more to his troops, than

to the decision of the holy father; but meeting with some ill successes, the pope growing more insolent, excommunicated him a second time, in 1080. "I deprive Henry of his crown, says he, and bestow the empire of Germany on Rodolph:" and to make the world believe that he really had the disposal of empires, he made a present to Rodolph of a golden crown on which this verse was engraved:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus dladema Rodolpho.

"The rock gave Peter the crown, and Peter gives it to Rodolph."

This verse at once contains a wretched pun, and an affectation of haughtiness, which were equally the taste of those times.

In the mean time Henry's party began to gather strength in Germany; and this very prince, who clad in haircloth and barefooted, had waited three days at the mercy of one whom he looked upon as his subject, now took two resolutions which were more noble. One was to depose the pope, and the other to give battle to his competitor. Accordingly he

1080 assembled about twenty bishops at Brixen, in the county of Tirol, who, acting at the same time for the prelates of Lombardy, proceeded to excommunicate and depose Gregory VII. "for being a supporter of tyrants and an encourager of simony, sacrilege, and magic." After this they proceeded to the election of a new pope, and chose Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna; and while this new pope hastens into Lombardy, to stir up the people against Gregory, Henry, at the head of an army, marches against his rival Rodolph.

Was

Was it excess of enthusiasm, or what we call a pious fraud, that induced Gregory at that time to prophecy that Henry would be defeated and slain in this war? "I am not pope, says he in his letter to the German bishops of his party, if this does not fall out before St. Peter's day." Every one in his right senses knows that none but a fool or an impostor would pretend to foretell what is to come : but let us consider the errors which at that time had possession of the minds of mankind. The learned in all ages have been addicted to judicial astrology. Gregory was reproached with having put faith in the predictions of astrologers ; and the act of deposition made against him at Brixen says, "That he dealt in divinations, and interpreting dreams ;" and on this foundation they accused him of magic : he has likewise been called an impostor, on account of his false and odd kind of prediction above-mentioned, whilst perhaps he was at the worst but a credulous man.

This prediction of his, however, fell upon his own creature Rodolph, whom he was so proud of having made an emperor, he being defeated and afterwards slain by Godfrey of Bouillon, nephew to the countess Matilda, and the same who made the 1080 conquest of Jerusalem. Who would imagine that the pope should then, instead of making advances to Henry, write to the German bishops, "That they should proceed to the election of a new emperor, on condition of his yielding homage to the pope, and acknowledging himself his vassal ?" These letters plainly shew, that there was still a very powerful party against Henry in Germany.

At

At this very time it was, that the pope ordered his legates in France to demand a yearly tribute of a silver denier for every house, in like manner as was done in England.

Spain was treated in a still more despotic manner by him; for he pretended to be lord paramount of the whole kingdom, and says in his 16th epistle, "That it is much better it should belong to the Saracens than not do homage to the holy see."

He wrote thus to Solomon, king of Hungary, a country which had at that time hardly embraced Christianity: "You may learn from the elders of your country that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the church of Rome."

Enterprizes of this nature, however rash they may seem to us, are always the necessary consequences of the reigning opinions of the times; and undoubtedly the ignorance which prevailed in these ages made it the general belief that the church was the mistress of kingdoms, or the pope would never have ventured to write always in this stile.

His inflexibility towards Henry was not likewise without foundation. He had gained such an ascendancy over the countess Matilda, that she made an authentic donation of her territories to the holy see, only reserving the enjoyment of them for her natural life. It is not known whether this concession was made by a public act, or by a private deed between the two parties. The custom at that time was, when any one made a donation of their goods or territories to the church, to place a lump of earth upon the altar; and, instead of a deed, there were witnesses present on both sides. It

is said that Matilda made two several donations of her effects to the see of Rome.

The validity of this donation, confirmed afterwards by her will, was never disputed by her nephew Henry, and still remains the most authentic title of any claimed by the popes; but yet this very title proved a fresh subject of dispute. The countess possessed Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Rheggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, and the dutchy of Spoleto, Verona, almost the whole of what is now called St. Peter's Patrimony, reaching from Viterbo as far as Orvieto, together with a part of the marche of Ancona.

Henry III. had given this marche of Ancona to the popes; but however this did not prevent the countess Matilda's mother from taking possession of the towns which she thought of right belonged to her. It seems as if Matilda was desirous of making reparation after her death for the injury she had done to the holy see during her life-time: but it was not in her power to give away the unalienable fiefs; and the emperors pretended that her whole patrimony was a fief belonging to the empire. Therefore this was in effect leaving territories to be conquered, and making a legacy of continual wars. Henry IV. as heir, and lord paramount, looked upon this donation as an absolute violation of the rights of the empire: however, in the end, he was obliged to yield a part of those territories to the holy see.

Henry still continuing his vengeance, came at length before Rome, and laid siege to it; and made himself master of the part of the town on this side the Tiber, called

called the Leonina; but while he was menacing the pope, he entered into a negotiation with the citizens, and gained over the principal ones to his party by money. The people threw themselves at Gregory's feet, beseeching him to avert the miseries of a siege, by making concessions to the emperor. The intrepid pontiff replied, that the emperor must do penance once more, if he expected absolution.

The siege proved a long one; for Henry could not carry it on constantly in person, being obliged to pass over into Germany to put a stop to some insurrections there: but at length he took the city by assault. It

1083 is very singular, that the emperors had made themselves so often masters of Rome, and yet never chose to reside there. Gregory, however, was not yet taken, having retired into the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he defied and excommunicated his conqueror.

Rome smarted severely for the resoluteness of her pontiff. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, one of those famous Normans of whom I have already spoken, took advantage of the emperor's absence to come to the pope's relief; but at the same time he plundered Rome; and that unhappy city was ravaged at once by the imperial troops, who kept the pope besieged, and by the Neapolitans, who came to deliver him. Gregory VII. died some time afterwards at Salerno, May 24, 1085, leaving behind him a memory dear and respected by the Roman clergy, who inherited his pride, but detested by the emperors and by every good citizen who reflects upon the fatal effects of his inflexible ambition.

History

The

The church, of whose cause he was at once the revenger and the victim, have placed him among their saints, in the same manner as the ancient nations were wont to deify their protectors and defenders.

The countess Matilda, having lost Gregory, soon after married the young prince Guelph, son to Guelph duke of Bavaria: she now saw all the folly of her late donation; she was about forty-two years of age, and might yet have had children, who must have been left heirs to a civil war.

The death of Gregory did not however extinguish the flames which his ambition had raised. His successors would not submit their elections to the approbation of the emperors; the church being so far from thinking of paying homage, that she exacted it of every one; and an emperor, when excommunicated, was no longer looked upon as a human being. A monk, abbot of Mount Cassin, was chosen successor to the monk Hildebrand, and in every thing resembled him, but his reign was very short; and he was succeeded by Urban II. a Frenchman, born of mean extraction, who held the see for eleven years, and was another implacable enemy to the emperor.

It is clear to me, that the true foundation of these disputes was, that the popes and the Roman people were not for having any emperors of Rome, and the pretence they made use of as an holy one, was, that the popes, as guardians of the rights of the church, could not suffer secular princes to perform the investiture of bishops with the crozier and ring. It is certain, that the bishops were subjects to their
princes,

princes, and received their rights from them; and therefore owed them a homage for the territories they held by their bounty. The emperors and kings did not pretend to confer the gift of the holy spirit, but they expected homage for the temporalities they conferred. The formality of the crozier and ring was only an accidental part of the principal point; but it happened here, as it does in almost all disputes, that the foundation was neglected, and they laid the whole stress upon an indifferent ceremony.

Henry IV. constantly excommunicated, and persecuted on this pretence by every pope in his time, experienced all the miseries that civil or religious wars could produce. Urban II. stirred up his own son Conrad against him, and, after the death of this unnatural son, his brother, who was afterwards Henry V. made war against his father. This was the second time since Charlemagne, that the popes had armed the hands of children against their parents.

Henry IV. betrayed by his son Henry, as Lewis the Debonnaire had been by
 1106 his children, was shut up in Mentz; whither two legates came from the pope to depose him; and two deputies sent from the diet by his son, divested him of the imperial robes.

Soon after having made his escape from prison, he wandered up and down

Aug. 7: poor and friendless, and died at length at Liege, in a more miserable and obscure condition than his adversary Gregory VII. after having so long attracted the eyes of all Europe by his victories,

ries, his grandeur, his misfortunes, his vices, and his virtues. When he was upon his death-bed he cried out, "Just God, thou wilt revenge me on this parricide." It has been believed in all ages, that God hears the curses of the dying, and especially those of parents: an error which would be useful and deserving of respect, did it prove the means of putting a stop to crimes. But another error has prevailed more generally among us, namely, that of believing all excommunicated persons to be damned. Henry's son put the finishing stroke to his unnatural hypocrisy and impiety, by causing his father's body, under a shocking pretence to religious scruples, to be taken out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral-church of Liege, and carried to a cave in Spires.



C H A P. XXXVH.

Of the Emperor HENRY V. and of ROME, 'till the Time of FREDERICK I. called BARBAROSSA.

THIS Henry V. who, armed with the pope's bull, had dethroned his father, and afterwards dug him out of his grave, maintained the same prerogatives as his father against the church, as soon as he came to be in possession of the empire.

The popes had already found out the secret of sheltering themselves against the emperors under the kings of France. It is true, the pretensions,

tenfions of the fee of Rome struck at the authority of all fovereigns; but then the popes knew how to manage by treaties thofe whom they infulted by their bulls. The kings of France had no pretenfions upon Rome, and were only jealous of the Germans, who were their neighbours; this made them therefore natural allies to the popes. On this account, Pafchal II. went to France to implore the affiftance of Philip I. in which he was afterwards imitated by many of his fucceffors. The pope, notwithstanding the territories which the fee of Rome poffeffed, the pretended donations of the emperors Pepin and Charlemagne, and the real one of the countefs Matilda, was not yet become a powerful prince; almoft every foot of thefe territories were either contefted him, or in the actual poffeffion of others. The emperor, not without reason, maintained that Matilda's territories ought to revert to him as a fief of the empire; fo that the popes were engaged both in a fpiritual and temporal quarrel. Pafchal II. could obtain nothing more of king Philip than a permission to hold a
 1107 council at Troyes, the French government being then too weak, and too much divided to affift him with troops.

Henry V. having, after a fhort war, concluded a treaty with the Poles, found means to engage the princes of the empire in the fupport of his rights; and thofe very princes who had affifted him to dethrone his father, in compliance with the pope's bulls, now joined with him to caufe thofe bulls to be annulled in Rome.

Upon

Upon this he passed the Alps with a powerful army; and Rome was once more drenched in blood for this quarrel of the crozier and the ring. Treaties, perjuries, excommunications, and murders, followed each other in rapid succession. Paschal having solemnly given up the investitures in the emperor's favour, and ratified it on the holy gospels, made the cardinals afterwards abrogate his oath, a new manner of breaking a promise; and suffered himself to be treated in full council as a coward, and a prevaricator, in order to be compelled to resume what he had so solemnly given. This occasioned the emperor to make a second expedition against Rome; for the German Cæsars scarcely ever went thither but upon ecclesiastical disputes, the principal of which was about the ceremony of the coronation. At length Henry V. after having created, deposed, banished, and recalled several popes, and having been as often excommunicated as his father, and like him disturbed by his great vassals in Germany, was obliged to put an end to the war about investitures, and give up the point of the crozier and the ring; and he gave up still more; for, by a solemn act, he for ever renounced the right, which had been always claimed by the emperors and the kings of France, of nominating to vacant bishoprics, or, at least, of interposing their authority in such manner at the elections, as made them absolute masters of the choice.

It was determined then in a council held at Rome, that kings should no longer grant investitures to those canonically chosen, by giving

ing a crooked staff, but by a ring; and the acts of this council were ratified by the emperor in Germany, and thus finished this bloody and ridiculous war. But the same time that the council decided so methodically the kind of staff with which bishoprics were to be granted, they took especial care not to touch upon the questions, whether the emperor had a right to nominate to the see of Rome? whether the pope was his vassal? and whether the great possessions of the countess Matilda belonged to the church, or to the empire? It seemed as if they kept these in reserve, as fresh fuel for a new war.

1125 After the death of Henry V. who left no issue, the empire being still elective, was conferred by the votes of ten electors on a prince of the house of Saxony, named Lotharius II. There were much fewer intrigues and quarrels about the imperial throne than about the papal chair; for although in a council held by pope Nicholas II. in 1059, it had been decreed, that the pope should be elected by the cardinal-bishops, yet there had been no set form, nor certain rule established as yet in these elections. This essential defect in the church-government was owing to an institution in itself respectable. The primitive Christians, who were all equally obscure and united among themselves, by the fear of the magistrates, governed in secret their humble and holy society by a plurality of voices. Riches having in process of time succeeded to their original indigence, nothing remained of the primitive church but this popular liberty, which sometimes grew into licentiousness. The cardinals, bishops, priests, and clergy who composed the pope's coun-

council, had a great share in the election; but the rest of the clergy wanted likewise to enjoy their ancient right; the people too looked upon their suffrages as necessary; and the emperors thought, that all these votes put together signified nothing without their assent.

Peter of Leon, grandson of a wealthy Jew, was elected by one faction, and 1130 Innocent II. by another. This occasioned a new civil war; the Jew's son, as being the richest, kept possession of Rome, and was protected by Roger king of Sicily*; his competitor being more artful, and more fortunate, was acknowledged in France and Germany.

And here occurs an historical fact which is by no means to be passed over. This Innocent II. in order to gain the emperor's suffrage, yields to him and his children the usufruct of all the territories of the late countess Matilda, by a deed dated the 13th of June 1133. At length Peter, whom they called the Jewish pope, dying, after a reign of eight years, Innocent II. remained in quiet possession of the see of Rome; and there followed a truce of some years between the emperor and pontificate; the madness after crusades, which was then at its height, drawing the minds of people another way.

Rome however was not yet quiet. The ancient love of liberty continued from time to time to shew itself: several cities of Italy had taken advantage of the troubles to form themselves into republics; these were Florence, Sienna, Bologna, Milan, and Pavia. They had

* See Chap. xxxi,

before their eyes the great examples of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa; and Rome still remembered that she had been the city of the great Scipios. The people restored the shadow of a senate, which the cardinals had abolished, and created a patrician in the room of two consuls. This new senate signified to pope Lucius II.

1144 that the sovereignty resided in the people of Rome; and that the bishop ought to concern himself only about the church.

The members who composed this senate having entrenched themselves in the capitol, pope Lucius besieged them there in person; but was wounded in the head with a stone, of which he died in a few days.

At this time Arnold of Brescia, one of those enthusiastic persons who are dangerous to themselves and to the rest of mankind, went from town to town preaching against the exorbitant riches and luxury of the clergy: he at length came to Rome, where he found the minds of the people disposed to listen to him; he had conceived the idle notion of reforming the popes, and contributing to make the church of Rome free. Eugene III. formerly a monk of Cîteaux, and of Clervaux, was at that time pope. To this pope St. Bernard thus writes: "Beware of the Romans, they are hateful to heaven and earth, impious towards God, and seditious among themselves: jealous of their neighbours, and cruel towards strangers: they love no one, nor are they beloved of any one; and, desirous of making the world fear them, they are afraid of all the world, &c." If we compare these antitheses of St. Bernard with the lives of many of the popes, we shall readily excuse

excuse a people, who, bearing the name of Romans, endeavoured to have no master.

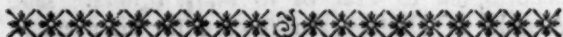
Pope Eugene III. had the address to bring these people back to his yoke, who had been accustomed to that of so many others. But Arnold of Brescia, in reward for his preachings, was burnt at Rome during the papacy of Adrian IV. and thus met with the usual fate of reformers, who have more indiscretion than power.

I think I ought to observe, in this place, that Adrian IV. who was an Englishman by birth †, arrived to this pitch of grandeur from the most abject of all conditions. He was the son of a beggar, and had been a beggar himself, strolling about from country to country before he could obtain favour to be received as a servant among the monks of Valence in Dauphiny; and from these low beginnings he raised himself to be pope.

Our sentiments generally tally with our present fortunes. This Adrian was so much the more haughty as he arose from the most abject condition. The Romish church has always had the advantage of giving that to merit which in other countries is given only to birth; and it may even be observed, that those among the popes who have shewn the most haughtiness, were they who raised themselves from the

† His real name was Nicholas Breakspere, born in the farm of Langley, belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, in which his father was a servant and lay-brother. Nicholas, going to Arles in Provence, was admitted in quality of servant to the canons of St. Rufus, where he became a monk, and in the sequel was raised to the rank of abbot, and general of the order.

meanest beginnings. There are at present convents in Germany, where they admit none but persons of noble birth: the Roman spirit has more grandeur, and less vanity.



C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

1152

AT that time reigned in Germany Frederick I. named Barbarossa, who was elected after the death of his uncle Conrad III. not only by the German electors, but by the Lombards likewise, who on this occasion gave their votes. Frederick was a prince in all respects equal to Otho and Charlemagne. He was obliged to go to Rome to take the imperial crown, which the popes bestowed both with haughtiness and regret, wanting to crown him as a vassal, and vexed to receive him as a master. This ambiguous situation of the popes, the emperors, the Roman people, and the principal towns of Italy, always occasioned the effusion of blood at every coronation of a new emperor. It was the custom, that when the emperor drew near to Rome in order to be crowned, the pope entrenched himself, the people stood upon their guard, and all Italy was up in arms. The emperor then promised that he would attempt nothing against the life, the person, nor the honour of the pope, the cardinals, nor the magistrates. A knight, completely armed, took this oath upon the cross, in the name of Frederick. The pope

pope then went to meet the emperor some miles from Rome; the Roman ceremonial required that the emperor should prostrate himself before the pope and kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces. It was not thus, however, that the popes used to receive Charlemagne. Frederick looked upon this ceremony as an insult, and refused to submit to it: upon this refusal all the cardinals fled, as if this prince had been guilty of a sacrilege, which was the signal of a civil war. But the Roman chancery, which kept a register of every thing of this kind, made him sensible that his predecessors had always complied with these ceremonies. I question whether any other emperor but Lotharius II. successor to Henry V. had led the pope's horse by the bridle. The ceremony of kissing his feet, which was the established custom, did not hurt Frederick's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the stirrup and the bridle, looking upon it as an innovation. However, his pride at length digested these two supposed affronts, which he construed only as empty marks of christian humility, but which the court of Rome reckoned as proofs of real subjection.

The deputies of the Roman people were grown so insolent, since almost all the other cities of Italy had rung the alarm of liberty, that they wanted to stipulate on their side with the emperor; but upon beginning their harrangue in these terms: "Great king, we have made you our fellow-citizen and our prince, of a foreigner that you was before." The emperor, wearied out with such repeated insolencies,

28 OF FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

silenced them, and told them in plain terms :
 " Rome is no longer what she was ; nor is it
 true that it is you who have called me to be
 your prince. Charlemagne and Otho conquer-
 ed you by their valour, and I am your master
 by right of possession." With these words he
 sent them back, and was inaugurat-
 June 18, ed without the walls of the city by
 1155. the pope, who put the sceptre into
 his hand, and the crown on his head.

At that time they knew so little of what the
 empire really was, and their several pretensions
 were so contradictory to each other, that on
 the one hand the Roman people mutinied, and
 there was a great deal of blood spilt, because
 the pope had crowned the emperor without the
 consent of the senate and the people ; and on
 the other hand, pope Adrian, by all his letters,
 declared that he had conferred the benefice of
 the Roman empire on Frederick ; "*Beneficium
 imperii Romani*:" this word *beneficium* literally
 signified a fief. Moreover, he publicly exhib-
 ited in Rome a picture of the emperor Lotha-
 rius II. on his knees before pope Alexander II.
 holding both his hands joined between those of
 the pontiff, which was the distinguishing mark
 of vassalage ; and on it was this inscription :

*Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores :
 Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam.*

" The king appears at the gate and swears to
 maintain the honour of Rome, and he be-
 comes the pope's vassal, who grants him the
 crown."

Frede-

Frederick, who was then at Besançon*, hearing these proceedings, and having expressed his displeasure at them, a cardinal then present made answer, "Of whom then does he hold the empire but of the pope?" Otho, count Palatine, was so enraged at this insolent speech, that he was very near running him through the body with the imperial sword, which he held in his hand. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty. The Germans at that time cut all disputes short with the sword; and the court of Rome sheltered itself in the ambiguity of its expressions.

Roger, conqueror of the Mussulmans in Sicily, and of the Christians in Naples, had obtained the investiture of those countries by kissing the feet of pope Urban II. who reduced the service or duty to six hundred gold *besants* or *squifates*, a coin in value about a pistole. Pope Adrian IV. when besieged by William in 1156, gave up to him several ecclesiastical pretensions. He even consented, that this island should never have any legate, nor be subject to an appeal to the see of Rome, except when the king pleased. Ever since which time the kings of Sicily, though the only princes that are vassals of the pope, are as it were popes themselves in that island. The Roman pontiffs, thus adored and abused, somewhat resembled, if I may dare use the expression, the idols which the Indians beat to obtain favours from them.

Adrian however fully revenged himself upon

* In the Franche Comté, as it is now called, a part of the kingdom of Burgundy, which had devolved to Frederick by marriage.

other kings who stood in need of him. He wrote thus to king Henry II. of England : “ There is no doubt, and you know it very well, that Ireland, and all the islands who have received the faith, appertain to the church of Rome : now, if you want to take possession of that island, in order to banish vice from thence, to enforce an observance of the laws, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter’s penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you your request.”

If I may be allowed to make some reflections in this historical essay of the world, I cannot help observing that it is very strangely governed. An English beggar, become bishop of Rome, bestows Ireland, by his own authority, on a man who wants to usurp it. The popes had carried on more than one war about the investiture by the crozier and ring ; and Adrian sends Henry II. a ring as a mark of the investiture of Ireland. If a king had given a ring upon conferring a prebendary, he would have been guilty of sacrilege.

The intrepid activity of Frederick Barbarossa was but barely able to subdue the popes who disputed the empire, Rome who refused to acknowledge a master, and all the cities of Italy who stood up for their liberty. He had at the same time the Bohemians to repress, who had mutinied against him, and the Poles with whom he was at war ; yet all this did he effect. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom. He quelled the tu-

1158 mulds in Bohemia, which had already been erected into a kingdom by Henry IV. in 1086 ; and it is said that the king of Den-

Denmark received the investiture of his dominions from him. He secured the fidelity of the princes of the empire by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations, and flew back to Italy, who founded her hopes of liberty on the troubles and perplexities of this prince. On his arrival he found every thing in confusion, not so much from the efforts of the several cities to recover their liberty, as from that party fury, which, as I have already observed, constantly prevailed at the elections of popes.

Adrian IV. dying, two opposite factions tumultuously elected the two 1160 persons known by the names of Victor II. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies necessarily acknowledged the pope chosen by him; and the princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the shame and scandal of Rome, then became the signal of division over all Europe. Victor II. Frederick's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and the one half of Italy on his side: the rest submitted to Alexander, in honour of whom the Milanese, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did those of Frederick's party endeavour to have it named Cæsarea; the pope's name prevailed, and it was called *Alessandria de la paglia* †, a surname which shews the difference between this little city, and others of that name formerly built in honour of the true Alexander.

Happy would it have been for the age, had

† Or, *Alexandria built of Straw*, on account of the meanness of its buildings and fortifications, so denominated in derision by the emperor Barbarossa.

it produced no other disputes; but Milan, for attempting to regain its liberty, was, by the emperor's orders, razed to the foundations, and salt strewed upon its ruins. 1162 Brescia and Placentia were dismantled by the conqueror, and the other cities who had aspired at liberty were deprived of their privileges. But pope Alexander, who had stirred them all up to revolt, returned to Rome after the death of his rival; and at his return renewed the civil war. Frederick caused another pope to be elected, and this dying likewise, he nominated a third. Then Alexander III. fled over to France, the natural asylum of every pope who was an enemy to the emperor; but the flames of discord he had raised continued to rage in their full force. The cities of Italy united together in defence of their liberty, and the Milanese rebuilt their city, in spite of the emperor. At length the pope by negotiating proved stronger than the emperor by fighting; and Frederick Barbarossa found himself obliged to give way. Venice had the honour of being the place of reconciliation. 1177 The emperor, the pope, and a great number of princes and cardinals repaired to this city, already become mistress of the sea, and one of the wonders of the world: the emperor there put an end to the dispute by acknowledging the pope, kissing his feet, and holding his stirrup on the sea-shore. All the advantage was on the side of the church, Frederick promised to restore all that belonged to the see of Rome; but still the lands of the countess Matilda were not so much as mentioned. The emperor made a truce for six years, with

with the cities of Italy: Milan, now rebuilt, with Pavia, Brescia, and many other towns, thanked the pope for having restored to them that precious liberty for which they had been fighting; and the holy father in a transport of joy exclaimed, "God has been pleased to permit an old man, and a priest, to triumph, without the assistance of arms, over a powerful and formidable emperor."

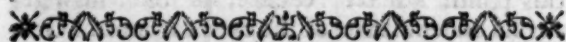
It is very remarkable, that during these long quarrels, though pope Alexander had often performed the ceremony of excommunicating the emperor, he never went so far as to depose him. This behaviour is not only a proof of this pontiff's great prudence, but likewise a general condemnation of the extravagance of Gregory VII.

All things being quiet in Italy, Frederick set out for the holy wars, where he lost his life by bathing in the Cydnus, being seized with the same disorder as that which Alexander the Great had formerly with great difficulty recovered from, when he plunged himself, while in a sweat, into that river. Probably this illness was a pleurisy. 1190

Frederick had carried his pretensions farther than any other emperor before him had done; he had caused a decree to be made by the doctors of the law at Bologna, in 1158, setting forth, that the empire of the whole world of right belonged to him, and that to maintain the contrary was heresy. But there was something more real in the oath of allegiance which the senate and people of Rome swore to him at his coronation, which however became of none effect, after pope Alexander III. had got the better

of him at the congress of Venice. Isaac Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, gave him no other title than that of the church of Rome's lawyer; and certainly Rome used her lawyer as ill as possible.

As to pope Alexander, he lived four years longer in a glorious tranquility, the darling of Rome, and of all Italy. He enacted, in a numerous council, that, for the future, it should be sufficient to have two thirds of the cardinals votes only, to declare a pope duly elected: and yet this regulation could not prevent the schisms, which were afterwards caused by what they call in Italy *la rabbia papale* †.



C H A P. XXXIX.

Of the Emperor HENRY VI. and of ROME.

THE disputes between Rome and the empire still continued to subsist, with a greater or less degree of rancour.

1191 Writers tell us, that when Henry VI. son to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, kneeled down to receive the imperial crown at the hands of old pope Celestine III. who was upwards of eighty, that haughty pontiff, with a stroke of his foot, kicked the crown off the emperor's head. This is a very improbable fact; but it is enough that it gained credit, to shew to what length party animosities were carried. If the pope had really behaved in

† The papal madness,

this manner, it would have been only an act of weakness.

But the crowning of Henry VI. furnished matters of far greater concern. This prince wanted to have possession of the two Sicilies; and, in order to obtain it, condescended, though an emperor, to receive from the pope the investiture of those very states which had originally paid homage to the empire, and of which he at the same time looked upon himself as hereditary proprietor, and lord-paramount. He demands of the pope to be received as his liege-vassal, and the pope refuses him. The Romans were not willing to accept him for a neighbour, nor the Neapolitans for a master; but he made himself so in spite of them. The princess Constance, daughter to king William II. was the only one remaining of the lawful line of the Norman conquerors, and she was married to this Henry VI. Tancred, a bastard of that line, had been acknowledged king by the people and the see of Rome. The dispute then was, who should wear the crown, Tancred who possessed it by right of election, or Henry who claimed in right of his wife? This was to be decided by arms; and the Sicilians in vain, after the death of Tancred, proclaimed his young son: Henry's fortune prevailed; and one of the basest acts that a sovereign could be guilty of, proved the means of his successes.

The intrepid king of England, Richard *cœur de lion*, in returning from a crusade, was cast away near the coast of Dalmatia: he enters the territories of the duke of Austria.

This prince violates the laws of hos-

1193

1194

pitality,

pitality, loads the king of England with chains, and afterwards sells him to the emperor, as the Arabs do their slaves. Henry gets a large sum for his ransom†, and with this money he makes the conquest of the two Sicilies: he then causes the body of king Tancred to be taken out of his grave; and, by an act of barbarity equally idle and execrable, orders the head to be severed from the lifeless trunk by the hands of the executioner. The young prince, son to Tancred, has his eyes put out, is castrated, and afterwards confined in a dungeon at Coira, a town in the country of the Grisons. His mother and his sisters are shut up in Alsace, all the friends of this unhappy family, of whatsoever rank or degree, are put to death by tortures, and the royal treasures are carried away into Germany.

Thus did the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily pass to Germans, after having been conquered by Frenchmen; and thus did twenty provinces fall under the dominion of princes whom nature had placed at three hundred leagues distance from them: an eternal subject of discord, and a proof of the wisdom of the *Salique* law, a law which would be still more advantageous to a small state than to a large one. Henry VI. was at that time much more powerful than his father Frederick Barbarossa had been; he was in a manner despotic in Germany, he was sovereign of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and lord-paramount at Rome, where he made all tremble. But his cruelty proved his destruction; for it is said that his own wife Con-

† His ransom was fixed in the diet of Worms, at one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver,

stance,

stance, whose family he had so barbarously exterminated, conspired against the tyrant, and took him off by poison. 1198

Upon the death of Henry VI. the empire of Germany was divided. This was not the case of France; its kings having been either prudent or fortunate enough to settle the order of succession. But the imperial title affected by Germany, had proved the means of making the crown elective. Every bishop, or great lord, had a right to give his vote. This right of electing, and being elected, flattered the ambition of princes, and not unfrequently caused many ills to the state.

Young Frederick II. son to Henry VI. was but just out of his cradle, 1198 when he was elected emperor by a faction, and gave the title of *King of the Romans* to his uncle Philip. Another party chose Otho of Saxony. The popes reaped an advantage from these troubles in Germany of a different nature to what the emperors had done by those in Italy.

Innocent III. the son of a gentleman of Agnani, in the neighbourhood of Rome, built the edifice of that temporal power, the materials of which his predecessors had been amassing during the space of 400 years. The excommunicating of Philip, the attempting to dethrone young Frederick, the pretending to exclude for ever from the throne of Germany and Italy, the house of Suabia, so odious to the popes, and the setting themselves up for the judges of kings, was become the common language since the time of Gregory VII. But Innocent III. did not stop at these trifling ceremonies: a fair opportunity offered, which he readily embraced, of

of obtaining the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been so long contested, and which was a part of the inheritance of the famous countess Matilda.

He now saw himself acknowledged as sovereign in Romagna, Umbria, the Marche of Ancona, Orbitello, and Viterbo; in short, his dominion extended from sea to sea. The Romans had not carried their conquests farther in the four first ages of their republic, nor were these countries of such value to them as they were to the popes. Innocent III. conquered even Rome itself; and the new senate, no longer that of Rome, but the pope's, bowed at his nod. He also abolished the title of consul. The Roman pontiffs now began to be kings indeed; and religion concurring with the times, made them likewise the masters of kings. But this great temporal power in Italy was not of long duration.

History does not furnish us with any thing more interesting than what passed at this time between the heads of the church, France, Germany, and England. Rome was always the master-spring that gave motion to the affairs of Europe. We have seen the disputes between the priesthood and the empire down to pope Innocent III. and to the emperors Philip, Henry, and Otho, while Frederick II. was yet in his minority. We must now cast our eyes upon France, and the interests which those kingdoms had to dispute with Germany.

C H A P. XL.

The State of FRANCE and ENGLAND, 'till the Reigns of ST. LEWIS, JOHN LACKLAND, and HENRY III. during the twelfth Century. Great Changes in the public Administration in ENGLAND and FRANCE: the Murder of THOMAS BECKET, Archbishop of CANTERBURY: ENGLAND made a Fief to the See of ROME, &c.

THE feudal government was established almost all over Europe, and the laws of chivalry were every where the same: in France in particular it was established, that if the lord of a fief said to his liege-man, "Come along with me, for I want to wage war against the king, my sovereign, who refuses to do me justice;" the liege-man was immediately to go to the king, and ask him if it was true that he had refused to do justice to such a lord. If the king did refuse it, the liege-man was obliged to join his lord, and to march with him against the king the limited number of days, or lose his fief: such a regulation might not improperly be termed, *An ordinance for waging civil war.*

King Lewis the Fat was almost always employed in waging war with his barons, within seven or eight leagues of Paris.

Lewis the Young had acquired very large demesnes by marriage, but he lost them all again by a divorce. He had received affronts from his wife Eleonora, who was heiress of Guienne and Poitou, that a great king should have overlooked. Tired with accompanying him in these famous
and

and unfortunate crusades in which he was engaged, she had made herself amends, to use her own expression, for the tedious hours she was obliged to spend with a king who was fitter to be a monk. This coming to the king's knowledge, he annulled his marriage, under pretence of consanguinity. Lewis has been blamed by some for not keeping his wife's dowry, when he put her away; but such should consider, that a king of France was not powerful enough at that time to commit such an act of injustice.

Henry II. afterwards king of England, a descendant of William the Conqueror, and already possessed of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, was less difficult than Lewis the Young, and thought it no disgrace to marry a gay lady who brought him the countries of Guienne and Poitou for her dowry. Soon after he was raised to the throne of England, and paid homage for those territories to the king of France, who would have been glad to have paid it to him for the same possessions.

The feudal government was equally disagreeable to the kings of France, England, and Germany; and these princes undertook, almost at the same time, and by the same means, to raise troops independent of their vassals. King Lewis granted certain privileges to all the towns in his demesnes, on condition that each parish should repair to the army under the banner of the saint of their parochial church, in like manner as the kings themselves marched under the banner of St. Denis. Several bondmen were enfranchised at this time and made citizens, and the citizens had

had the privilege of chusing their municipal officers, their sheriffs, and their mayors.

We may date the epocha of this re-establishment of the municipal government of the cities and boroughs, about the years 1137 and 1138. Henry II. of England granted the like privileges to several cities for a certain sum, which he employed in raising troops.

The emperors followed much the same method in Germany. The city of Spire for example purchased in 1166 the privilege of chusing their own burgomasters, notwithstanding the opposition of their bishop. Thus liberty, the natural privilege of mankind, arose from the indigence of princes: but this liberty was but a lesser degree of servitude, compared with that enjoyed by the cities of Italy, who had then erected themselves into republics.

The inhabitants of Upper Italy had formed a plan of government upon that of ancient Greece: most of these great cities having recovered their liberty, and being united in one common cause, seemed to bid fair to become a formidable republic; but they were quickly destroyed by great and little tyrants.

The popes had each of these cities to manage, together with the kingdom of Naples, Germany, France, England, and Spain, with all which they had some disputes, and always came off with the advantage.

King Lewis the Young having, in 1142, excluded one of his subjects, named Peter la Chartre, from being made bishop of Bourges, this man was chosen in spite of him; and being supported by the see of Rome, he laid all the king's demesnes within his bishopric under an inter-

interdict: this occasioned a civil war, which continued 'till the king, by a treaty, acknowledged the bishop, and intreated the pope to take off the interdict.

The kings of England were engaged in still greater broils with the church; one of these kings, whose memory is most revered by the English, is Henry I. the third king from the Conquest, who began his reign in 1100. The English have him in grateful remembrance for easing them of the curfeu-law, which had so long been a strait to them. He, like a wise legislator, settled one standard for weights and measures throughout all his kingdom; a regulation which was easily executed in England, though it has been so often unsuccessfully proposed in France. This prince likewise confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, which had been abrogated by his father William the Conqueror. In fine, to engage the clergy in his interests, he renounced the right of *regale*, which gave him the usufruct of all vacant benefices, a right which the kings of France have always preserved.

But besides all this he signed a charter of privileges, which he granted to the English nation, and which was the original source of those liberties which afterwards became so greatly enlarged†. William the Conqueror had treated the English like slaves, whom he did not fear. Henry his son behaved more kindly to them, but it was because he stood in need of them.

† He confirmed the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; and redressed the grievances which had been introduced after the Conquest,

He was a younger brother, and had wrested the sceptre from his elder brother, Robert. This was the true cause of 1103 that great indulgence he shewed towards his subjects. But artful and absolute as he was, he could not prevent his own clergy and the see of Rome from opposing these investitures; and therefore found himself obliged to desist, and content himself with the homage paid him by the bishops for their temporalities.

As for France it was exempt from these troubles; the ceremony of the crozier and ring being not yet introduced into that kingdom.

The English bishops at that time were little less than temporal princes in their own dioceses: at least they were equal in power and riches to the greatest vassals of the crown. Under the reign of king Stephen, successor to Henry I. a bishop of Salisbury, named Roger, who was married, and lived publicly with the woman he owned for his wife, made war against his sovereign. In the course of this war one of his castles being taken, it is said there were found therein 4000 marks of silver; which, reckoning eight ounces to the mark, amount to two millions of livres of the present money of France. An incredible sum at a time when specie was so scarce and commerce so greatly limited.

After the reign of this Stephen, which was continually disturbed by civil wars, England put on a new face under Henry II. who united under his dominion Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Guienne, and Poitou, with all England; excepting only the county of Cornwall, which

was

was not then conquered †. The whole kingdom now enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, when the public happiness was disturbed by the great dispute between the king and Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This Becket was a lawyer. He had been raised by Henry II. to the dignity of chancellor, and afterwards to that of archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the holy see. But no sooner was he made the second person in the kingdom, than he became an enemy to the first. A priest having committed a murder, the primate ordered him only to be deprived of his living. The king expressed his displeasure at this partiality. He observed to him, that if a layman had been guilty of such a crime he would have been punished with death; and that it was encouraging the clergy to commit murder, in making the punishment so disproportionate to the crime. The archbishop on his part maintained that no ecclesiastic could be punished with death, and sent the king back his patent for chancellor, to shew that he would be entirely independent. The king upon this called a parliament, where it was proposed that no bishop should for the future be permitted to go to Rome; nor any of the king's subjects allowed to appeal to that see; nor any of his vassals or officers to be excommunicated or suspended from their functions, without the permission of the sovereign; and lastly, that all crimes committed by the clergy, should be cognizable by the or-

† The author's meaning in this place is not easily understood. Cornwall had been long subject to the king of England. The conquest of Wales indeed Henry undertook.

dinary courts of justice. This motion was passed by all the temporal peers; but Thomas Becket at first refused his assent: however, he at length signed these just and salutary laws †; but afterwards made his excuses to the pope, for having, as he said, betrayed the rights of the church, and promised never to be guilty of the like concessions.

Being accused by the peers of misdemeanors during the time of his chancellorship, he refused to make his defence, because he was an archbishop; upon which he was condemned by the lords spiritual and temporal, to be imprisoned as a seditious person; he then fled over to France, and repaired to the court of Lewis the Young, the hereditary enemy of Henry II. The king of England used every gentle and humane method to engage the archbishop to return to his duty; and in a voyage he made to France, he took Lewis the Young, his lord-paramount, for arbiter, to whom he expressed himself in these terms: "Let the archbishop act towards me as the holiest of his predecessors has behaved towards the lowest of mine, and I shall be satisfied." At length a feigned reconciliation was made between the king and the primate. Becket now returned to England; but it was only 1170 to excommunicate all the clergy, bishops, canons, and curates, who had voted against him. These made their complaints in a body to the king, who was then in Normandy; and Henry's passion being raised to the highest pitch, he cried out, "Is there none of my

† Called the Constitutions of Clarendon, from the place where they were enacted.

servants then that will rid me of this turbulent priest?"

These words were certainly highly indiscreet, and seemed to put the poniard into the hand of any assassin, who thought to serve the king by murdering a person who ought to have been punished only by the laws.

1170 Accordingly four servants of the king's household went directly to Canterbury, where they murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar. Thus a person who deserved to be proceeded against as a rebel, became a martyr, and the king was loaded with all the infamy and horror of this murder.

History does not take notice of any punishment being inflicted on these four assassins †; It appears that the king was the only person who suffered for it.

We have already seen how pope Adrian IV. gave Henry II. permission to usurp Ireland. Pope Alexander III. successor of Adrian, confirmed this permission, on condition that the king should swear that he had never commanded this murder; and that he should repair barefooted to the archbishop's tomb, and there receive discipline by the hands of the canons of the church of Canterbury. It would have been a great act to dispose of Ireland, supposing Henry to have had a right to take possession of it, and the pope to bestow it; but it was greater still to oblige a king powerful like Henry, to acknowledge his fault, and ask pardon for it.

† They submitted to the pope's judgment, repaired to Rome, and were ordered to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,

The king, whose children had revolted against him, finished his penance, 1177 after he had completed the conquest of Ireland. He made a solemn renunciation of all the regal rights which he had maintained against Becket. The English condemn their king for this act of renunciation, as likewise for submitting to the penance. He doubtless ought not to have so easily given up his rights; but he ought to have repented being accessory to murder†: the interests of mankind require that there should be a curb to restrain sovereigns, and secure the lives and liberties of the subject. This curb of religion might by universal agreement be lodged in the hands of the popes, as we have already observed; and the first pontiff by engaging in temporal quarrels only with a view to appease them, by admonishing both princes and people of their respective duties, and reproving them for their faults, reserving the thunder of excommunication for the punishment of the more atrocious crimes: by this behaviour I say, the popes might have made themselves regarded as the express images of God upon earth; but as it is, mankind are obliged to depend for their safety on the laws and manners of each country: The former of which are too often despised, and the latter corrupted.

† He was by no means guilty of the assassination: for though in the first transports of his passion he exclaimed, "That if he had friends about him, he should not have been so long exposed to the insults of a babbling priest," (and even this circumstance is disputed) he no sooner understood that four of his knights had privately departed, than suspecting their design, he dispatched messengers to overtake, and charge them in his name, that they should commit no violence.

England enjoyed full tranquillity under Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the son and successor of Henry II. This prince was unsuccessful in his crusades, but his country was not unhappy*. He had indeed some of those disputes with Philip Augustus, which are unavoidable between a lord-paramount and a potent vassal. But these did in no wise change the face of affairs in either kingdom. We should look upon these kind of wars between christian princes as epidemic diseases, which though they may depopulate some provinces, make no alteration in the bounds, customs, or manners of a country. The most remarkable thing which fell out during these wars was Richard's taking from Philip his chancery, which he always carried with him, containing an account of his revenues and vassals, and a list of his slaves and freemen. After the loss of this register, the king of France was obliged to make a new one, in which his prerogative was rather increased than diminished.

1194 Another event worthy of attention is, the imprisonment of a bishop of Beauvais, who was taken in arms by king Richard. Pope Celestine sent to Richard, reclaiming the bishop, with these words: "You must restore me my son." But the king sent the bishop's armour to the pope, with this answer, taken from the story of Joseph, "Knowest thou thy son's garment?"

† It was as unhappy as a nation could be, in being drained of its men and money; and indeed utterly impoverished by raising money to pay the king's ransom.

We must further observe in relation to this church warrior, that if the feudal laws did not compel the bishops themselves to take up arms, they at least obliged them to bring their vassals to the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army.

Philip Augustus seized upon the temporalities of the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, for not having complied with this abuse, now become a duty. The bishops, upon being condemned, began by laying the kingdom under an interdict, and finished by asking pardon.

We shall meet with other adventures of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, in the course of the crusades. John Lackland, his brother, who succeeded him, might have been the greatest prince in Europe; for besides the demesnes left him by his father Henry II. he had also Brittany, which he usurped from his nephew, prince Arthur, to whom this province had devolved in right of his mother. But by endeavouring to take what did not belong to him, he lost all he had, and became an example of terror to all bad princes. He began by seizing on the kingdom of Brittany, which, as I have before said, belonged to his nephew, Arthur, whom he took prisoner in an engagement, and confined in the castle of Rouen; nor was it ever known what became of this young prince. John has been accused by all Europe, and indeed not without reason, of having made away with him. Happily for the instruction of all kings, this crime is known to have been the first cause of all his misfortunes.

The feudal laws, which in other places gave birth to so many disorders, here signalized them-

selves by an act of memorable justice. The countess of Brittany, mother to prince Arthur, presented a petition to the court of peers in France, signed by all the barons of Brittany; in consequence of which the king of England was summoned to appear before his peers. This summons was served upon him at London, by the serjeants at arms. The accused king sent over a bishop to France to demand of Philip a safe-conduct for his person. "Let him come, replied Philip, he is free to do it." "Shall he have security for his safe return?" said the bishop. "Yes, resumed the king, if the judgment of his peers permit it." But John not appearing, the peers of France passed sentence of death upon him, and declared all his territories situated in France to be forfeited to the king. Philip lost no time in putting himself in a condition to profit by the crime of the king his vassal. John seems to have been like most tyrannical kings, of a cowardly disposition. He suffered himself to be stripped of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, and retired to England, where he was equally hated and despised. For some time he found a resource in the native pride and haughtiness of the English nation, who could not bear the thoughts of their king being condemned by a court in France; but the barons of England soon grew weary of supplying a king with money who did not know how to make use of it. To compleat his misfortunes, John embroiled himself with the court of Rome about an archbishop of Canterbury, whom pope Innocent III. wanted to nominate of his own authority, in opposition to the laws of the country. This

This pope, under whom the holy see became so formidable, laid the kingdom of England under an interdict, and forbade John's subjects from paying him any obedience for the future. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was at this time truly terrible, because the pope put it into the hands of Philip Augustus, to whom he made over the kingdom of England in perpetual inheritance, promising him the remission of all his sins if he succeeded in conquering it. He even granted the same indulgencies for this expedition as had been given to those who went to recover the Holy Land. The king of France did not now think proper to declare that the popes had no right to dispose of crowns: he had himself been excommunicated some years before†, and his kingdom laid under an interdict by this very pope Innocent III. for having attempted to marry another wife. He had then publicly declared the papal censures to be insolent and abusive; and had seized on the temporalities of every bishop and priest in the kingdom, who had shewed himself so bad a Frenchman as to pay obedience to the pope. But he thought quite differently when he saw himself commissioned by a bull to take possession of England. He now took back his wife, for divorcing whom he had incurred so many excommunications, and thought of nothing but putting the pope's sentence in execution. He employed a whole year in building a fleet of 1700 ships, and raising the finest army that had ever been seen in France.

† In the year 1199.

The hatred which the English bore to king John, was equivalent to another army in favour of king Philip, who now prepared to set out on his expedition, while John on his side made a last effort to receive him in a proper manner; and hated as he was by the greater part of the nation, he found means, through the emulation that perpetually subsists between the English and the French, the indignation of the former at the pope's behaviour, and the prerogatives annexed to the crown, which are of no small weight, to keep on foot for a few weeks an army of 60000 men, at the head of which he advanced as far as Dover, to receive the person who had condemned him in France, and was come to dethrone him in England.

All Europe now waited with impatience for a decisive battle between the two kings, when the pope tricked them both, and artfully took that to himself which he had pretended to bestow on Philip. This extraordinary negotiation was carried on and concluded by one Pandolfo, a subdeacon; a domestic of the pope's, and his legate in France and England. This man went over to Dover, under pretence of negotiating matters with the English barons in favour of the French king. Here he

1213 saw king John, to whom he took an opportunity of speaking in these terms: "You are undone, sir, the French fleet is going to set sail; your troops will certainly desert you; so you have only one resource left, which is to put yourself under the protection of the holy see." John consented to this proposal, swore to submit himself, and sixteen barons took the same oath on the king's soul. A strange oath!

oath! by which they obliged themselves to the performance of conditions they did not know. The artful Italian so intimidated the king, and so worked upon the barons, that at length, on the 15th of May 1213, in the house of the knights templars, in the suburb of Dover, king John kneeling down, and holding his hands between those of the legate, pronounced the following words:

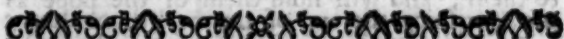
"I John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my sins, and out of my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, do give unto the church of Rome, and to pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, together with all the rights belonging to them; and will hold them of the pope as his vassal; I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome, to the pope my lord, and to his successors lawfully elected: and I bind myself to pay him a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly, to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland."

The money was then put into the legate's hands, as the first payment of the tribute; after which the crown and scepter were likewise given to him. The Italian deacon trode the money under his feet, but he kept the crown and scepter five days; at the end of which he returned them to the king, as a favour from the pope their common master.

Philip Augustus was all this time waiting at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to sea. The legate at length came back to let him know that he was no longer per-

mitted to attack England, which was become a fief of the church of Rome, and its king taken under the protection of the holy see.

The donation which the pope had made to Philip of the kingdom of England, was now likely to become of fatal consequence to him; for another excommunicated prince, nephew to king John, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, to oppose the designs of France, who began now to be too formidable. This excommunicated person was the emperor Otho IV. who at once disputed the empire with young Frederic II. son to Henry VI. and Italy with the pope. He was the only emperor of Germany that had ever given battle in person to a king of France.



CHAP. XLI.

OF OTHO IV. and PHILIP AUGUSTUS in the thirteenth Century.

Of the battle of BOUVINES, and of ENGLAND and FRANCE, till the death of LEWIS VII. father to ST. LEWIS.

ALTHOUGH the system of the balance of Europe was never sufficiently explained till of late, yet it appears to have been always a maxim to unite against the preponderating powers. Germany, England, and the Low Countries, now took up arms against Philip Augustus, in the same manner as we have in our time seen them join together against Lewis XIV. Ferrand, count of Flanders, entered into

an alliance with the emperor Otho IV. This count was Philip's vassal; but that was the very reason which induced him to declare himself against him, as well as the count of Boulogne. This Philip was very near being crushed, for having accepted of a present made him by the pope. However, by his good fortune and great courage he extricated himself out of all these difficulties, with greater glory than had been acquired by any king of France before him.

Between Lille and Tournay lies a little village, called Bouvines, near to which Otho IV. at the head of an army upwards of one hundred thousand strong, advanced to attack king Philip, who had not above half that number. At that time they made use of the cross-bow, a weapon which had been in use ever since the end of the twelfth century: but the fate of the day was chiefly decided by the weight of the cavalry, who were entirely clad in iron. This complete armour was a privilege of honour granted to the knights, which the esquires could not pretend to, they not being permitted to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to be afraid of was being wounded either in the face when he lifted up the visor of his helmet; or in the side, at the joints of the armour; or when knocked down, by having his coat of mail lifted up; or lastly, under the arm-pit when he lifted up his arm to strike.

There were also other troops of cavalry raised from among the common people; these were not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, they made use of such defensive arms as they liked best; their weapons of of-

sense were the sword, the arrow, the club, and the sling.

Philip's army was drawn up in battalia, by a bishop; whose name was Guerin, and had been lately nominated to the bishopric of Senlis. The same bishop of Beauvais who had been so long kept prisoner by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, was also present at this battle: he always fought with a club, saying that it was contrary to the canons to spill human blood. It is not known in what manner either the emperor or the king ranged their troops. Philip, just before the onset, ordered this psalm to be sung: *Exsurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus*. "Let the Lord arise and put his enemies to flight." As if Otho had taken up arms against God himself. Before this the French were accustomed to sing verses in praise of Charlemagne and Roland. Otho's imperial standard was carried upon four wheels; this was a long pole, to which was fastened a painted dragon, and over the dragon was raised an eagle of gilt wood. The royal standard of France was a gilt staff with white silk colours, sowed with flower-de-lis; and what had been for a long time only the fancy of painters, was now become the arms of France. The old crowns of the kings of Lombardy, of which there are very exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is indeed nothing else but the head of a spear, fastened with two other pieces of crooked iron.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus had the oriflame of St. Denis carried before him. Whenever the king was in danger, one or other of these standards was to be raised or lowered. Each knight had also his particular standard,

standard, and the great knights had other colours carried before them, which they called banners. This name banner, though so very honourable, was nevertheless common to all the colours carried by the infantry, which consisted almost entirely of bondmen. The military shout among the French was *mon joye Saint Denis*; that of the Germans was *Kyrie eleison*.

One proof that the knights completely armed ran no other risk than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded but by the greatest accident, is, that king Philip being thrown from his horse, was a long time surrounded by the enemy, and received several blows with all kinds of weapons, without losing a drop of blood.

It is even said, that while he was upon the ground, a German soldier attempted several times to pierce his neck with a spear that had a double hook, but could not compass it. Not one knight was killed in this battle except William Longchamps, who was unfortunately slain by a stroke in his eye, which was given him through the visor of his helmet.

Among the Germans were reckoned five and twenty knights bannerets, and seven counts of the empire, made prisoners, but not one wounded.

The emperor Otho lost the battle, in which it is said there were thirty thousand Germans killed; but probably the number is exaggerated. We do not find that the king of France made any conquest in Germany after the battle of Bouvines; but he gained a great increase of power over his vassals.

The greatest loser by this battle was king John of England, whose last hopes seemed centered in the emperor Otho. This emperor died soon after †, a true penitent. It is said that he used to order his scullions to trample upon him, and to suffer himself to be scourged by the monks, agreeable to the opinion of the princes of those times, who imagined, that by submitting to a trifling discipline they could atone for the blood of so many thousands.

There is no truth in what we find mentioned by many historians, that Philip on the very day he gained the battle of Bouvines, received the news of another victory obtained by his son, afterwards Lewis VIII. over king John. On the contrary, king John had gained some small successes in Poitou; but deprived of the assistance of his allies, he made a truce with Philip, of which indeed he had great occasion; for his own subjects were now become his greatest enemies: he was universally despised by them for having made himself the vassal of

Rome; and the barons obliged him
1215 to sign that famous charter, which is
called *Magna charta*, or the charter
of the liberties of England.

King John thought himself more degraded, by being obliged by this charter to leave his subjects in the quiet possession of their natural rights, than by having made himself the subject of the see of Rome; and complained of it as the greatest affront offered to his dignity: yet after all, what is there in this charter that can be said to be injurious to the royal authority? for

instance, that at the death of an earl, his eldest son to enter into possession of the fief, must pay to the king one hundred marks of silver, and a baron one hundred shillings; that none of the king's bailiffs are to take the horses belonging to peasants, without paying five pence a-day for each horse? Whoever reads the charter throughout will only find that the rights of mankind have not been sufficiently secured: he will see that the commons, who bore the heaviest burthen, and rendered the greatest services to the state, had no share in a government which yet could never flourish without them. Nevertheless, John complained bitterly of this, and applied to the pope, his new sovereign, for redress.

And now pope Innocent III. who had excommunicated the king, excommunicates the peers of England; at which they were so provoked, that they did the very same thing which the pope had done before: they offered the crown of England to the king of France. Philip Augustus, who had conquered Germany, and was in possession of almost all king John's estates in France, on being called to the throne of England, acted like a profound politician, and prevailed on the English to ask his son Lewis for their king. In vain did the pope's legates represent to Philip that king John was a feudatory of the holy see. Lewis, who had previously concerted the matter with the king his father, addressed him thus in the presence of the legates: "Sir, I am your vassal for the fiefs I hold of you in France; but it does not belong to you to determine what concerns the kingdom of England; and if you do I shall appeal to my peers."

After having made this speech he set out for England, notwithstanding the public prohibitions of his father, who at the same time secretly supplied him with men and money. Innocent III. in vain thundered out his excommunications against both father and son. The bishops of France declared that against the father void. Let us observe, however, that they did not dare to invalidate that against Lewis, which was tacitly acknowledging that the popes had a right to excommunicate princes. They could not indeed well dispute this power of the popes, because they assumed it themselves: but they likewise reserved to themselves the right of determining whether the pope's sentence of excommunication was just or not. The princes of those times were in a very wretched situation, by being thus continually exposed to excommunication, both in their own kingdoms and at Rome. But the people were still more unhappy: the weight of the sentence always fell upon them, and they seldom failed of being stripped by the war.

The son of Philip Augustus was proclaimed king in London: yet he did not omit sending ambassadors to plead his cause before the pope. This pope enjoyed the same honour as the Roman senate had formerly done, of being the judge of kings; but he died before he passed his definitive sentence.

John Lackland, after wandering in his own country, from town to town, died at the same time in a village in the county of Norfolk. A peer of France formerly conquered England,

and kept possession of it, yet a king of France could not keep it.

Lewis VIII. was obliged, even in the life time of Philip Augustus to quit that very country which had invited him to be its king; and instead of defending his acquisition, he engaged in the crusade then carrying on against the Albigenſes, who at that time were slaughtered by thousands, in compliance with the decrees issued by the court of Rome.

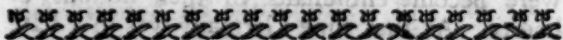
Philip Augustus died and left his territories increased by the accession 1223 of Normandy, Maine, and Poitou; but the rest of the possessions belonging to England were still defended by a number of powerful lords.

In the reign of Lewis VIII. one part of Guienne belonged to France, and the other to England. During this reign nothing happened remarkable or important, excepting the will made by Lewis in 1225, which indeed merits some attention.

By this will he bequeaths an hundred sols to each of the two thousand lazarettos in his kingdom. Thus we may perceive, that all the christians got by the crusades was this leprous infection: and it is natural to suppose, that the want of linen, and the nastiness of the people, greatly increased the number of these lepers. This name of lazarettos was not indifferently given to other hospitals; for we may find that by the same will the king bequeaths an hundred livres, current money, to two hundred hospitals. (*Hôtels Dieu.*)

The legacy which this same king left of thirty thousand livres to his wife, the famous queen of Castile, amounted to fifty-four thousand

sand livres of the present money. I often insist upon the particular valuation of money, because I look upon it as the pulse of a state, and the surest way of knowing its strength. For instance, it is evident that Philip Augustus was the most powerful prince of his time, since independently of the jewels he left behind him, the sums specified in his will amounted to near nine hundred thousand marks, of eight ounces to the mark, which is worth forty-five millions present money, reckoning fifty livres to the mark: but there must certainly be some mistake in this calculation, for it is hardly probable, that a king of France who had no other revenue than what arose from his private demesnes should have been able to leave so large a sum behind him. The power of all the kings of Europe at that time consisted in having a great number of vassals ready to march under their command, and not in being possessed of sufficient riches to enslave them.



C H A P. XLII.

OF FREDERICK II. and his quarrels with the
POPEs, and the GERMAN EMPIRE.

TOWARDS the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Philip Augustus was still upon the throne, while Lewis VIII. was stripping John Lackland of his dominions; and that after the death of John and Philip Augustus, Lewis, driven from England by Henry III. left him that kingdom, and returned to reign
in

in France; during this time, I say, the crusades or persecutions against the Albigenses were exhausting Europe. The emperor Frederick II. made the wounds of Italy and Germany, which were not yet well closed, bleed a-fresh. The dispute between the imperial crown and the Roman mitre, the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, and the animosities between the Germans and Italians, disturbed the public peace more than ever. Frederick II. who was son to Henry VI. and nephew to Philip, enjoyed the empire which his competitor Otho IV. had resigned before his death.

The emperors were at that time much more powerful than the kings of France; for besides Suabia and the other large territories which Frederick had in Germany, he was also in possession of Naples and Sicily by inheritance. Lombardy belonged to him in right of the long possession of former emperors; but that right was little regarded by the Italian cities, who were become enthusiasts in their notions of liberty. At that time Germany was in a state of anarchy and rapine, which lasted for a considerable time; and this latter was grown to such an height, that the great lords reckoned as a part of their privileges to be robbers on the high-ways in their own territories, and to coin false money: but Frederick II. at the diet of Egra, held in 1219, obliged them to take an oath never to exercise such privileges for the future; and to set them an example, he gave up the right which had always been claimed by his predecessors, of taking possession of the estates of all bishops at their demise.

The

64 OF FREDERICK II.

The most brutal and ridiculous customs were established in those times. The lords had set up a number of imaginary rights, and among the rest, that of prelibation, by which they claimed the first night's lodging with the new married bride of their menial vassals. The bishops and abbots claimed the same right, as being great barons; and some of them have, even in the last century, obliged their subjects to pay them an acknowledgment for remission of this unaccountable privilege, which spread over the provinces in Scotland and France. Such were the prevailing manners in the times of the crusades.

Italy indeed was not quite so plunged in barbarism, but it was not less unhappy. The quarrel between the empire and the pontificate had given birth to the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines, which divided whole cities and families.

Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, Trevigi, Ferrara, and almost all the cities of Romania under the protection of the pope, had combined together against the emperor.

He had for him Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent. A great many other towns were divided between the parties of the Guelphs and Gibellines. Thus Italy became the theatre not of one war only, but of an hundred civil wars, which by inflaming the minds, and exciting the resentment of the Italian potentates, accustomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poisoning and murder.

Frederick II. was born in Italy: he had a great fondness for that agreeable climate; and, on the contrary, could not bear either the coun-
try

try or the manners of Germany, from which he was absent fifteen whole years. It appears plainly that his chief design was to fix the throne of the new Cæsars in Italy. This is the true secret of all the quarrels he had with the popes, in which he by turns employed both cunning and violence; and the holy see on its part took care to fight him at his own weapons.

Honorius III. and Gregory IX. being unable to resist him at first, wisely resolved to keep him at a distance, and sent him upon a war to the Holy Land. Such was the prejudice of those times, that the emperor was obliged to make a vow of engaging in this expedition, for fear the people should think him not a Christian. But as policy had determined him to make this vow, the same policy furnished him with means for deferring his voyage. 1228

Gregory IX. thereupon excommunicated him, agreeably to the custom of those times. Upon this Frederick sets out, and, while he is making a crusade at Jerusalem, the pope engages in another against him at Rome. The emperor, after making a treaty with the sultans, returns to defend himself against the machinations of the pontiff, and, in the territories of Capua, meets with his own brother-in-law John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, at the head of a body of troops furnished by the pope, who bore on their shoulders as a badge, the two cross-keys. The Gibelline party, who were with the emperor, wore the sign of the cross; an engagement ensued, in which the crosses soon put the keys to flight.

Gregory

Gregory had now no other resource left, but to stir up Frederick's son Henry, king of the Romans, against his father; as his predecessors Gregory VII. Urban II. and Pascal II. had done by the sons of Henry IV. But Frederick, more fortunate than Henry IV. made himself master of the person of his rebellious son, deposed him at the famous diet of Mentz; and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

Frederick, however, found it an easier matter to get his son condemned by this Germanic diet, than to prevail on it to grant him either money or troops to make the conquest of Italy. He had still forces sufficient to make the war bloody in that country, but not to enslave it altogether; the Guelphs, who were of the pope's party, and the great sticklers for liberty, being always sufficiently powerful to counterbalance the Gibellines, who were on the side of the emperor.

Sardinia became another subject of war between the empire and the pontificate; this naturally produced an excommunication; however, in 1238, the emperor made himself master of almost the whole of that island. Then Gregory publicly accused him of unbelief; "We have proofs, said he in his circular letter of July 1, 1239, that he has publicly declared, that the world has been cheated by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet; but he makes Jesus Christ far inferior to the other two; they, says he, having lived in splendor and glory, whereas the other was a person sprung from the dregs of the people, and preached his doctrines only to those of his own rank.

rank. The emperor, continues Gregory, maintains, that the one only God, creator of the universe, could not be born of a woman, especially of a virgin."

These accusations, which had nothing to do with the quarrel about Sardinia, did not hinder the emperor from keeping what he had gotten possession of: the disputes between Frederick and the see of Rome were never on religious points; and yet the popes thundered out their excommunications against him, waged a kind of religious war upon him, and at length deposed him. A cardinal called James, who was bishop of Palestine, brought letters with him into France from this pope Gregory to young Lewis IX. whereby his holiness, having deposed Frederick II. does, by his own private authority, transfer the imperial crown to Robert count of Artois, brother to the young king of France. Gregory certainly took a wrong time for this embassy; France and England were then engaged in war with each other, and the French barons, who were up in arms in the minority of Lewis, were still very powerful, though he was now come of age. They are said to have declared, in answer to Gregory's offer, that they did not think the brother of a king of France had any occasion for the imperial crown; and that they looked upon the pope to have still less religion than Frederick himself. But such a reply sounds too improbable to be true.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the manners and customs of those times, than what passed in regard to this proposal of the pope.

He applied to the monks of the abbey of Cîteaux, whither he knew St. Lewis was to come

come with his mother on a pilgrimage, in these terms: "Beseech the king that he will take the pope under his protection against that son of Satan, Frederick; the king ought to receive me into his kingdom, in the same manner as my predecessor Alexander III. was received there when persecuted by Frederick I. and St. Thomas of Canterbury when troubled by Henry II. of England."

The king came to Citteaux, where he was received by five hundred monks, who conducted him to the chapter; there they all fell on their knees before him, and, with uplifted hands, beseeched him to permit the pope to come into France. Lewis placed himself likewise on his knees before the monks, and gave them his solemn promise to defend the church; but at the same time told them in plain terms, that he could not receive the pope in his kingdom, without the concurrence of his barons, whose advice a king of France ought always to follow. In the interim Gregory died; but the spirit of the Roman church survived him: Innocent IV. who, when cardinal, was a friend to the emperor Frederick, being now made pope, became of consequence his enemy, and at all events determined to weaken the imperial power in Italy, and by that means repair the error which pope John XII. had been guilty of, in calling the Germans over to Rome.

Innocent IV. after several fruitless negotiations, calls the famous council of Lyons, which has the following inscription, yet to be seen in the Vatican library: "The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons; here Frederick II. was declared

an

an enemy to the church, and deprived of the imperial diadem."

It may seem a bold attempt to dethrone an emperor in one of the imperial cities; but the city of Lyons was under the protection of France, and its archbishops had seized upon the royal revenues. Frederick did not neglect to send proper advocates to plead his cause before this council, where he knew he was to be accused.

The pope, who had made himself judge, and presided at this council, acted also the part of his own advocate; and, after insisting strongly on the right of temporalities in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the patrimony left by the countess Matilda, he proceeded to accuse Frederick publicly of having made peace with the Infidels, of having had several Mahometan concubines, of not believing in Jesus Christ, and, in fine, of being an heretic. But how can a person be at the same time an unbeliever and an heretic? and indeed how was it possible for men in those times to be capable of drawing up such charges? John XII. Stephen VIII. Frederick I. Frederick II. the chancellor des Vignes, Manfred, the usurper of Naples, and several others, had undergone the same imputations.

The emperor's delegates spoke in his defence with a becoming resolution, and accused the pope in their turn of usury and rapine. There were also at this council ambassadors from France and England; these complained as much against the popes as the pope had done of the emperor: "You and your Italians, said they, draw upwards of sixty thousand marks a-year from the kingdom of England; it is but very lately

lately that you sent us a legate, who has disposed of all the livings in the kingdom in favour of Italians: he raises the most exorbitant taxes upon all religious houses, and excommunicates whomsoever complains of his oppressions. Let these grievances therefore be speedily redressed, for we will no longer bear with them."

The pope blushed at this spirited harangue, but made no reply; and proceeded to pronounce sentence of deposition against the emperor. It is well worthy of observation, that he pronounced this sentence not, as he said, with the approbation of the council, but in presence of the council; all the fathers kept the wax-tapers lighted while the pope was pronouncing the sentence, and then extinguished them; one party signed the decision, and the other went out fighting with indignation.

The emperor was then at Turin, which did not at that time belong to the house of Savoy, but was a fief of the empire, and governed by the marquis of Susa. Upon receiving the news of his deposition, he called for a certain casket, and opening it, drew forth the imperial crown; which holding in his hand, "The pope and his council, said he, have not yet taken thee from me, and ere they can, much blood shall be spilt." He immediately afterwards set about writing circular letters to all the princes of Germany, and the rest of the empire; these letters were dictated by the famous chancellor Peter des Vignes, who was so strongly accused of having written the book of the Three Impostors.

"I am

“ I am not the first prince, said he in these letters, whom the clergy have treated with such indignity, nor shall I be the last; you are the causes of it, by paying obedience to these hypocrites, whose boundless ambition you are sufficiently acquainted with. How many infamous actions, shocking to modesty, might you, if you were willing, discover in the court of Rome? Slaves to the times, and intoxicated with pleasures, the greatness of their riches and power seem to have stifled in them all sense of religion. It is a deed of charity to strip them of a part of this load of pernicious wealth which bows them down to ruin; and herein it is your duty to join your endeavours to mine, &c.”

The pope in the mean time having declared the empire vacant, wrote to several princes and bishops, namely, the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Brabant; the archbishops of Salzburg, Cologne, and Mentz. This has given room for the supposition that seven electors were then solemnly established; but the other bishops and princes of the empire each laid claim to the same right.

Thus did the emperors and the popes mutually endeavour to depose each other; and their grand policy consisted in raising civil wars.

Conrad, son to the emperor Frederick, had been already elected king of the Romans in Germany, but in compliance with the pope it now became necessary to elect a new emperor; but neither the dukes of Saxony, of Brabant, Bavaria, or Austria, nor yet any other prince of the empire, was concerned in this election, the new emperor being chosen entirely by the bishops of Strasburg, Wirtzburg, Spire, and Metz,

Metz, with those of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne. The person they made choice of was a landgrave of Thuringia, who was stiled *King of the Priests*.

What a strange kind of an emperor had Rome now gotten! a landgrave who received the crown only from a few bishops of his own country. The pope now renewed the crusade against Frederick; it was proclaimed by the preaching friars, now called Dominicans, and the minor friars, now called Cordeliers or Franciscans. This new militia of the popes began about this time to be established in Europe; the holy see did not however confine itself to these measures, but engaged in conspiracies against the life of an emperor, who had dared to resist the decree of a council, and oppose the whole body of monks and crusaders; at least we know, that the emperor complained of the pope's having countenanced plots against his life, and that the pope never made any reply to these complaints.

The same prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another after the death of their Thuringian; this was a count of Holland. Thus the pretensions of Germany to the Roman empire, only served to tear it in pieces. These very bishops who had joined in assuming the power of electing emperors, now fell out among themselves; and their count of Holland was slain in the civil war.

Frederick II. was obliged to struggle with the popes from the farther end of Sicily to the extremity of Germany. It is said, that when he was in Apulia, he discovered that his physician, who had been seduced by pope Innocent IV. had formed the design

design of poisoning him. This fact appears doubtful to me; but in all the doubts raised by the history of these times, the only question is concerning the greater or less degree of atrocity.

Frederick seeing with horror that it was impossible for him to trust with safety his life in the hands of Christians, was obliged to take Mahometans for his guard. It is said, however, that these could not secure him against the furious revenge of Manfred, one of his bastards, who strangled him in his last illness. However that be, this great and unhappy emperor, who was king of Sicily from his cradle, having worn for thirty-eight years the empty crown of Jerusalem, and the imperial diadem fifty-four, (he having been declared king 1250 of the Romans in 1196) died at the age of fifty-seven, in the kingdom of Naples, and left the world in as great confusion at his death, as it was at his birth. Notwithstanding all the troubles he had to struggle with, he left his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily greatly embellished and improved by his care; he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning. The Italian language, which was a compound of the Roman† and Latin, began first to take a form in his reign;

† The *Romanse*, which is the same, we suppose, our author calls the *Roman Tongue*, was no other than a corrupted Latin, mixed with the language spoken by the Barbarians who deluged the empire. It was also called *Provençal*, because used in Provence; and some specimens of it are still extant; particularly a copy of verses by Richard Cœur de Lion, published in Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors.

and there are verses of his extant, in that tongue. But the numberless vexations and oppositions he had to encounter, did as much prejudice to the growth of the liberal sciences, as they did to his great and useful designs.

From the death of Frederick II. to the year 1268, Germany remained without a head, but not in the same manner as Greece had been, or ancient Gaul, or ancient Germany, or Italy before it became subjected to the Romans: Germany was neither a republic, nor a country divided between several sovereigns, but a body without a head, whose members tore each other in pieces.

This distracted state of Germany furnished a fine opportunity for the popes to have embraced, but they neglected it, and even suffered the loss of Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, and several other small towns. There wanted now a warrior pope to recover these again, but few of the pontiffs were of that character: they shook the whole world indeed with their bulls, and disposed of kingdoms at their pleasure. In 1247 the pope, of his own pure authority, proclaimed Haquin, king of Norway, and made him legitimate, who was born a bastard; one of his legates crowned this new monarch, and received from him a tribute of fifteen thousand marks of silver, and five hundred more of the churches of Norway, which, in all probability, was at least one half of the money then circulating, in so poor a country.

1251 This same pope Innocent IV. created likewise one Mandoc king of Lithuania, but he was to hold his crown as de-

pendant on the see of Rome: "We receive, said his holiness in his bull, dated the 15th July, 1251, this new kingdom of Lithuania, as the right and property of St. Peter, taking you, your wife and children, under our protection."

This was in some manner imitating the grandeur of the old Roman senate, which was wont to bestow the titles of kings and tetrarchs. Lithuania was not however a kingdom, nor was it till near a century after, that its inhabitants were prevailed on to embrace Christianity.

The popes then talked like masters of the universe, and yet were not able to be masters at home; the disposal of states cost them only paper, but they could not recover a single village near Mantua or Ferrara, without having recourse to intrigues.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe: Germany and Italy were rent in pieces; France was yet feeble; Spain divided between the Christians and Moors, which last were entirely driven from Italy; England began to dispute for liberty with its kings; the feudal government was every where established; chivalry was the prevailing fashion; priests were become princes and warriors, and a system of politics prevailed, different in almost every respect from that which at present influences the government of Europe. In fine, all the countries under the Roman communion seemed to form a large republic, of which the emperor and the popes wanted to be the head; and this republic, tho' divided, had for a long time agreed in the project of the crusades, which have given birth to such grand and infamous actions, to new king-

doms, new establishments, new miseries, and, in a word, have caused much more unhappiness than glory.



C H A P. XLIII.

Of the EAST at the Time of the CRUSADES.

RELIGIONS always last longer than empires; Mahometanism continued to flourish after the empire of the caliphs had been overthrown by the Turcomans. It is a needless trouble to search for the origin of these Turks, it is the same as that of all other conquering people, they were at first savages, living upon rapine. The Turks formerly inhabited a country beyond mount Taurus and the Imaus, and, as some say, a great distance from the Araxes: they were comprehended among those Tartars whom the ancients called by the name of Scythians. The great continent of Tartary, which is much larger than all Europe, has never been inhabited by others than Barbarians; and their antiquities are little more deserving of a regular history than the bears and wolves of their country. About the eleventh century they extended themselves towards Muscovy, and over-ran the borders of the Caspian and Black Sea. The Arabs, under the first successors of Mahomet, had subdued almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia; at length the Turcomans came and subdued the Arabs.

A caliph of the line of the Abassides, called Motasssem, son to the great Almamon, grandson

grandson of the famous Haroun Alraschid, and cotemporary with our Lewis the Debonnaire, being, like his predecessors, a protector and encourager of the arts, laid the first stone of that edifice under which his successors were at length crushed. This prince sent for a body of Turkish militia to be his guard, and never was there a stronger example of the danger of introducing foreign troops; five or six hundred Turks, in the pay of Motassem, became the founders of the Ottoman power, which has swallowed up every other power from the Euphrates to the extremity of Greece; and in our time has even laid siege to the city of Vienna, the capital of the German empire. This Turkish militia growing in time more numerous, became at length fatal to its masters. A fresh body of Turks now came in, and took advantage of the civil wars raised against the caliphs and their empire. The caliphs of Bagdat, of the race of the Abassides, soon saw themselves stript of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, by the caliphs of the Fatimian line; and the Turks stript both of them.

Togrul Beg, or Ortogrul Beg, from whom they make the Ottoman race to descend, entered Bagdat nearly in the same manner as the emperors have entered into Rome; and made himself master of the person and capital of the caliph Caiem, while he prostrated himself at his feet; he then conducted him to his palace, holding the reins of his mule: but having either better fortune or more skill than the German emperors when in Rome, he established his power, and left nothing more to the caliph but the office of beginning prayers every Friday at

the mosque, and the empty honour of investing with their dominions all the Mahometan tyrants who thought proper to make themselves sovereigns.

It should be remembered, that as the Turcomans imitated the Franks, the Normans, and the Goths, in their irruptions; they imitated them likewise in submitting to the laws, customs, and religion of the people they conquered. In like manner did other Tartars behave to the Chinese; and this is an advantage which every civilized people, though ever so weak, ought to have over Barbarians, though ever so strong.

Thus the caliphs became only the chiefs of religion, like the dairi or high-priest of Japan, who has the appearance of reigning in Cubosama, and indeed is obeyed in these dominions; or like the xerif of Mecca, who calls the sultan of the Turks his vicar; or lastly, such as the popes were under the kings of Lombardy: though I am far from intending to compare the throne of error to that of truth; I am only comparing the revolutions which have happened to each, and remarking that the caliphs were once the most powerful sovereigns of the East, while the Roman pontiffs were of little or no note. The empire of the caliphs however is now fallen beyond a possibility of recovery, and the popes are by little and little become mighty sovereigns, confirmed in their power, and respected by the neighbouring nations; and have made Rome one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

At the time of the first crusade, there was a caliph at Bagdat who bestowed investitures,
and

and a Turkish sultan who reigned. Several other Turkish usurpers, with some Arabians, had settled themselves in Persia, in Arabia, and in Asia Minor. Every thing was in a state of division, which seemed to promise success to the crusades; but then every one was up in arms, and these people were to be attacked in their own territories, where they must fight with the advantage greatly on their side.

The empire of Constantinople still maintained its authority; it had been governed by some princes not unworthy of reigning. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son to Leo the Philosopher, and himself a philosopher, following the footsteps of his father, made his reign happy, and if the government fell into contempt under Romanus, the son of this Constantine, it became respectable again under the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who recovered Candia in the year 961, before he became emperor. John Zimisces indeed assassinated this emperor, and stained the imperial palace with the blood of his sovereign: he even added hypocrisy to his other crimes; but then on the other hand he defended the empire against the invasions of the Turks and Bulgarians. But Michael Paphlagonatus lost Sicily, and Romanus Diogenes almost all that remained in the East, except the province of Pontus. That province, which is now called Turcomania, fell soon afterwards into the hands of Solyman the Turk, who now became master of the greatest part of Asia Minor, fixed the seat of his dominion at Nicea, from whence he threatened Constantinople with an invasion, at the time that the crusades were first set on foot.

The Greek empire then, on the side of the Turks, was almost confined to the imperial city, but it still extended through all Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum, and even included the isle of Candia. The continual wars in which it was engaged against the Turks, though almost always unsuccessful, served to keep up the remains of courage in the people. All the rich Christians of Asia, who were unwilling to submit to the Mahometan yoke, had retired into the imperial city, which by these means became enriched with the spoils of the provinces. In short, notwithstanding the various losses it had sustained, notwithstanding the vices and revolutions among its governors, this city, though in its decline, yet immense, populous, opulent, and the centre of voluptuousness and pleasure, still considered itself as the capital of the world. The inhabitants no longer called themselves Greeks, but Romans; their state was a Roman state; and the western nations, whom they called Latins, were looked upon by them as a set of rebellious Barbarians.

Palestine was then what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries of Asia. This little province, which is about forty-five leagues in length, and from thirty to thirty-five in breadth, is almost wholly covered with barren rocks, on which there is hardly an handful of earth: were it cultivated, it might be compared to Swisserland. The river Jordan, which in its broadest part is about fifty feet wide, resembles the Aar, which flows through a valley less barren than the rest of Swisserland; and the sea of Tiberias may be likened

likened to the lake of Geneva. However, those travellers who have examined both these countries, all give the preference to Swisserland. It is not unlikely that Judea might have been better cultivated when in possession of the Jews; they were obliged to spread a little earth upon the face of the rocks, in order to plant their vines. This small quantity of earth, mixed with the splinters of the rocks, was supported by low walls, the remains of which are still to be seen at certain distances.

Notwithstanding all this care, Palestine could never furnish subsistence for its inhabitants; and as the thirteen cantons send out the superfluity of their people to serve in the armies of foreign princes who are willing to take them into pay, in like manner the Jews all went abroad to follow the trade of brokers in Asia and Africa; and as soon as Alexandria was built they settled there. The trading Jews hardly ever resided in Jerusalem; and I question whether, in the most flourishing times of this little state, it had any members so wealthy as the Hebrews who now live at Amsterdam and the Hague.

When Omar, who succeeded Mahomet, made himself master of the fruitful country of Syria, he took Palestine; and as the Mahometans look upon Jerusalem as an holy city, he embellished it with a magnificent mosque, built of marble, and covered with lead; the inside adorned with a prodigious number of silver lamps, among which there were many of pure gold. When the Turks, who had already embraced Mahometanism, afterwards made themselves masters of this country in the year 1055; they paid

82 OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

great respect to this mosque, and the city still continued peopled with seven or eight thousand inhabitants, which was the most its walls were then capable of containing, or the circumjacent country able to nourish. This people got their wealth almost entirely by the pilgrimages made to their city by the Christians and Mussulmans, the former to visit the holy sepulchre, and the latter the famous mosque. Every pilgrim paid a certain acknowledgment to the Turkish emir, who resided in the city, and something to the imans, who lived by shewing the curiosities of the place to those who were desirous of seeing them.



C H A P. XLIV.

Of the First CRUSADE, till the taking of JERUSALEM.

SUCH was the state of Asia Minor, when a pilgrim of Amiens stirred up the crusades : he was then known only by the name of Coucoupetre, or Cucupietre, as we are told by the daughter of the emperor Comnenus, who saw this hermit at Constantinople : he is known to us by the name of Peter the Hermit. However, this man, who was a native of Picardy, and had all the obstinacy of his countrymen, was so incensed at the exactions which he had met with at Jerusalem, talked of them at his return to Rome in such strong terms, and painted them forth in so striking a light, that pope Urban II. thought him the most proper person

person he could pitch upon to second the grand design which the popes had a long time conceived of arming Christendom against the Mahometans: accordingly he dispatched Peter through all the provinces, to communicate, by the force of his strong imagination, the warmth of his sentiments, and to sow the seeds of enthusiasm.

Urban II. at length held a council in the open fields, near Placentia, at 1094 which were present upwards of 30,000 seculars, besides ecclesiastics. At this council they deliberated on the properest method of revenging the cause of Christianity upon the infidels. Alexis Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, father to that princess who wrote the history of her times, sent ambassadors to this council to demand assistance against the Mussulmans; but he had no reason to expect it either from the pope or the Italians. The Normans had then taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks. The pope, who wanted at least to be lord-paramount of these kingdoms, being likewise the rival of the Greek church, became, in consequence of this situation, the declared enemy of the eastern emperors, as he was in private of the emperors of the West. The pope therefore was so far from succouring the Greeks, that he aimed at bringing the whole East into subjection to the Latins.

But notwithstanding the project of carrying the war into Palestine was so applauded by all the members of the council of Placentia, there were none who embraced it. The principal Italian lords had too much business of their own to manage at home, and would not quit a de-

lightful country, to go and fight on the borders of Arabia Petræa.

1095 The pope therefore found it necessary to call another council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a speech in the market-place. In Italy they wept over the calamities of the Christians in Asia, but in France they took up arms for their defence. This country was peopled by a great number of new lords, who were restless, independant, and fond of a life of war and dissipation, for the most part plunged in crimes that are the consequences of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to that debauchery. To these the pope promised the remission of all their sins, and to open to them the gates of heaven, only imposing on them as a penance, the indulging of their favourite passion, for war and plunder. Upon this they strove who should be foremost to take up the cross; and then the churches and religious orders purchased for a trifling consideration many of the estates of the lords, who supposed that they should want only a very little money, and their own arms, to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Thus, for example, Godfrey of Bouillon sold his estate of Bouillon to the chapter of Liege, and Stenay to the bishop of Verdun; Baldwin, this Godfrey's brother, sold to this same bishop the few possessions he had in that country. The inferior lords of manors set out at their own expence, and the poorer gentlemen followed them as squires. The spoils were to be divided according to the rank and expences of the crusaders; this occasioned some disputes, but at the same time it proved a powerful motive to proceed, and

and religion, avarice, and restlessness all conspired to spur on these emigrations. They enlisted an infinite number of infantry and horsemen, under a thousand different banners. This crowd of crusaders made their rendezvous at Constantinople: monks, women, merchants, victuallers, mechanics, all set out, imagining that they should find the road lined with Christians, ready to gain indulgencies by furnishing them with subsistence. Upwards of eighty thousand of these vagabonds assembled under the banner of Coucoupetre, whom I shall for the future call Peter the Hermit, and who walked at the head of the army with sandals on his feet, and a rope tied round his waist. A new species of vanity!

The first expedition of this hermit-general was the besieging a Christian city in Hungary, called Malavilla, because the inhabitants refused to furnish the soldiers of Jesus Christ with provisions, who, notwithstanding the pretended sanctity of their enterprize, behaved like a troop of highway robbers. The city was taken by assault, given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put to the sword. The hermit was then no longer master of his crusaders, who were intoxicated with the thirst of plunder: one of his lieutenants, called *Gautier sans Argent*, (or Walter the Moneyless) who commanded half of his forces, behaved in the same manner in Bulgaria. The countries through which they passed soon joined to oppose these public robbers, and they were almost all of them cut off; and the hermit, after the greatest fatigues, arrived at length before Constantinople with twenty thousand persons starving with hunger,

A German preacher called Godescalcus, attempting to play the same game, was still worse treated; for as soon as he arrived with his disciples in that same kingdom of Hungary, where his predecessors had formerly committed so many excesses, the very sight of the red cross which they wore was like a signal, at which the natives fell upon them, and massacred every man.

Another tribe of these adventurers, composed of above two hundred thousand persons, women, priests, scholars, and peasants, imagining that they were going to defend Jesus Christ, thought they ought to exterminate all the Jews they found in their way. There were great numbers of these on the frontiers of France, and they had almost all the trade of the kingdom in their hands. The Christians, thinking they were revenging the cause of God, fell upon these unhappy people, and put them all to the sword. Never had this nation suffered so bloody a massacre since the time of Adrian: they were butchered at Verdun, Spire, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and numbers laid violent hands on themselves, after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of their barbarous persecutors. Hungary, however, proved the grave of this third army of crusaders.

In the mean time Peter the Hermit, while he was lying before Constantinople, found a fresh recruit of Italian and German vagabonds, who joined him, and plundered all the country round the city. The emperor Alexis Comnenus, who governed at that time, was certainly a prince of great wisdom and moderation; he contented himself with getting rid, as soon as possible,

possible, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport them to the other side of the Bosphorus. General Peter at length saw himself at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Mussulmans. Soliman, sultan of Nice, with a body of disciplined troops, fell upon this scattered multitude, and Walter the Moneyless, with many of the poor nobility, were slain. The hermit, however, made his way back to Constantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatic, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him.

This however was not the case with respect to the other chiefs of the crusades, some of whom were more politic, had less enthusiasm, and were more accustomed to command; besides, they had troops that were a little better disciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of seventy thousand foot and ten thousand horse, armed cap-a-pee, under the banners of a great number of lords, who all ranged themselves under his standard.

In the mean time Hugh, brother to Philip I. king of France, marched through Italy, accompanied by several other lords, who had joined him, and went in search of adventures; almost the whole of his fortune consisting in the title of brother to a king, who himself was not very powerful. But what appears still more strange is, that Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the conqueror of England, left his dutchy, in which he was scarcely established, and, after being driven out of England by his younger brother William Rufus, mortgaged Normandy to him, to furnish out the expences
of

of this armament. He is said to have been a debauched and superstitious prince, two qualities which always proceed from a weakness of understanding, and which now prompted him to engage in this expedition †.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouse, who governed Languedoc and a part of Provence, and who had before fought against the Mussulmans in Spain, did not think his age, or the interests of his country, sufficient reasons against the ardent desire he had of visiting Palestine: accordingly he was one of the first who appeared in arms, and soon after passed the Alps at the head of near one hundred thousand men. He did not then foresee, that very soon a crusade would be preached up against his own family.

The most politic of all the crusaders, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, son to that Robert Guiscard who conquered Sicily. This whole family, on its being transplanted into Italy, fought to aggrandize themselves, sometimes at the expence of the popes, sometimes on the ruins of the Greek empire. This Bohemond had himself, for a long time, maintained a war against the emperor Alexis, both in Epirus and Greece. Having no other inheritance but the small principality of Tarentum, and his own valour, he took advantage of the epidemical enthusiasm of Europe, to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen well armed, and some infantry, with which he hoped to be able to conquer a few

† Robert was much more famous for his heroic valour, and good nature even to excess, than for his debauchery. He was also a generous patron of the liberal arts, and no bad poet for the times.

provinces, either from the Christians or the Infidels.

The princess Anna Comnena observes, that her father was greatly alarmed at these prodigious emigrations which poured in upon his country. "One would have imagined, says she, that all Europe, rent from its foundations, was going to fall upon Asia." What would she have said then, had the three hundred thousand men, part of which followed Peter the Hermit, and the rest the priest Godescalcus, still continued in being?

A proposal was made to the pope, for him to put himself at the head of these immense armies which were still left. This was the only sure method of arriving at universal monarchy, which was now become the darling object of the court of Rome; but this enterprize, which pope Gregory VII. had indeed the boldness to conceive, required the genius of a Mahomet or an Alexander to execute. The obstacles were numerous and great, and Urban considered only the obstacles.

The pope, and the princes who had taken up the cross, had their different views in this grand affair; and Constantinople stood in dread of them all. The Latins were universally hated there, and considered as heretics and barbarians.

Those the Greeks feared the most, and with reason too, were Bohemond and his Neapolitans, as being enemies to the empire. But supposing the designs of Bohemond to have been ever so just, what right had these western princes to come and seize for themselves the provinces which the Turks had taken from the Greek emperors?

We may form some idea of the brutal arro-

gance of these lords of the crusade, from the story related by the princess Anna Comnenà, of a certain French count, who, at a public ceremony, seated himself by the emperor's side on his throne; and when Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, took hold of his hand to make him retire, the indiscreet wretch cried aloud in his barbarous jargon, *Voilà un plaisant rustre que ce Grec, de s'asseoir devant des gens comme nous*. "A pretty clown of a Greek this, to sit down before such men as we are!" These words were interpreted to Alexis, who only smiled at them. One or two indiscretions of this kind are sufficient to disgrace a whole nation.

It was morally impossible that such guests should not demand provisions with arrogance, and that the Greeks should not refuse them with contempt. This was the cause of continual skirmishes between the natives and Godfrey's army, which was the first that appeared after the rapacious followers of Peter the Hermit. Godfrey at length went so far as to attack the suburbs of Constantinople; which the emperor defended in person. The bishop of Puy in Auvergne, the pope's legate in the army of the crusade, was absolutely for having them begin their expedition against the infidels, by laying siege to the city that was the residence of the chief of all the christian princes. Bohemond, who was then in Sicily, was of the same opinion, and sent courier after courier, to dissuade Godfrey from coming to an accommodation with the emperor. Hugh, brother to the king of France, had at the same time the imprudence to leave Sicily, where he then was with Bohemond, and to transport himself almost alone into the territories of Alexis.

To this act of indiscretion, he added that of writing letters full of the most insolent expressions, which was very imprudent, as well as unbecoming in a person who had not an army at his command. The consequence of this behaviour was his being seized, and detained prisoner for some time. At length, however, the emperor, by a prudent policy, diverted all these storms. He furnished the crusaders with provisions, engaged all the principal lords to pay him homage for the lands they should conquer; and after loading them with presents, transported them one after another into Asia. Bohemond, who was the person he dreaded the most, he treated the most magnificently. When that prince came to do him homage at Constantinople, and was viewing the rarities of the palace, Alexis ordered a cabinet to be filled with curiosities in gold and silver, of the choicest workmanship, and with jewels of all kinds, thrown together without order, and that the door of this cabinet should be left open. Bohemond, in passing through the apartment, saw this treasure, to which those who conducted him seemed not to pay the least attention. "Is it possible," cried he in the utmost surprise, "that such glorious things as these should be neglected? Were they mine, I should think myself the greatest prince upon earth." The same evening the emperor sent him the cabinet, with all its rich moveables. This transaction is related by the emperor's own daughter, who was eye-witness to it*. Such was the be-

* We must read this account with grains of allowance, considering that it was written by the emperor's own daughter, and represents the character of her father in a very

92 OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

haviour of this prince, whom every disinterested man will stile wise and magnificent, but whom the greater part of those who have writ the history of the crusades have treated as perfidious, because he would not be the slave of a dangerous multitude.

When he had at length got happily rid of them, and they were all passed into Asia Minor, a review was made of the army near Nicea, when it was found to consist of an hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, including the women. This number, added to the first crusaders who perished under the hermit, and others, makes about one million one hundred thousand, which may justify what is said of the armies of the kings of Persia, who poured in upon Greece, and also what is related of the transplantations of so many barbarians. The French at length, and particularly Raymond count of Toulouse, now found themselves exactly in the same country which the southern Gauls had traversed thirteen hundred years before, when they went to ravage Asia Minor, and give their name to a province of Galatia.

Historians rarely give us any account how these vast multitudes were subsisted, although this was a circumstance which required as

very different light from that in which it is exhibited by the historians Zonaras, Glycas, Baronius, Otto Frisingensis, &c. who paint the emperor Alexis Comnenus as a mean, perfidious, sordid prince. The *Alexiade* written by the princess Anne, was translated from the Greek into Latin by different hands, and finally published in French by the president Cousin. It is a work of great ingenuity, compared by some to the history of Quintus Curtius.

much

much care as the war itself. Venice at first refused to supply them, as she carried on a more profitable trade than ever with the Mahometans, and was afraid of losing the privileges her citizens enjoyed amongst them. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Greeks fitted out vessels laden with provisions, which they sold to the crusaders in their march along the sea-coast of Asia Minor. The Genoese became rich by these means, and the world was astonished to see that state become on a sudden a formidable power.

Old Solyman the Turkish sultan of Syria, who was under the caliphs of Bagdat, what the mayors of the palace were under the race of Clovis, was not able, even with the assistance of his son, to make head against the first torrent of all these princes engaged in the crusade, their troops being better chosen than those of Peter the Hermit, and disciplined as well as their licentiousness and enthusiasm would permit.

Nicea was taken, and Solyman's army commanded by his son, twice 1097 beaten. The Turks and Arabians were unable at first to stand the shock of such multitudes cased in iron, their great war-horses, and those forests of spears to which they had never been accustomed.

Bohemond had the art to prevail on the crusaders to yield him the fruitful country of Antioch. Count Baldwin went as far as Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Edessa, and formed a little state. At length the crusaders laid siege to Jerusalem, of which the caliph of Egypt had taken possession by his lieutenants. Most historians tell us that the army
of

of the besiegers was diminished by skirmishes, sickness, and the garrisons they left in the conquered towns, to twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; and that Jerusalem was plentifully provided with every thing, and defended by a garrison of forty thousand soldiers; they take care to add, at the same time, that besides their garrison, there were twenty thousand inhabitants determined to defend it to the last extremity. But what reader is there in his senses, who must not see that it is morally impossible for an army of twenty thousand men to besiege one of sixty thousand in a fortified place: but historians are always fond of the marvellous.

The truth is, that after five weeks siege the city was taken by assault, and that all those who were not christians were massacred. Peter the Hermit, who from being a general had become a chaplain, was present at the taking of the city, and at the massacre which ensued. Some christians, whom the Mussulmen had suffered to live in the city, led the conquerors into the private caves and hiding places, where the mothers had taken shelter with their children, who were all put to the sword. All historians agree, that after this butchery, the christians besmeared and dropping with blood, went in procession to the place where they were told was the sepulchre
1099 of Christ, and there burst into tears.

It is very probable that they might give some signs of religion while in that holy place; but a tenderness which shewed itself in tears is hardly to be reconciled with the giddy, furious, debauched, and cruel turn of mind

mind they shewed on these occasions. A man may be both furious and tender, but not at the same time.

The crusaders made themselves masters of Jerusalem on the fifth of July 1099, at the time that Alexis Comnenus was emperor of the East, Henry IV. of the West, and while Urban II. the Roman pontiff, was yet living, who died however before he received the news of the success of this crusade, of which he had been the author.

The lords being now masters of Jerusalem, immediately assembled to chuse a king of Judea. The ecclesiastics who had followed the army were present at this assembly; and had the insolence to declare, that such an election would be void and null, because, said they, the election of a patriarch should always precede that of a king.

Notwithstanding this declaration, Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen not king but duke of Jerusalem. A few months after, a legate named d'Amberto arrived there, and got himself nominated patriarch by the clergy, when the first thing that he did was to claim the little kingdom of Jerusalem for himself; and Godfrey, who had conquered the city at the hazard of his life, was obliged to yield it to this bishop. He however reserved the port of Joppa, and some privileges in Jerusalem: but his own country which he had quitted was far superior to any thing he had acquired in Palestine.

C H A P. XLV.

CRUSADES after the taking of JERUSALEM.

FROM the fourth century, one third of the globe had been a prey to almost perpetual emigrations. The Huns, who came from Chinese Tartary, settled themselves at last on the banks of the Danube, and from thence having penetrated under their leader Attila into the two Gauls and Italy, they remained fixed in Hungary. The Heruli, and the Goths made themselves masters of Rome. The Vandals came from the coasts of the Baltic sea, and conquered Spain and Africa. The Burgundians invaded one of the Gauls, and the Franks entered the other. The Moors enslaved the Visigoths, who had possession of Spain, while another nation of Arabs extended their conquests into Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Turks came from the borders of the Caspian sea, and divided amongst them the territories which the Arabs had conquered. The European crusaders overflowed Syria in much larger numbers than all the other nations together mustered in their emigrations, while the Tartar Gengis-khan subdued Upper Asia. And yet after some time there did not remain the least footsteps of the conquests of the crusaders; whereas, on the contrary Gengis, the Arabs, the Turks, and other nations, have formed considerable establishments at a very great distance from their native countries. We may perhaps easily discover the true causes of the little successes of the crusaders,

The

The same circumstances produce the same effects. We have seen that when Mahomet's successors had conquered a number of kingdoms, they were divided by discord: the crusaders experienced nearly the same fate, only they conquered fewer countries, and were sooner divided. There were already three petty christian states formed in Asia, viz. Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa; a few years after, there was a fourth erected, which was that of Tripoli, in Syria, given to young Bertrand, son to the count of Toulouse. But, in order to make the conquest of Tripoli, they were obliged to have recourse to the Venetians for ships, who then entered into the crusade, and made the others yield them up a part of this conquest.

Of all the new princes who had promised to pay homage for their acquisitions to the Greek emperor, not one kept his word, and all were jealous of each other. In a little time, these new states, after being divided and subdivided, passed into many different hands; and there rose up, the same as in France, several petty lords; as counts of Joppa, and marquisses of Galilee, Sidon, Acra, and Cesarea. Solyman, who had lost Antioch and Nice, still kept the open country, which was inhabited by Mahometan tribes; so that both during Solyman's time and after, there was in Asia a mixture of Christians, Turks, and Arabs, who were perpetually at war with each other; and a Turkish and a Christian castle were frequently found in the same neighbourhood, as to this day in Germany the estates of the protestants and catholics are mutually intermingled.

Of the million of souls which had entered into this crusade, very few were now remaining. The fame of their successes had drawn a swarm of new adventurers out of the West. Prince Hugh, brother to Philip I. brought a fresh multitude, which was continually encreasing by Italians and Germans, who joined them on their way; these have been computed at three hundred thousand; but if we reduce this number to two thirds, there will still remain two hundred thousand men lost to Christendom: for these, when near Constantinople, were treated in much the same manner as the followers of Peter the Hermit had been; while those who landed in Asia were cut to pieces by the troops of sultan Solyman; and prince Hugh died almost deserted in Asia Minor.

But what further proves, in my opinion, the extreme weakness of Jerusalem, is the establishment of those religious bodies of soldiery, the Templars and Hospitallers: for undoubtedly these monks, who were originally instituted to attend upon the sick, did not think themselves in safety, since they took up arms. Besides, when the community is well governed, private associations are seldom made.

The religious, consecrated to the service of the wounded, having made a vow to take up arms in the year 1118, there was suddenly formed a militia of the same sort, under the name of Templars, who took this title on account of their living near to that church which, it was said, had been formerly the temple of Solomon. These establishments owe their foundation entirely to the French, or at least to the inhabitants of a country since annexed to France.

Ray-

Raymond Dupuy, first grand-master and founder of the militia of Hospitallers, was born in Dauphiny.

No sooner were these two orders established by the pope's bulls, than they became rich, and rivals, and fought as often against each other as against the Mussulmans. Soon after this order, a new one was established in favour of the poor Christians who had been abandoned in Palestine; this was the order of the Teutonic monks, who afterwards in Europe became a militia of conquerors.

In short, the situation of the Christians was so precarious, that Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, who reigned after the death of his brother Godfrey, was taken prisoner almost at the very gates of the city by a Turkish prince.

The Christians began now to grow more and more weak every day in those countries which they had conquered. The first conquerors were no more, and their successors were sunk in effeminacy. The little kingdom of Edessa had already been taken by the Turks in 1140, and Jerusalem itself was threatened. The emperors finding their neighbours the princes of Antioch, were only new usurpers, made war upon them, and not without reason: upon which, the Christians of Asia, ready to be overpowered on every side, solicited Europe for a new crusade.

The French had begun the first inundation, therefore they were applied to, in order to make a second. Pope Eugenius III. the disciple of St. Bernard, the founder of Clervaux, very wisely pitched upon his first master to be the instrument of a new depopulation. Never did gown-

man better reconcile the hurry of business with the austerity of his profession, nor had any one ever attained to so high a degree of personal respect, which is always above authority itself. His fellow student, the abbot Suger, was prime minister of France, his disciple was pope; but Bernard, though no more than abbot of Clervaux, was the oracle not only of France, but also of Europe.

At Vezelai in Burgundy, a scaffold
1146 was erected in the public market-place, on which Bernard appeared by the side of Lewis the Young, king of France. He spoke first, the king seconded him, and was the first who took the cross from the hands of St. Bernard, and his example was followed by all present. Suger, the prime minister, would fain have dissuaded the king from abandoning the certain advantages he might make in his own dominions, to go to Hungary in search of precarious conquests; but the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the prevailing spirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been nothing, carried it against the prudent advice of the minister.

We have had Lewis the Young represented as a prince rather scrupulous than virtuous. In one of those civil wars which the feudal government in France rendered unavoidable, the king's troops had burnt the church of Vitry, and the people who had taken refuge there all perished in the flames. They easily found means to persuade the king, that he had no other way of expiating this guilt, but by a journey to Palestine; whereas he might have made a much more suitable reparation by staying at home, and govern-

governing his kingdom in a wise and prudent manner. His young wife, Eleanor of Guienne, engaged to accompany him in this crusade, either because she then loved him, or because the customs of those times made it a point of decency to follow her husband to those kind of wars.

St. Bernard had acquired so extraordinary a reputation in this affair, that in a new assembly held at Chartres, he was chosen chief of the crusade. This may appear an almost incredible fact; but every thing is to be believed of the religious frenzy of the populace. St. Bernard had too much understanding to expose himself to the ridicule which would have attended a step of this kind. The example of Peter the Hermit was recent in the minds of every one: he therefore wisely refused the office of general, and contented himself with that of prophet.

From France he went to Germany, where he met with another monk who was preaching up the crusade; but he soon silenced this rival, who had not the pope's mission; and at length he gave the red cross to the emperor Conrad III. and made him a public promise, in the name of God, of victory over the Infidels. Soon after this, one of his disciples, named Philip, wrote over to France, that Bernard had performed a great number of miracles since he had been in Germany: it was not indeed pretended that he raised the dead to life; but the blind received sight, the lame walked, and the sick were healed. We may reckon among these prodigies, that he always preached to the Germans in French.

The hopes of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France the greatest part of the knights in their dominions; and it is said, that in each army there were reckoned seventy thousand men, in complete armour, with a prodigious number of light horse, exclusive of the infantry: so that we cannot well reduce this second emigration to less than three hundred thousand persons, who, joined to one million three hundred thousand sent before, makes in the whole one million six hundred thousand transplanted inhabitants. The Germans were the first who took the field; the French followed them. It is natural, that of so great a multitude numbers must have been carried off by sickness, upon going into a different climate. Intemperance, however, produced a mortality in Conrad's army, near the plains of Constantinople, which occasioned the report that was spread through the West, of the Greeks having poisoned the wells and fountains. The same excesses that had been committed by the former crusaders, were acted over again by these; which gave Manuel Comnenus the same apprehensions as they had done to his grand-father Alexis.

Conrad, after he had passed the Bosphorus, acted with that imprudence which is always annexed to such kind of expeditions. The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and the emperor might have joined those Christians which were in Syria, and have waited for the king of France, then their numbers would have ensured them success; but instead of this, the emperor being jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marches on
into

into the midst of Asia Minor, where the sultan of Iconium, who was a more able general than himself, drew his heavy German cavalry amongst the rocks ; where, fatigued, dispirited, and incapable of acting on such ground, they fell an easy prey to the Turks, who had no other trouble than that of killing them. The emperor being wounded, and left with only a few flying squadrons about him, fled to Antioch, from whence he went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the leader of an army. The famous Frederic Barbarossa, his nephew, and successor in the German empire, attended him in all these journeys, and learned among the Turks to exercise that courage, which the popes afterwards to put to the severest trial.

Lewis the Young met with the same success in his enterprize. It must be acknowledged that his followers were not more prudent than the Germans, and had far less justice on their side. As soon as he arrived in Thrace, a bishop of Langres offered to make him master of Constantinople ; but the disgrace that would have attended such an action was too apparent, and the success too doubtful. The French army therefore crossed the Hellespont, and pursued the same route as the emperor Conrad had done.

Every one, I imagine, must have observed that these powerful Christian armies carried on a war in the same country where Alexander the Great was always victorious, with much fewer troops, over an enemy far more powerful than the Turks and Arabs were at that time. There must then certainly have been some fundamental defect in the military discipline of

these princes that rendered their courage useless; and this defect probably was the spirit of independence, which the feudal government had introduced into Europe. Thus chiefs, without either art or experience, took upon them to conduct a disorderly multitude through unknown countries. The king of France fell into the same snare as the emperor; and being surprised with his army among the rocks near Laodicea, was there beaten as he had been: but Lewis, at his return to Antioch, met with some domestic misfortunes, which affected him much more sensibly than the public calamities. Raymond, prince of Antioch, at whose court he had taken refuge, with his wife Eleanor, was suspected of entertaining a passion for that princess. It is even said that she forgot all the fatigues of her late painful journey, in the arms of a young Turk of surprising beauty, named Saladin. The conclusion of the whole enterprize was, that the emperor Conrad returned almost alone to Germany, and Lewis carried back with him to France only his wife and a few of his courtiers. At his return he annulled his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne, and thus lost that fine French province, after having lost in Asia the most flourishing army that his country had ever set on foot. A thousand ruined families in vain cried out against St. Bernard for his prophecies: he excused himself upon the example of Moses, with whom he compared himself; and who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites, in God's name, to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the deserts.

After these unfortunate expeditions, the Christians

rians in Asia became more divided amongst themselves than ever. The same madness raged amongst the Mussulmans. The pretence of religion had no longer any share in political affairs; on the contrary, about the year 1166, Aumaury king of Jerusalem, entered into an alliance with the sultan of Egypt against the Turks; but the king of Jerusalem had hardly signed the treaty when he broke it.

In the midst of all these disorders arose the great Saladin: he was of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Curdes, a nation always warlike, and always free. He was one of those captains who made themselves masters of the caliphs territories, and was excelled in valour by no one. In a short time he conquered Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia; and finding himself master of such a large extent of country, soon formed the design of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem. This little state was rent by violent factions, and was every day hastening to its ruin.

Guy of Lusignan, who had received the crown, but a crown which was disputed him, assembled together in Galilee all the divided Christians whom the prospect of approaching danger now united, and marched against Saladin; the bishop of Ptolemais wearing a cope over his armour, marched at the head of the troops, holding in his arms a cross which he endeavoured to persuade the soldiers was the very same on which the Saviour of mankind suffered death *. Nevertheless, the Chri-

* They must have been very easy of belief, to be persuaded that Jesus Christ could be crucified on a cross which the bishop of Ptolemais carried in his arms,

tians were all either killed or made prisoners. The captive monarch, who expected nothing but death, was astonished to find himself treated by Saladin in the same manner as prisoners of war are now-a-days treated by the most humane generals.

Saladin with his own hands presented Lufignan with a cup of liquor cooled with snow: the king, after having drank, was going to give the cup to one of his captains, named Renaud de Chatillon. It was an inviolable custom established among the Mussulmen, and which is still kept up among some of the Arabian nations, never to put those prisoners to death to whom they had given meat or drink. This antient law of hospitality was regarded as sacred by Saladin; therefore he would not suffer Renaud to drink after the king: that captain had several times broken his promise, the conqueror had vowed to punish him; and to shew that he knew how to punish as well as to shew mercy, he struck off the head of the perfidious wretch with a blow of his sabre. Be-

1187 ing come before the gates of Jerusalem, which was in no state of defence, he granted the queen, Lufignan's wife, a capitulation she could not hope to obtain †; with

† We are told by D'Herbelot, who translated the Arabian historian Benschubnah, that Saladin had been repulsed in several attacks, by the Christians of Jerusalem; that he refused to grant them a capitulation, declaring he would take the place by storm, as it had been reduced by the Christians; that the garrison being thus driven to despair, fought with such obstinacy, as obliged him to change his resolution, and grant terms which were abundantly severe: for he stipulated that every man should pay ten golden crowns for

with permission to retire whither she pleased: nor would he take any ransom for the Greeks who lived in the city. When he made his entry into Jerusalem, several women came and threw themselves at his feet, some asking for their husbands, others for their children or fathers, who were his prisoners, whom he ordered to be restored to them with a generosity of which that part of the world had not furnished one example. Saladin caused the mosque, which had been converted into a church, to be washed all over with rose-water by the Christians, and placed in it a magnificent chair, on which his uncle Noradin, sultan of Aleppo, had worked with his own hands; and also caused to be engraven over the door these words, "Saladin the king, the servant of God, set up this inscription after God had taken Jerusalem by his hands."

He established Mahometan schools; but notwithstanding his attachment to his religion, he restored the Holy Sepulchre to the Oriental Christians. We must likewise add, that within the space of a year he restored Guy of Lusignan his liberty, first making him swear that he would never again carry arms against his deliverer. This oath, however, Lusignan afterwards broke.

for his ransom, every woman five, and every child two: and that all those who could not pay should become the slaves of the sultan. As for his leaving to the Christians the custody of the holy sepulchre, this was the effect of his policy, to raise money by the pilgrims; as he knew very well, that no pilgrims would go thither, had the sepulchre been under the direction of the Mahometans.

While Asia Minor had thus been made the theatre of the zeal, glory, crimes, and misfortunes of so many thousands of the crusaders, the rage of propagating religion sword in hand, made its way even to the extremity of the North.

We have a little before seen Charlemagne converting the north of Germany with fire and sword*. We have afterwards beheld the idolatrous Danes making Europe tremble, and conquering Normandy, without ever attempting to force their religion upon the people they had conquered †; but scarcely was the Christian religion settled in Denmark, Saxony, and Scandinavia, when a crusade was preached up against the pagans of the North, whom they called Slaves, or Slaves; whence the country which borders upon Hungary is called Sclavonia. The Christians took up arms against them from Bremen to the extremities of Scandinavia, and upwards of one hundred thousand crusaders marched to carry destruction among these idolaters, of whom they killed vast numbers without making a single convert. We may add the loss of these hundred thousand men to the sixteen hundred thousand which the mad fanaticism of those times had cost Europe.

While these things were transacting in the North, the Asiatic Christians had lost all they possessed there, except Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa, and the city of Tyre; Saladin being master of all the rest, either by himself, or by his son-in-law, the sultan of Iconium, or Cogni.

All Europe was alarmed at the rumour of

* See vol. I. chap. viii.

† Vol. I. chap. xv.

Saladin's victories. Pope Clement III. stirred up France, England, and Germany. Philip Augustus, who at that time sat 1188 on the throne of France, and old Henry II. who was king of England, suspended their private differences, and placed all their emulation in marching to the relief of the Christians in Asia. They both caused proclamation to be made throughout their dominions, that such of their subjects as would not take up the cross, should pay the value of the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects, towards defraying the expence of the armament. This was called the Saladin tythe, a tax which served as an additional trophy to the conqueror.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, so famous for the persecutions he suffered from the popes, and which he made them suffer in their turn, took up the cross much about this time. He seemed to be among the Christians of Asia what Saladin was among the Turks, an able politician, a good soldier, tried by fortune, and at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He at first took the precaution to order, that no one should take the cross, who was not worth at least one hundred and fifty franks, current money; to the end that every one might, by his own means, prevent the dreadful dearth which had so greatly contributed to ruin the preceding armies.

Frederick was obliged to turn his arms first against the Greeks. The court of Constantinople, wearied with being continually threatened by the Latins, entered into an alliance with Saladin.

Saladin. This alliance disgusted all the Christian powers of Europe; but it was evident that there was no avoiding it. We are not naturally fond of having connections or alliance with a known enemy without an urgent necessity. Our alliance at present with the Turks, though much less necessary, perhaps, does not occasion any murmuring. Frederick opened himself a passage through Thrace sword in hand, against the emperor Isaac Angelus, and having conquered the Greeks, he afterwards gained two victories over the sultan of Cogni; but bathing himself in a river (some say the Cydnus) when in a profuse sweat, he lost his life, and his conquests thereby became of no advantage. They had certainly cost him very dear, since his son the duke of Suabia could gather together no more than seven or eight thousand men, out of one hundred and fifty thousand that had followed his father: these he conducted to Antioch, and incorporated them with the remains of the army of Guy of Lusignan, who was determined again to attack his conqueror and deliverer, Saladin, in defiance of the oath he had taken, and the great inequality of their forces.

After several battles, none of which were decisive, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, who might have been emperor of the West, was killed near Ptolemais. Those writers who tell us that he died a martyr to his chastity, and might have survived, could he have prevailed on himself to make use of women, shew themselves bold panegyrists, but very indifferent naturalists. The same thing has been since said of Lewis VIII. king of France.

Asia

Asia Minor was a gulph into which Europe seemed hastening to plunge itself. Not only Frederick's immense army was lost, but the fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany, that arrived before Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion had brought fresh crusaders, and consequently fresh victims.

The kings of France and England at length arrived in Syria before Ptolemais: almost all the eastern Christians were assembled to carry on the siege of this city. Saladin was employed on the borders of the Euphrates with a civil war. When the two kings had joined their forces to those of the eastern Christians, the whole was computed to amount to above three hundred thousand men.

Ptolemais indeed was taken; but the jealousy and discord which naturally arose between two such rivals in power and interest as Philip and Richard, produced more mischievous effects than these three hundred thousand performed successful exploits. Philip, grown weary of these animosities, and still more of the superiority which Richard assumed on all occasions, though his vassal, returned in disgust to France, which perhaps he ought never to have left; but to which likewise he should never have returned, unless with more credit. 1190

Richard, now left master of the field of honour, but not of that multitude of crusaders, more divided amongst themselves than the two kings had been, in vain gave proofs of the most heroic valour. Saladin, who was returning victorious from Mesopotamia, gave battle to the crusaders near Cesarea, when Richard had the honour of disarming that great warrior, which

which was almost the only advantage he gained by this memorable expedition.

Fatigues, sickness, skirmishes, and continual quarrels, ruined this great army, and

1191 Richard returned home with more glory indeed than Philip Augustus, but in a manner much less prudent. He set sail with a single ship, and that being cast away on the coast of Venice, he was obliged to cross Germany in disguise, and very badly attended. When in Syria, he had, by his haughty behaviour, given great offence to a duke of Austria, and now he had the imprudence to pass through his territories. The duke ordered

1193 him to be seized, loaded him with chains, and delivered him up to that cruel and dastardly prince, the emperor Henry VI. who kept him confined as if he had been an enemy taken in war, and it is said demanded an hundred marks of silver for his ransom.

Saladin, who had entered into a treaty with Richard, by which he left to the Christians all the sea-coast from Tyre to Joppa, and who during his life-time adhered faithfully

1195 to his engagements, died three years after at Damascus, admired even by the Christians. In his last illness, instead of the standard which used to be displayed before the door of his palace, he ordered the sheet to be hung up in which he was to be buried; and the person who carried this ensign of mortality, cried with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin, conqueror of the East, has gained by his victories." They say that by his last will he left a sum to be equally distributed between the poor Mahometans, Jews, and Christians;

in-

intending by this disposition to inculcate that all men are brethren ; and that, when we would assist them, we are not to enquire what they believe, but what they suffer.

The ardor for crusades still continued as warm as ever, and the wars which were carried on by Philip Augustus against England and Germany, did not prevent a great number of the French lords from engaging in these chimerical expeditions. Baldwin count of Flanders was the principal promoter of this emigration, as Godfrey of Bouillon had been of the first. This new crusade, which we may call the fifth, was composed of four thousand knights, nine thousand esquires, and twenty-five thousand infantry.

The republic of Venice, which supported its commerce by war, became every day more and more formidable ; and it was thought of more consequence to secure her assistance, than that of all the crowned heads of Europe, as she was able to fit out larger fleets than the kings of England, Germany, and France. These industrious republicans gained both wealth and additional territories by this crusade : for, in the first place, they were paid eighty-five thousand marks of silver merely for the passage of the troops ; and then they made use of this very armament, to which they added fifty galleys, to make conquests in 1202 Dalmatia.

Pope Innocent III. whether out of matter of form, or because he already feared their rising grandeur, excommunicated these people ; but they nevertheless took Zara and its territories, which still added to the strength of their republic.

This

This crusade set out under very different circumstances to all others, inasmuch as it found Constantinople divided; whereas the former ones had to do with emperors well settled on the throne. The Venetians, together with the count of Flanders, the marquis of Montferrat, and, in fine, all the principal commanders, who are generally good politicians, however mad and giddy the multitude may be, thought that the time was come for putting in execution a long formed project against the Greek empire.

Isaac Angelus had been deprived of his liberty and right by his brother Alexis: the son of this Isaac was at the head of a party, and the crusaders offered him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries could not but be equally hateful to both parties. However, they arrived before Constantinople, and pitched their camp without that city, which was a perpetual prey to tumults and disorders. Young Alexis, who was detested by the Greeks, for having introduced the Latins, soon became the victim of a new faction; and one of his relations, surnamed Mirzifios, strangled him with his own hands.

The crusaders, who had then the pretence of revenging the death of their creature, took advantage of the seditions that desolated the city, to plunder it. They entered it with little or no resistance; and having put every one they met to the sword, gave themselves up with-

1204 out restraint to all the excess of avarice and fury. Nicetas affirms, that the booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver. The very churches

churches were pillaged; and what strongly marks the character of the nation, which has been at all times the same, is, that the French danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia.

This was the first time that the city of Constantinople had been taken and sacked; and this was the act of Christians, who had made a vow to fight only against Infidels.

We do not find that on this occasion the wild-fire, so much boasted of by historians, had the least effect. Had it been what they represented it, it must always have given certain victory both by sea and land. If it was something resembling our phosphorus, it might indeed be preserved in water, but then it would have had no effect in that element. In short, notwithstanding this secret, the Turks had taken almost all Asia Minor from the Greeks, and the Latins strip them of the rest.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of all the crusaders, got himself elected emperor, and this new emperor condemned the other usurper Mirzifios to be thrown headlong from the top of a high column. The other chiefs divided the empire between them. The Venetians took for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis of Montserrat took Thessaly. Thus Baldwin had little left except Thrace and Mœsia. As to the pope, he gained, at least for a time, the whole eastern church. This conquest might in time have been worth a kingdom; for Constantinople was of far greater consequence than Jerusalem.

These

These crusaders, who thus ruined the Christians their brethren, might much more easily than any of their predecessors, have driven the Turks out of Asia, as the demesnes of Saladin were rent in pieces; but of such a number of knights who had made a vow to go and succour Jerusalem, a very inconsiderable number went into Syria, and those only such as were unable to get any share in the spoils of the Greeks. One of these was Simon of Montfort, who having in vain attempted to gain dominions in Greece and Syria, put himself, at length, at the head of a crusade against the Albigenses, in hopes of finding an opportunity, under the sanction of the cross he bore, to usurp something from the Christians.

There still remained a number of princes of the imperial house of Comnenus, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of these, who also bore the name of Alexis, took refuge with a few vessels on the coast of Colchis, and there between the sea and mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, which he called the empire of Trebisond; so much was the word empire abused.

Theodore Lascarus, who retook Nice, settled himself in Bithynia, by opportunely making use of the Arabians against the Turks. He also assumed the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected in his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance even with the Turks, and called in the ancient enemies of the Bulgarians to their assistance against the emperor Baldwin, the late count of Flanders, who had yet scarcely enjoyed his conquest; and having overcome him

him near Adrianopole, they cut off his legs and arms, and left him a prey to wild beasts.

It has by some been thought astonishing that the sources of these emigrations were not dried up; but, in my opinion, the contrary would have been astonishing. The minds of mankind were set in agitation; penitents were ordered by their confessors to go to the Holy Land; and the false reports which were every day brought from that place, excited new hopes and expectations.

A monk of Brittany, named Estoin, about the year 1204, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria. The widow of a king of Hungary took the cross, with many others of her sex, thinking there was no other way of gaining heaven, but by making this voyage. This epidemic folly communicated itself even to the children; several thousands of whom, conducted by the schoolmasters and monks, quitted their parents houses on the faith of these words; "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, O Lord, thou hast ordained strength." Of these infatuated little wretches, one half were sold, by their leaders, to the Mussulmans, and the rest perished miserably.

Antioch was the most considerable state the Christians retained in Syria, and the kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced to the single city of Ptolemais. Nevertheless, it was determined in the West, that Jerusalem ought to have a king, and Emery of Lusignan, the titular king, dying in the year 1205, it was proposed by the bishop of Ptolemais, that they should send to France to demand a king for Judea. Philip Augustus therefore nominated a younger son of the

the house of Brienne, in the province of Champagne, who was hardly possessed of any estate. The choice of such a king sufficiently shews what kind of a kingdom this was.

This titular king, together with his knights, some people of Brittany who had passed the sea, several German princes, a duke of Austria, a king of Hungary, named Andrew, who brought with him several fine troops, the knights Templars and Hospitallers, and the bishops of Munster and Utrecht, might altogether have formed an army of conquerors, had they had a head to lead them on; but this they wanted.

The king of Hungary having withdrawn himself from the league, a count of Holland undertook what so many kings and princes had been unable to execute. The Asiatic Christians seemed now at the eve of their deliverance, and their hopes were heightened by the arrival of a great multitude of knights, brought by a legate from the pope, and accompanied by an archbishop of Bourdeaux, the bishops of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, and a considerable body of troops; besides these, there came four thousand English and as many Italians, under several leaders. At length John de Brienne, who had arrived at Ptolemais almost without a man, saw himself at the head of near an hundred thousand combatants.

Saphadin, brother to the famous Saladin, who had lately joined Egypt to his other dominions, came to demolish the remains of the walls of Jerusalem, which was now no better than a ruined village: but as Saphadin seemed but precariously settled in Egypt, the crusaders flattered themselves that they might easily get possession of that country.

The

The passage from Ptolemais to the mouth of the Nile is very short, and the vessels which had brought over this vast multitude of Christians, transported them in three days to the antient Pelusium.

Near the ruins of Pelusium stands the city of Damietta, built on a causeway which defends it from the inundations of the Nile. The crusaders began the siege of this place 1218 during the last illness of Saphadin, and continued it after his death. Meledin, his eldest son, then reigned in Egypt, and passed for a prince who was fonder of the laws, the sciences, and a life of tranquility, than of war. Corradin, sultan of Damascus, to whose share Syria had fallen, came to his assistance against the Christians. The fame of this siege, which lasted two years, spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa.

St. Francis d' Assise, who was then upon establishing his order, went in person to the camp of the besiegers; and thinking that he should find no great difficulty in converting the sultan Meledin, went boldly on with his companion, father Illuminatus, to the Egyptian camp, where they were seized and conducted to the sultan. Francis preached to him in Italian, and proposed that a large fire should be kindled, into which the Imans on the one hand, and himself and Illuminatus on the other, should cast themselves, to prove which was the true religion. Meledin replied with a smile, that his priests were not persons to leap into a fire in defence of their faith. Upon this Francis offered to throw himself into it alone; but Meledin told him that by accepting such an offer he

he might appear to doubt the truth of his own religion. At length he dismissed Francis with marks of his bounty, being perfectly well convinced that he was no dangerous spy.

Damietta, however, was taken, and this seemed to open a way for the conquest of Egypt; but Pelagus Albano, a Spanish Benedictine, who was a cardinal and the pope's
1220 legate, was the cause of its being lost.

This legate pretended, that the pope, being the head of all the crusaders, he who represented him, had an incontestible right to be general; and that as the king of Jerusalem was king only in virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to his legate. Much time was expended in these disputes, and in writing to Rome; at length the pope's answer came, by which he ordered the king of Jerusalem to return to the camp, and serve under the Benedictine, which he accordingly did. This general brought the army between two branches of the Nile, just at the time when that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The sultan being informed of his situation, by opening the sluices overflowed the Christian camp; and while he burnt their ships, on the

one side, on the other the Nile en-
1221 creasing, threatened every day to swallow up the whole army. The legate now found himself and his troops in the same situation in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are described, when they beheld the sea ready to flow in upon them.

All the writers of those times agree, that in this extremity they entered into a treaty with

the sultan, who obliged them to restore Damietta, and sent back the army into Phœnicia, after having made them swear not to enter into war against him for eight years, and kept their king, John de Brienne, as a hostage for their observance of the treaty.

The Christians had now no hopes left but in the emperor Frederick II. and John de Brienne, after he was set at liberty, gave him his daughter in marriage, and his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry.

The emperor was perfectly sensible of the little advantage to be gained by crusades; but it was necessary for him to manage the minds of the people, and ward against any attacks on the side of the popes. In my opinion, the conduct he observed on this occasion is a perfect model of sound politics. He entered into a separate treaty at the same time with the pope, and with sultan Meledin; and that with this latter being signed, he set out for Palestine, but with a retinue rather than an army. No sooner was he arrived there than he made public the treaty by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and some other towns in Judea were ceded to him. He then caused it to be published throughout Europe, that he had recovered the holy places without shedding a drop of blood; but notwithstanding this he did not escape uncensured, for having by this treaty left the great mosque in Jerusalem; and the patriarch of that city treated him as an atheist; but every where else he was looked upon as a prince who knew perfectly well how to reign.

In reading the history of these times we cannot but acknowledge, that the writers of Ro-

mance have hardly been able, with all the stretch of imagination, to exceed what truth has here furnished: nor are we surprised in this age of extraordinary events, to see a count of Flanders, who had made a vow to go to the holy land, seizing on the empire of Constantinople in his way; nor John de Brienne, a younger son of a family in Champagne, become king of Jerusalem, and afterwards on the point of conquering the kingdom of Egypt: and this same John, after being stripped of all his dominions, marching almost alone to the assistance of Constantinople, where he arrives during

1224 an inter-regnum, and is elected emperor. His successor Baldwin II. the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, being continually harrassed by the Greeks, runs in vain from court to court with the pope's bull in his hand, imploring assistance of all the princes of Europe. All the princes of Europe were at that time from home; the emperors of the West were gone to the Holy Land, the popes were almost always in France, and the kings ready to set out for Palestine.

Theobald of Champagne, king of Navarre, who was so famous for his love to the

1240 queen, mother to St. Lewis, and the songs he composed on that occasion, was one of those also who embarked for Palestine: he returned indeed the same year, and happy it was for him; for seventy French knights who went to signalize themselves with him, were all taken prisoners and carried to Grand Cairo, where Melecfa, nephew to Meledin, who inherited the dominions and virtues of his uncle, treated them with the greatest hu-

humanity, and at length suffered them to return to their own country, on paying a moderate ransom.

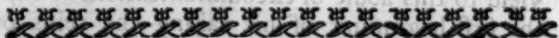
At this time the territory of Jerusalem belonged neither to the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Christians, nor the Mussulmen. An unexampled revolution had given a new face to the greater part of Asia. Gengis-can and his Tartars† had broke loose from Mount Caucasus, Tauris, and Immaus; and the people, who fled before them like savage beasts chased from their haunts by animals more cruel and powerful than themselves, over-ran in their turn the countries whose inhabitants abandoned them at their approach.

The inhabitants of Chorazan, who were called Chorasmians, being pushed 1244 by these Tartars, threw themselves upon Syria in the same manner as the Goths in the fourth century fell upon the Roman empire. These Chorasmians being idolaters, put all the Turks, Christians, and Jews, that were left in Jerusalem to the sword. The Christians who remained in Antioch, Tyre, and Sydon, and on the coast of Syria, suspended for a while their mutual quarrels, and united to repel these new invaders. These Christians were then in alliance with the sultan of Damascus: and the templars, the knights of St. John, and the Teutonic knights, were always ready armed to lend their assistance to the general cause. Europe was continually furnishing fresh volunteers. In short, with the forces they could get together, they gave battle to the Choras-

† See Chap. xlviii.

mins, when the Christian party was entirely defeated: but this was not the end of their misfortunes. A fresh body of Turks fell upon and ravaged Syria, after the Chorasmins had abandoned it, and exterminated almost all the knights that were left. But notwithstanding these sudden torrents, Christians were still left in possession of the cities on the coast.

The Latins, shut up in their maritime towns, saw themselves now deprived of all assistance, and their mutual dissensions added to their other misfortunes. The princes of Antioch were wholly taken up with making war upon a colony of Christians in Armenia. The different factions of the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, were disputing with each other the possession of Ptolemais. The templars and knights of St. John were continually embroiled; and Europe, now grown cool, sent forth scarce any of these armed pilgrims, so that the hopes of the eastern Christians were almost wholly extinguished, when St. Lewis undertook the last crusade.



C H A P. XLVI.

OF ST. LEWIS and the last CRUSADE.

LEWIS IX. seemed a prince destined to reform Europe, had it been capable of being reformed, to render France triumphant and civilized, and to be in every respect a model for the rest of mankind. His piety, which was that of an anchorite, did not deprive him of any
of

of the virtues of a king; nor did his liberality break in upon the bounds of a prudent œconomy. He knew how to reconcile the profoundest politics with the strictest justice, and perhaps was the only sovereign who deserved this praise: in council he was prudent and firm, in battle intrepid but not rash, and compassionate as if he had always been unhappy. In a word, it is not in the power of man to carry virtue to a greater height.

In conjunction with the queen his mother, who was regent, and understood perfectly well how to govern, he put a stop to the gross abuses which had crept into the exercise of the ecclesiastical power. The clergy pretended that the officers of justice ought to seize the goods of every excommunicated person, without examining whether the excommunication was just or not: but the king, wisely distinguishing between the civil laws, to which every one owes obedience, and the church laws, whose power ought to extend only to consciences, would not suffer the laws of the kingdom to yield to this abuse of excommunications. From the first beginning of his taking the reins of government, he confined the pretensions of the bishops and laity within their proper bounds; he suppressed several factions in Brittany; and observed a prudent neutrality between the furiously insolent Gregory IX. and the madly revengeful Frederick II.

He increased his demesnes, which were already very considerable, by the purchase of several lands. The revenues of the kings of France consisted then only in their own private property, and not in that of the people; and

their grandeur depended on a well regulated œconomy, in the same manner as that of a private nobleman.

His wife administration had enabled him to raise very considerable armies to oppose Henry III. king of England, and the vassals of France who had joined with him. Henry, who was poorer, and not so well obeyed by his subjects, had neither such good troops, nor could he assemble them so readily. Lewis defeated ¹²⁴¹ him twice, particularly at Taillebourg in Poitou, when the king of England fled before him. This war was succeeded by an useful peace. The vassals of France returned to their duty, and never after swerved from it. The king moreover obliged the English to pay five thousand pounds sterling towards defraying the expences of the campaign.

If we reflect that he was barely twenty-four years old when he acted in this manner, and how much superior his genius was to his fortune; we may easily figure to ourselves what great things such a prince might have done for his country had he remained at home; and cannot but regret that France should have been rendered so miserable by those very virtues which might have made the whole universe happy.

In the year 1244, Lewis being seized with a violent disorder, fell into a lethargic dosing, during which, it is said, he thought that he heard a voice commanding him to take up the cross against the infidels*. The instant he

* Father Daniel says, that during his insensibility, his friends placed upon his bed, a piece of the true cross, and other relicks, which produced an instantaneous effect in his favour.

recovered his speech, he made a vow to engage in a crusade. The queen his mother, his wife, his council, and all about him, were fully sensible of the dangerous consequence of this fatal vow. The bishop of Paris himself displayed them to him in the strongest terms; but Lewis considered his vow as a sacred bond, which it was not permitted man to unloose. He took four years in preparing for this expedition; and then leaving the government of the 1243 † kingdom to his mother, he set out, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers, with their wives, and almost all the knights in France; for he had in this army no less than three thousand knights bannerets. One part of the prodigious fleet destined to carry so many princes and warriors set sail from Marseilles, and the other from Aiguemorte, which is no longer a seaport.

From the account of the king's expences, we may perceive how greatly France must have been impoverished by these crusades. He gave to the lord of Vallery for maintaining thirty knights, eight thousand livres: to the constable for fifteen knights, three thousand livres: to the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishop of Langres, each for fifteen knights, whom they brought with them into the field, four thousand livres each. Besides which, he likewise provided tables for one hundred and seventy two knights. These expences, together with the preparations for this expedition, amounted to an immense sum.

† It was in the year 1248, that Lewis IX. set sail for Cyprus.

If the madness for crusades, and the religious observance of oaths, had permitted Lewis's virtue to hearken to reason, he would not only have perceived the evil he was bringing upon his country, but also the great injustice of this expedition, which appeared to him so just and laudable.

Had his design been only to put France in possession of Jerusalem, it was what it had no right to: but he marched against the old and wise Melecsala*, sultan of Egypt, who had certainly never given offence to the king of France. Melecsala was a Mussulman, and that was the only pretence for making war upon him: but there was no more reason at that time for ravaging Egypt, because the people followed the doctrine of Mahomet, than there would be at present for carrying a war into China, because that empire is attached to the tenets of Confucius.

Lewis put into Cyprus, and was joined by the king of that island. They then landed in Egypt. The sultan of Egypt was no longer in possession of Jerusalem. Palestine was then ravaged by the Chorasmians, the sultan of Syria had abandoned to them that wretched country; and the caliph of Bagdat who, though still acknowledged, had only the shadow of power, no longer took part in those wars. There were still some Christians remaining at Ptolemais, Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli; but by their dissensions, they continually ran the risk of being crushed both by the Turkish sultans and the Chorasmians.

* This prince's name was Malek al Saleh.

In this situation of affairs it is difficult to find a reason why the king of France should chuse Egypt for the theatre of his war. Melecfala, who was now grown old and sick, demanded a peace, which was refused him. Lewis was reinforced by fresh succours from France, and saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, by whom he was both obeyed and loved; and having to do with an army already defeated, and a sultan who drew near his end, who would not have thought that Egypt, and even Syria itself would quickly have been subdued? yet one half of this flourishing army died of sickness, and the other half was defeated near Massoura. St. Lewis saw his brother Robert of Artois killed by his side, and himself taken prisoner, with his two ¹²⁵⁰ brothers, the count of Anjou, and the count of Poitiers. It was no longer old Melecfala, who reigned in Egypt, but his son Almoadan †. who must certainly have been a prince of a most generous soul; for when king Lewis made him an offer of a million of besants in gold for his ransom, and that of his followers, Almoadan generously remitted him the fifth part.

This sultan was massacred by the Mamalucs, whom his father had formed into a militia; and the government being now divided, seemed to threaten some fatal revolution to the Christians: however, the Egyptian council continued to treat with the king. The sieur de Joinville relates, that the emirs themselves proposed in one of their assemblies to chuse Lewis for their sultan.

† Malek Almôhadan.

This Joinville was prisoner at the same time with the king, and what is related by a man of his character has doubtless some weight. But let us only reflect how frequently, in a camp or a private house, we are misinformed of what passes in a neighbouring camp, or the next house, and likewise how improbable it is that Mussulmen should think of choosing for their sovereign a Christian king, and an enemy, who was neither acquainted with their language nor their manners, and who detested their religion, and could only be considered by them as the chief of a band of foreign robbers; if we reflect upon this, I say, we shall find that Joinville has only reported a popular story. By relating faithfully all that we hear, we are often led to repeat many things which ought at least to be suspected: and again, we have not the true history written by Joinville; it is at best but an incorrect translation made in the time of Francis I. from a manuscript which it would be very difficult to understand at present.

I have not been able to reconcile what historians tell us of the manner in which the Mussulmen treated their Christian prisoners. Some of them say, that they were brought one by one out of the place where they were confined, and asked if they would deny Jesus Christ; and such as persisted in the Christian faith had their heads struck off.

Others again attest, that an old emir asked the prisoners by an interpreter, if they believed in Jesus Christ, and they answering in the affirmative, he replied, "Be of good courage then; he that died for you, and could rise again, is doubtless able to deliver you."

These

These two accounts seem a little contradictory; and what is still more so, is, that the emirs should kill those captives for whom they expected a ransom †.

Upon the whole, these emirs demanded no more than the 80,000 besants to which the late sultan had limited the ransom; and when, in pursuance of the treaty, the French troops which were in Damietta had given up that city, we do not find that the conquerors committed the least outrage on the women, but sent the queen and her sisters-in-law away with marks of respect. All the Mahometan soldiers did not indeed behave with equal moderation, the vulgar in all countries being rude and brutal: there were doubtless some violencies committed, and some prisoners ill-treated, and even killed; but after all, I must own I am surprised that the sultan did not put to death a much greater number of these foreign invaders, who sailed from the ports of Europe to lay waste the kingdom of Egypt †.

St.

† Joinville expressly says, that the emirs deliberated among themselves, whether they should not behead the king and all the Christians in their power, and that they were dissuaded from this resolution by a single emir, whose breast was animated by a spark of honour, or perhaps of avarice. ---- After all, it would have been the most advantageous resolution they could have taken.

† Whether it be owing to a partiality for the Mahometans, or an implacable hatred to the Christians, we shall not determine; but certain it is, our author industriously palliates the cruelties of the former, by alledging meer conjectures, and exaggerates those of the latter, without much regard to the truth of history. Why should we believe the history of the Arabian author Ben-Schuhnah, rather than the memoirs of the Christian knight Joinville, who was an

St. Lewis, on his being delivered from captivity, retired into Palestine, where he remained near four years with the shattered remains of his fleet and army. Instead of returning to France, he went to visit Nazareth, and did not repair to his own dominions till after the death of queen Blanch, his mother; and then only in order to set on foot a new crusade.

His residence at Paris proved a perpetual increase of advantage and glory to him; and he received marks of honour which can only be rendered to a virtuous king. Henry III. of England and his barons having had some dispute, they made choice of him as sovereign arbiter ‡; and altho' his decision, which was in Henry's favour, did not put a stop to the commotions in England, yet it proved to all Europe, that men are obliged, in spite of themselves, to shew reverence to virtue. The reputation of Lewis, and the good order he observed in his kingdom, procured his brother, the count of Anjou, the honour of being chosen king of Sicily by the pope.

Lewis, in the mean time, enlarged his demesnes by the acquisition of Namur, Peronne, Avranches, Mortagne, and du Perche. He

eye-witness of what he relates? The wife of St. Lewis being besieged at Damietta, and in danger of captivity, addressing herself to Joinville, who was a knight-errant, fell on her knees, and begged a boon, which he having granted on the faith of chivalry, she insisted upon his cutting off her head, if ever her virtue should be in danger; and he promised to comply with her request.

‡ How could he pronounce a decree as sovereign, when he was no more than an arbitrator chosen by the two parties?

might

might likewise have taken from the kings of England all they possessed in France: the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons rendered it very practicable; but Lewis preferred justice to usurpation, and suffered them to remain in quiet possession of Guienne, Perigord, and the Limousin; but he obliged them to give up for ever all claim to Touraine, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been re-annexed to the crown of France by Philip Augustus. By this procedure he at once procured an honourable peace to his country, and raised his own reputation.

He was the first who established the law or right of appeals; by which the subjects, which had before been obliged to submit to the arbitrary sentence of the judges of the baronies, might now carry their complaints into four grand, royal bailiwicks, erected on purpose to hear and determine such causes. In his reign men of letters were first admitted to seats in the parliament, where before the knights, who hardly knew how to read, used to decide the fortunes of the subjects. With all the piety of a priest, he shewed the enlightened firmness of a king, in putting a check to the encroachments of the court of Rome, by that famous pragmatic law, which secures those rights called the liberties of the Gallican church.

In short, thirteen years of his presence in France repaired all the evils that had been wrought in his absence; but his insatiation for crusades hurried him beyond every other consideration, and the popes took care to encourage him in it. Clement IV. granted him a tenth penny on the revenues of the clergy for
three

three years. At length he departed a second time, with a force nearly equal to the former; and his brother, whom he had made king of Sicily, was to follow him: this time however he directed his devotion and his arms neither to Palestine nor the coast of Egypt, but sailed with his fleet to Tunis.

The Christians of Syria were no longer of the ancient race of Franks who settled in Antioch and Tyre; they were a mixed generation, of Syrians, Armenians, and Europeans: they went by the name of *Colts*, and these feeble remains of the original conquerors were in general subject to the Egyptians, and Tyre and Ptolemais were the only cities of strength they had left in that part of the world; and, even in those cities, the religious societies of Templars and Hospitallers, whom we may in some sort compare to the Mammaluc militia, carried on the most cruel and bloody wars against each other; and in a fight which happened between these military monks, there was not one Templar left alive.

But it may be asked, what relation there could be between a petty, mongrel race, on the coast of Syria, and St. Lewis's expedition to Tunis? Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, an ambitious, cruel, and self-interested prince, made the heroic simplicity of his brother Lewis subservient to his designs. He pretended that the king of Tunis owed him several years tribute; the truth is, he wanted to get the sovereignty of that country, and St. Lewis, as most historians tell us, (but on what foundation I cannot say) hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis. A strange method of converting

verting a Mahometan to Christianity, to make a descent sword in hand upon his country!

The Christians landed near the ruins of Carthage; but the king soon found himself besieged in his own camp by the united forces of the Moors. And here his army underwent the same fate, by diseases, and the intemperance of the soldiery in a new climate, as it had formerly done in Egypt; it was totally ruined: and one of his sons, who was born at Damietta during the time of his captivity, died of this kind of contagion before Tunis. At

length the king himself was attacked 1270
by it, and ordering himself to be laid

in the dust, he expired at the age of fifty-five, with the piety of a monk, and the courage of an hero. It is not one of the least, among the many instances of the caprices of fortune, that the ruins of Carthage should be the burying-place of a Christian king, come thither to fight against Mahometans, in a country where queen Dido had first introduced the gods of the Syrians. Scarcely was Lewis dead, when his brother the king of Sicily arrived, who concluded a peace with the Moors, and conducted the shattered remains of the Christian army back into Europe.

We cannot reckon less than one hundred thousand persons sacrificed in St. Lewis's two expeditions; add to these the fifty thousand who followed Frederick Barbarossa, the three hundred thousand who composed the crusade under Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion, with the two hundred thousand at least, who emigrated in the time of king John de Brienne; reckon likewise the one hundred and

sixty

sixty thousand who had before that gone over to Asia, not omitting those who perished in the expedition against Constantinople, and in the wars succeeding that revolution, without mentioning the crusade in the North, and that against the Albigenes, and it will be found, that the East proved the sepulchre of above two millions of Europeans.

Many countries were depopulated and impoverished by these expeditions. The sieur de Joinville expressly asserts, that the reason of his not accompanying St. Lewis on his second crusade, was, that he could not support the expence of it, his fortune having been almost entirely ruined by the first.

Lewis's ransom cost the kingdom eight hundred thousand besants, which was about nine millions of the present current money of France. Now, of the two millions who died in the East, if each man carried with him out of the kingdom only one hundred franks, it will make an additional sum of two hundred millions on account of these expeditions. The Genoese, the Pisans, and particularly the Venetians, were enriched by them; but France, England, and Germany, were totally exhausted.

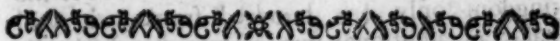
It is pretended that the kings of France were gainers by these crusades, because St. Lewis encreased his demesnes, by purchasing the lands of those lords who had ruined their fortunes by following him: but, in reality, he encreased them only by his oeconomy during his thirteen years residence at home.

The only advantages procured by these enterprises, was the liberty which many boroughs purchased of their lords; thus the municipal govern-

The taking of CONSTANTINOPLE. 137

government encreased by slow degrees from the ruins of the possessors of fiefs; and these communities finding in time that they could work and traffic on their own accounts, they began to exercise arts and commerce, which had long lain neglected, and almost extinguished in a state of slavery.

In the mean time, the small number of Christians distributed about the coast of Syria, were soon exterminated, or reduced to slavery. Ptolemais, their principal retreat, which was in effect only a place of refuge for robbers notorious for their crimes, could not resist the forces of Meleceraph, sultan of Egypt, who took it in the year 1291. After which, Tyre and Sidon soon surrendered to him. In short, towards the end of the twelfth century, there was not the least trace to be found in Asia of the emigrations of these Christians.



C H A P. XLVII.

Continuation of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE by the CRUSADERS.

WE may have observed, that the feudal government of France produced many conquerors; the duke of Normandy, a peer of France, subdued England; a few private gentlemen conquered Sicily; and, during the crusades, lords of France were for some time masters of Antioch and Jerusalem: in fine, Baldwin count of Flanders, also a peer of France, took Constantinople. We have seen that the Mahometans
of

138 The taking of CONSTANTINOPLE

of Asia yielded Nice to the fugitive emperors of Greece, and that these Mahometans were joined in alliance with the Greeks, against the Franks and Latins, their common enemies; during this time the irruptions of the Tartars into Asia and Europe prevented the Mahometans from oppressing the Greeks. The Franks being in possession of Constantinople, elected their own emperors, and the popes confirmed them.

1216 Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, of the house of France, being elected, was crowned at Rome by pope Honorius III. The popes, at that time, flattered themselves with a notion that they had the disposal of the empires of the East and West. We have seen what kind of claim they had upon the West, and the immense quantities of blood it cost to dispute it. With regard to the East, their pretensions were confined to Constantinople, and a part of Thrace and Thessaly; and the Latin patriarch, notwithstanding his profound submission to the pope's authority, insisted that it belonged to him alone to crown the emperors, his masters; while the Greek patriarch, who held his see sometimes at Nice, and at others in Adrianopolis, anathematized both the Latin emperor and his patriarch, and even the pope himself: in fact, this Latin empire of Constantinople was so inconsiderable, that Peter de Courtenay, on his return to Rome, could not avoid falling into the hands of the
1218 Greeks, and, after his death, his successors possessed in reality no more than the city of Constantinople and its adjacent territory.

Achaia

Achaia was in the possession of the French, and the Venetians had the Morea.

Constantinople, which had formerly been such an opulent city, was now grown so poor, that Baldwin II. I can hardly stile him emperor, pledged to the Venetians for a sum of money, the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ, his swaddling cloaths, his robe, his napkin, his sponge, and several pieces of the true cross, which were afterwards redeemed by St. Lewis, who deposited them in the holy chapel at Paris, with other relicks, which are testimonies of his piety, rather than of his knowledge in antiquity.

We find that this Baldwin II. came in 1245 to the council of Lyons, in which pope Innocent IV. excommunicated, in so solemn a manner, the emperor Frederick II. He there in vain implored the assistance of a crusade, and returned to Constantinople, only to see it fall at last under the power of the Greeks, its lawful possessors. Michael Paleologus, emperor, and guardian to the young emperor Lascaris, retook the city by means of a private intelligence. Baldwin after this fled into 1261 France, where he lived upon the money he raised by the sale of his marquisate of Namur to St. Lewis. Thus ended this empire of the crusaders.

The Greeks brought back their manners into their empire; and the custom of putting out eyes again revived. Michael Paleologus was the first who signalized himself in this way, by depriving his pupil of his sight and liberty. It had been the custom before, on these occasions, to make use of a thin plate of metal, heated

heated red hot ; but Michael used boiling vinegar, and the custom has been still preserved; for there is a fashion even in crimes.

Paleologus took care to procure a solemn act of absolution for this cruel deed, from his patriarch and bishops, who it is said burst into tears of joy at this pious ceremony. Paleologus beat his breast, with all the marks of a sincere contrition, humbly asked forgiveness of God, and at the same time took especial care to keep his emperor and his pupil closely confined.

When I say that superstition returned to Constantinople with the Greeks, I desire no clearer proof of it than what happened in the year 1284. The whole empire was at that time divided between two patriarchs ; the emperor gave orders that each party should present before God, in the church of St. Sophia, a memorial containing his reasons ; and that both these memorials should be thrown into a consecrated pan of coals, in order that the will of heaven might be known ; the Almighty however declared himself no otherwise than by suffering both the papers to be consumed to ashes, and left the Greeks to their ecclesiastical disputes.

The empire of the East in the mean time recovered a little strength ; Greece had been annexed to it before the crusades, but it lost almost all Asia Minor and Syria. Greece was again separated from it after the crusades, but a small part of Asia Minor still remained.

All the rest of this empire was in the hands of new nations : Egypt was fallen a prey to the Mammaluc militia, originally formed of slaves, who afterwards became conquerors ; they were
soldiers

soldiers who had been gathered together from the northern coasts of the Black Sea; and this new form of robbery was first established during the time that St. Lewis was in captivity.

The empire of the caliphs seemed to draw near to its end in this century, while that of Constantine appeared also on the decline. The monarchy which had been founded by Mahomet was torn to pieces on all sides by new usurpers, who at the same time embraced his religion, till at length the caliphs of Bagdat, called by way of distinction the Abassidian caliphs, were utterly destroyed by the family of Gengis-Can.

Thus, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was an uninterrupted succession of devastations throughout one half of the globe; nation fell upon nation in those prodigious emigrations, which have since by degrees formed great empires; for, while the crusaders were pouring in upon Syria, the Turks undermined the Arabians; and at length the Tartars appeared, who fell upon the Turks, the Arabians, the Indians, and the Chinese. These Tartars, conducted by Gengis-Can and his sons, changed the face of all Great Asia, while Asia Minor and Syria were the sepulchres of the Franks and Saracens.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Of the EAST and of GENGIS-CAN.

ON the other side of Persia, towards the rivers Gihon and Oxus, a new empire arose from the ruins of the caliphate. We call it Kourasmia, or Kourassian, from the corrupted name of its conquerors. Sultan Mohammed reigned here about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time that so many kingdoms were swallowed up by the great irruptions of the Tartars. Mohammed the Chorasmian ruled from the heart of Irac, which is the ancient Media, to the other side of Sogdiana, and far into the country of the Tartars. He had moreover enlarged his dominions by the addition of a great part of India; so that he saw himself one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world, but still continued to acknowledge the caliph, whom he had stript of almost all his dominions, and who retained only the city of Bagdat.

From the other side of Taurus and Caucasus, to the eastward of the Caspian Sea, and from the river Volga to China, and to the northward as far as the frozen zone, extends that immense tract of country belonging to the ancient Scythians, who were afterwards called Tartars, and by us Tartars, from Teteor-can, one of the most powerful of their princes. These countries appear to have been peopled from time immemorial, but the inhabitants scarcely ever built towns; nature having given these people, the same as to the Arabs and Bedouins, that

relish for freedom and a wandering life, which made them always consider towns or cities as prisons, in which kings, say they, keep their slaves.

Their continual excursions, the frugal manner in which they were obliged to live, the small share of rest or indulgence they could enjoy, passing their lives either under a tent, in their chariots, or upon the bare ground, rendered them a race of hardy men, inured to fatigue, who, like so many wild beasts grown over numerous, spread themselves on all sides, at a distance from their dens, at one time towards the countries about the Palus Mœotis, from whence, in the fifth century, they drove out the inhabitants, who rushed in upon the Roman empire; at another time towards the east and south, where they over-ran Armenia and Persia; and again, towards the coasts of China, and as far as the Indies. Thus has this mighty reservoir of barbarous and warlike men, spread, at different times, its inundations over almost the whole of our hemisphere; and the people who at present inhabit those deserts, destitute of all learning, know only that their ancestors have formerly conquered the world.

Each horde or tribe had its chief, and several of these chiefs were united under a Khan, to whom the neighbouring tribes of Dailailama paid a kind of homage, consisting chiefly in a slight tribute: the rest of the tribes had no other notion of divine worship than what consisted in sacrificing a few animals once a-year to the supreme being. I have never heard it said that they offered human sacrifices to the deity, nor that they had any belief of an evil and powerful being,

being, such as the devil. The wants and occupations of a vagabond life preserved them likewise from a great deal of that superstition which is the child of idleness; their only faults were those which brutality naturally connects with a rough and savage way of life, and even these faults made them conquerors.

All that I have been able to gather of certainty, concerning the origin of the great revolution brought about by these Tartars towards the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is, that the hordes of Mongols, or Moguls, inhabiting the parts to the eastward of China, and who possessed the best iron mines, were the first who worked that metal, which indeed made them in the end masters of those who were in possession of all the rest. Cal-Can, or Gassar-Can, grandfather to Gengis-Can †, finding himself at the head of these tribes, who were the best armed and disciplined of all the others, obliged many of his neighbours to become his vassals, and founded a kind of monarchy, such an one at least as could subsist among a wandering people, impatient of restraint. His son, whom our European historians call Pisouca, fixed this rising empire, and after him Gengis-Can extended it over the greatest part of the known globe.

Between his dominions and those of China, lay a powerful state, belonging to a Chan, whose ancestors had quitted the wandering life of the Tartars, to build themselves towns, after

† According to Fadlallah, who wrote the life of Gengis-Chan, his grandfather's name was Purfan-Chan, and his father's Yesukay, or Pisuka Behadr.

the example of the Chinese. This prince was known even in Europe, and was the person to whom we at first gave the name of Prester John: some critics have attempted to prove that the proper name is Priest John, though, most certainly, there never was the least grounds for either of the appellations †.

The truth is, that the reputation of his capital, which made some noise in Asia, had excited the greediness of certain Arabian merchants: these merchants were of the ancient communion of Nestorius; some of their priests accompanied them in this expedition, and, in order to recommend themselves to the Christian potentates, who were at that time carrying on the holy war in Syria, they gave out that they had converted this great Can, the most powerful of the Tartarian chiefs, and had given him the name of John; and that he had even condescended to take upon him the priesthood. From this idle story came Prester John to be so famous in the old chronicles of the crusades. They afterwards went in search of a Prester John into Ethiopia, and gave this name to a black prince, who is partly a schismatic Christian, and partly a Jew; but the Tartar Prester John fell in a great battle by the arms of Gengis, after which the conqueror made himself master of his dominions, and caused himself to be chosen sovereign of all the Tartar Cans, or chiefs under the name of Gengis-Can, which

† The name of this prince was Vang-Can, or Ung-Can; and the capital of his kingdom was Karacorum, situated about twenty days journey from the borders of China.

signifies King of Kings, or Grand-Can*, in room of that of Temugin†, which he bore before. It appears that the Tartar-Cans were accustomed to assemble diets at the beginning of the spring; these diets were called *Cour-ilté*. How do we know whether these assemblies, and our plenary courts in the months of March and May, may not have had the same origin?

Gengis-Can published an ordonnance in this assembly, enjoining the belief of one God only, and that no one should be persecuted on the score of religion; a certain proof that his subjects were not all of the same belief. He established strict military discipline; the decurions, centurions, and captains of thousands, and the chiefs of ten thousands, under generals, were all obliged to perform daily duty: and all such who did not go to the field, were obliged to work one day in the week for the Can's service. Adultery was the more strictly forbidden, on account of polygamy being allowed. There was but one Tartar canton in which the inhabitants were permitted to continue the practice of prostituting their wives to their landlords. Sorcery was expressly forbidden, under pain of death: it has already been shewn, that Charlemagne punished this crime only by a fine; but it follows from hence, that the Germans, Franks, and Tartars, believed alike in the power of magicians. Gengis-Can played

* Abulgazi-Can, the historian, derives this name from *jin*, which, in the Mogul language, signifies *great*, and the termination *gliz*, implying the superlative, *i. e.* *greatest*, or *most great*.

† So called from Temujen-Can, a prince of the Moguls, whom his father defeated and slew.

off a scheme in this great assembly of barbarous princes, which we frequently find employed in the history of the world; a prophet foretold him, that he should be one day master of the universe: his subjects encouraged each other to fulfil the prediction.

Genhis issued a new law, which was the most proper imaginable for making heroes of all his soldiers; he ordered the penalty of death for such who, when called to the assistance of their fellow-soldiers in time of battle, should take to flight, instead of succouring them. Having quickly made himself master of all the countries which lie between the river Volga and the wall of China, he afterwards fell upon that antient empire which was then called Catai. He took Cambalu, the capital of North Catai; this is the same city which we now call Pekin. Thus master of the one half of China, he soon carried his victorious arms into the heart of Corea.

It is not in the imagination, even of the idlest of those who busy themselves in romantic fictions, to conceive that a prince should set out from the heart of Corea, which is at the eastern extremity of our globe, to carry the war into Persia and the Indies; and yet this, Genhis-Can actually effected.

The caliph of Bagdat, named Nasser, very imprudently applied to him for his assistance; the caliphs at that time were, as we have already seen, what the indolent kings of France were formerly, under the tyranny of the mayors of the palace: the Turks were the mayors of the caliphs.

Sultan Mohammed, of the Corismian race, of whom we have already made mention, was master of almost all Persia; and Armenia, ever in a defenceless condition, paid him tribute. The caliph Nasser, whom this Mohammed was determined to strip at last of even the shadow of dignity which was left him, called Gengis-Can into Persia.

The Tartarian conqueror was at that time sixty years of age; it appears that he knew how to govern, as well as to conquer; and his life is one of the many instances, that there is no great conqueror, who is not at the same time a great politician; a conqueror is a man, whose head makes a happy and dextrous use of the arms of others. Gengis governed with so much skill that part of China which he had conquered, that there was not the least attempt made towards a revolt during his absence; and he knew so well how to govern his own family, that his four sons, whom he made his four lieutenant-generals, shewed no other jealousy than who should best serve him; and were the chief instruments of his victories.

Our fights in Europe appear like slight skirmishes, when compared with the battles which have at different times laid Asia in blood. Sultan Mohammed marched against Gengis at the head of four hundred thousand fighting men; and on the other side of the river Jaxartes, near the city of Otrar, and in the immense plains which lie without the city, in 42 degrees of latitude, he met with the Tartar's army, consisting of seven hundred thousand men, commanded by Gengis himself, assisted by his four sons: the Mahometans were defeated, and the city of
Otrar

Otrar taken. The besiegers made use of the battering ram on this occasion: it would seem that this war-engine was a kind of natural invention amongst all people, in the same manner as the bow and arrows.

From the countries beyond the Oxus the conqueror advanced against Bocara, a city famous throughout all Asia for its great commerce and manufactures of stuff, but especially for the sciences, which the Turkish sultans had learnt of the Arabs, and which flourished in Bocara and Samarcand: and, if we credit the Can Albugasi, to whom we are indebted for the history of the Tartars, *bocar* signifies *learned*, in the Tartar-Mogul language; and it is from this etymology, of which there does not at present remain the least trace, that came the name of Bocara. The Tartar, after having ransomed this city, reduced it to ashes, in like manner as Alexander did Persepolis. The eastern writers who have given us the history of Gengis-Can, alledge, that he did it to revenge the death of his ambassadors, whom the sultan had caused to be slain before the war. Whatever excuse there might be for Gengis, there could be none for Alexander.

All the countries to the eastward and southward of the Caspian Sea, were now subdued, and sultan Mohammed, a fugitive from province to province, dragging after him his treasures and his misfortunes, died at last, abandoned by his own people. After this the conqueror penetrated as far as the river Indus, and while one of his armies was reducing Indostan, another, under the command of one of his sons, subjected to his yoke all the provinces which

are to the southward and westward of the Caspian Sea; Corassian, Irac, Shirvan, and Aran. They passed the iron-gates, not far from whence it is said that the city of Derbent† was built by Alexander the Great. This is the only passage to cross from this side of Upper Asia over the ragged and inaccessible hills of mount Caucasus. From thence directing its march along the Volga towards Moscow, this army, every where victorious, fell upon and ravaged Russia, where nothing was to be seen but seizing and slaying of cattle and slaves. Being loaded with plunder, they repassed the Volga, and returned back to Gengis-Can by the north-east coast of the Caspian Sea. It is said that no traveller had ever before made the circuit of this river; and that these troops were the first who had dared to venture such a journey, through rude and uncultivated countries, inaccessible to any other men than Tartars, who wanted neither tents, provision nor baggage, but lived upon the flesh of their horses, as well as they could on that of other animals.

In this manner was the one half of China, and of Indostan, almost all Persia as far as the Euphrates, the frontiers of Russia, Casan, Astracan, and the whole of Great Tartary, reduced by the victorious arms of Gengis, in the space of less than eighteen years.

† *Darbend*, or *Derbend*, is a Persian word, signifying the fastening or shutting of gates; alluding to iron gates in a wall near this city, extending about a quarter of a league, from a mountain to the sea, through which gates all travellers were obliged to pass.

It is certain, that the part of Thibet where the great Lama reigns, was included within the bounds of his empire, and that he suffered that pontiff to remain in the undisturbed possession of his own territories, as there were a great number of worshippers of that human idol in his armies. Conquerors have in all times spared the chiefs of religions, both on account of the tribute of flattery they are sure to receive from them, and because the submission of the head of the church generally draws after it that of the people.

In his return back from India, through Persia, and the ancient Sogdiana, he stopped at the city of Toncat, to the north-east of the river Jaxartes, as the center of his vast empire. Hither his sons, who had been victorious on all sides, with his generals, and all the tributary princes, brought him the treasures of Asia, which he distributed in largesses among his soldiers, who, till he shewed it them, were wholly unacquainted with this species of abundance. From hence came those gold and silver ornaments which the Russians are every now and then finding, and other monuments of luxury that were buried in the savage countries of Tartary; the only remains of those numerous depredations.

During his stay here, Gengis held a triumphal plenary court in the plains of Toncat, which was as splendid and magnificent as that which had prepared the way for so many victories had been simple and warlike. Here might be seen a mixture of Tartarian barbarity and Asiatic luxury; the Cans and their vassals, who had been companions of his conquests,

appeared seated in the antient Scythian chariots, which still continue in use among the inhabitants of Crim-Tartary; but these cars were covered with the rich stuffs, gold, and precious stones, which had been taken from the nations they had conquered. One of the sons of Gengis made him a present at this assembly, of an hundred thousand horses. It was at this meeting of the states-general of Asia, that he received the homage of above five hundred ambassadors from the conquered countries. From hence he hastened to reduce again to his yoke the vast territory of Tangut, on the frontiers of China. At the age of seventy he determined to go and complete the conquest of the great kingdom of China, which was the darling object of his ambition; but, as he was on
 1226 his march towards that empire, and within a few miles of the great wall, he was seized with a disorder in his camp, which put a period to his life. Never did any man before or since himself subject so many different nations: he had conquered above one thousand eight hundred leagues of country from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south; but then as he conquered he laid all waste, and, excepting Bocara and two or three other cities which he permitted to be rebuilt, his whole empire, from the borders of Russia to the frontiers of China, was one continued ruin. China indeed suffered the least, because, after the taking of Peking, no other place offered to resist him. Before his death he divided his empire between his four sons, and each of them was one of the most powerful monarchs of the known world.

It

It is asserted, that a great number of human victims were sacrificed upon his tomb, and that this has continued to be done in Tartary at the death of any of his successors. This custom, worthy only of the most savage beings the earth produces, was common with the ancient Scythian princes, and has of late been found to prevail among the negroes of Congo. It is pretended, that it was looked upon as a point of honour among the domestics of the Cans of Tartary, to die with their lords, and that they even disputed for the honour of being interred with them. If this enthusiasm was common among them, and that death appeared a matter of such small moment to these people, they were certainly formed to subdue all other nations. The Tartars, whose admiration of Gengis-Can redoubled when they no longer beheld him, imagined that he was not born in the same manner as other men, but that his mother had conceived him by the power of some heavenly influence; as if the rapidity of his conquests was not of itself a prodigy sufficiently great. If such men must have a supernatural being given to them for a parent, we must suppose it to be some evil demon.

The children of this great conqueror still added to the dominions their father had left them; Ootai, and soon after his son Coblai-Can, completed the conquest of China: this is the Coblai whom Mark Paolo saw in the year 1260, when, together with his father and uncle, he penetrated into those countries, which were not even known by name at that time, and which he called Catai. Europe, where Mark Paolo rendered himself so famous for having

154 Of the EAST and GENGIS-CAN.

travelled into the dominions conquered by Gengis-Can, was for a long time ignorant both of these dominions and their conquerors.

Pope Innocent IV. indeed, in 1246, sent some Franciscan friars into Tartary; but these monks, who assumed the title of ambassadors, saw very little, were treated with great contempt, and did no kind of service.

So little was known of what passed in that considerable part of the world, that an impostor, named David, made St. Lewis believe, when he was in Syria, that he was sent to him from the Great Can of Tartary, who was turned Christian; upon which St. Lewis sent the monk Rubruguis thither, in 1258, to enquire into this affair. By the relation of Rubruguis it appears, that he was introduced to the grandson of Gengis-Can, who then reigned in China: but what lights could be procured from a monk, who was only a traveller among people whose language he was ignorant of, and who had not an opportunity of rightly distinguishing what he did see? Accordingly, all that he brought back with him from this voyage was, a great number of false notions, and some few truths of very little consequence.

Thus then, at the same time that the princes and barons of Christendom were bathing the kingdoms of Naples, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, in blood, Asia was ravaged by the Tartars. Almost all our hemisphere suffered at the same time.

Gengis made use of the right which the eastern monarchs have always been in possession of, and which resembles that which the father of a family had by the Roman law, viz. that

that of chusing their own heirs, and dividing their possessions among their children, without any regard to the claim of eldership: he declared his third son, Octai, Great Can of Tartary, and his posterity reigned in the north of China till about the middle of the 14th century. The force of arms introduced the Tartars into this kingdom, and religious disputes drove them out again: the priests of the Lama were for exterminating the Bonzes; these latter found means to make the people revolt. The princes of the blood-royal of China took advantage of this ecclesiastical discord, and in the end drove out their conquerors, enervated by ease and plenty.

Another son of Gengis-Can, named Touchi, had for his share the provinces of Turquestan and Bactria, the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of the Usbec Tartars. The son of this Touchi travelled as far as Poland, into Dalmatia, Hungary, and to the very gates of Constantinople: this prince was called Batou-Can; the princes of Crim-Tartary descend from him in a male-line, and the Usbec-Cans, who at this day inhabit the true Tartary, to the northward and eastward of the Caspian-Sea, derive their origin likewise from the same source; they are masters of the northern Bactria, but they only lead a wandering life in that fine country, and lay waste all the parts they inhabit.

Tuti, or Tuli, another son of Gengis, had the kingdom of Persia, while his father was yet living. The son of this Tuti, named Houla-cou, passed the Euphrates, which Gengis-Can had never done; he totally destroyed the empire of the caliphs in Bagdat, and made him-

self master of a part of Asia Minor, or Natolia, while the native masters of that delightful part of the Constantinopolitan empire, were driven from their capital by the Christian crusaders.

A third son, named Zagatai, had the provinces on the other side of the Oxus, Candahor, the northern India, Cachemir, and Thibet: and the several descendants of these four monarchs preserved themselves for some time by the force of arms in the possession of their monarchies, which had been founded on rapine.

If Charlemagne was blameable for dividing his dominions, Gengis-Can was doubtless commendable for what he did. The dominions of Charlemagne lay contiguous to each other, had nearly the same laws, were under the same religion, and might be governed by one man. Those of Gengis, infinitely more extensive, separated by vast deserts, and divided into different religious sects, could not continue for any length of time in obedience to one ruler.

In the mean time, the vast power of the Tartar Moguls, which was first founded in the year 1220, began to grow weak in all its parts; till Tamerlane, in little more than a century afterwards, established an universal monarchy in Asia, which again underwent a division.

Let us now turn our eyes towards the West, and see what passed in Europe in the thirteenth century.

C H A P. XLIX.

OF CHARLES of ANJOU, king of the two SICILIES; and of the SICILIAN Vespers.

WHILE the grand revolution brought about by the Tartars was taking its course, and the sons and grand-sons of Gengis-Can were dividing the greatest part of the world amongst them; while the crusades still continued to be carried on, and St. Lewis was unhappily making preparations for his last fatal one; the illustrious and imperial house of Suabia was exterminated in a manner unheard of till then: the remains of its blood was shed upon a scaffold.

The emperor Frederick II. was at once the emperor of the popes, their vassal, and their enemy; and did them homage for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His son, the emperor Conrad IV. took possession of this ¹²⁵⁴ kingdom. I find it confidently asserted by most authors, that this Conrad was poisoned by his brother Manfred, or Mainfroi, Frederick's natural son; but I do not see that any one of them have brought the least proof of this assertion. Manfred seized upon this kingdom, which of right belonged to his nephew Conradin, son to the emperor Conrad, and grandson to Frederick I. The pope, as lord paramount, seemed to have a right to punish Manfred; but what right could he have to strip an helpless orphan of the dominions to which he was the sole and lawful heir? But the prospect of advantage made every thing appear lawful. The
popes

popes both hated and feared this family, and only waited to find a prince, who, in receiving the investiture of these kingdoms, might be able to conquer them. Charles, count of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, offered himself to the pope for this purpose, and the holy father soon concluded the matter with him, notwithstanding he had before promised the investiture to others.

This count of Anjou was already in possession of Provence in right of marriage; and what still considerably added to his power, was his having subdued the city of Marseilles: he moreover enjoyed a dignity, which a man of abilities might have turned greatly to his advantage, which was, his being the only senator of Rome. Pope Urban IV. who stood
 1264 in fear of this prince, even when he called him in to his assistance, gave him the investiture only on condition that he should renounce all claim to that dignity at the end of three years, and pay an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold to the apostolic chair, for the feudal dependance of the kingdom of Naples; and if he should ever suffer the payment to run behind-hand more than two months, that he was to be excommunicated. Charles made not the least hesitation to subscribe to these terms, or indeed any others which they brought him. The pope permitted him to levy
 1266 the tenth penny upon all the church-revenues in France. He set out with store of money and troops, caused himself to be crowned at Rome, and gave Manfred battle on the plains of Beneventum, where fortunately for him that prince fell in the combat. The victor made

made the most rigid use of his conquest, and appeared to be as severe and cruel as his brother St. Lewis was humane.

In the mean time young Conradin, the true heir to the kingdom of Naples, was in Germany, while, during this interregnum his country was laid waste; and while they were stripping him of the kingdom of Naples, his adherents encouraged him to come and defend his inheritance. He was at that time only fifteen years old; but his courage far surpassed his age. He put himself at the head of an army, together with his kinsman the duke of Austria, and came to support his rights. The people of Rome were for him, and the excommunicated Conradin was received in that city amidst the general acclamations of the inhabitants, at the very time that the pope did not dare to approach his own capital. 1268

It may be asserted with truth, that of all the wars of this country, that carried on by Conradin was the most just; but it was likewise the most unfortunate; for the pope set up a crusade against him as well as against the Turk; and he, together with his relation Frederick, duke of Austria, was defeated and taken prisoner in Apulia. Charles of Anjou, who ought to have done justice to their valour, caused them to be condemned by the civil magistrates. Their sentence was, that they had merited death, for having taken up arms against the church; and these two princes were publicly executed at Naples by the common hangman. Pope Clement IV. to whom they seemed to have fallen a sacrifice, did not dare to approve of this piece of barbarity, which was the
more

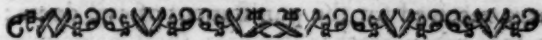
more execrable, as it was concealed under the forms of justice. I cannot sufficiently express my surprise, that St. Lewis never reproached his brother with this base action, since he of all men whom the Egyptians had spared under less favourable circumstances, ought more than any other to have condemned this cruelty of Charles of Anjou. The conqueror, instead of humouring the Neapolitans, irritated them by continual oppressions; so that himself and his whole nation were held in the utmost horror by them.

It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian gentleman, named John de Procida, disguised in the habit of a Franciscan friar, plotted that famous conspiracy, by which all the French were to be murdered at the same hour on Easter Sunday, on ringing the bell for vespers. It is certain that this John de Procida had prepared the minds of all the Sicilians for a revolt; that he went from Constantinople to Arragon; and that the king of that country, Peter, son-in-law to Manfred, had joined with the Greek emperor against Charles of Anjou: but it is hardly probable that they had completely formed the plot of the Sicilian vespers. If any such plot had been formed, it ought to have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet we do not hear of any one being murdered there. Malespina relates, that a Frenchman, named Droguet, was committing a
1282 rape upon a woman in Palermo on Easter-day, at the very time the people were going to vespers: the cries of the woman drew the populace to her assistance, who killed the Frenchman. This first impulse of private revenge animated the
general

general hatred: the Sicilians, encouraged by John of Procida, and stimulated by their own fury, cried out with one voice, that they would destroy the enemies of their country; and accordingly every Frenchman that was found in Palermo was put to death. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general massacre. It is said that they ripped up women with child, and took the half-formed infants out of their wombs; and that even the priests themselves massacred all their French penitents. It is moreover affirmed, that only one gentleman of Provence, named des Porcellets, escaped the general slaughter: nevertheless, it is certain that the governor of Messina, with his whole garrison, retired out of the island into the kingdom of Naples.

The blood of Conradin was thus revenged, but not upon those by whom it had been shed. The Sicilian vespers proved the source of new miseries to this people, whose happy climate seemed only to have rendered them more wicked and more miserable.

It is now time to see what new disasters were produced in this same century by the abuse of crusades, and of religion in general.



C H A P. L.

Of the CRUSADE against the ALBIGENSES.

THE murderous disputes between the empire and the pontificate, the riches of the monasteries, and the abuse which a number of bishops.

bishops had made of their temporal power, promised sooner or later to irritate the minds of the people, and inspire them with a secret desire of independence. Arnold of Brescia had ventured, even in Rome, to stir up the people to shake off the yoke. They began to reason a good deal concerning religion in the twelfth century. Certain men rose up, who would acknowledge no law but that of the gospel, and preached up tenets nearly the same with those at present professed by the protestants. These people were called Vaudois, because there were a great number of them in the valleys of Piedmont; Albigenes, from the city of Albi; and *Bons hommes*, (or good people) from the regularity of life on which they piqued themselves; lastly, they were called Manichæans, as general appellations at that time given to the heretics. Every one was surprised, towards the latter end of the twelfth century, to find the province of Languedoc filled with these sectaries.

In the year 1198, pope Innocent III. deputed two Cistercian monks to try these heretics. "We command, said he, the princes, counts, and all the lords of your province, to assist them with all their power against these heretics, by the authority which they have received for the punishment of evil doers: so that when brother Rainier shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the lords do forthwith confiscate all their goods, banish them from their estates, and punish them with the utmost rigour, if they dare to resist. Now we have given power to brother Rainier to oblige the lords to comply with these our orders, by excommunication, and by interdict

terdict upon their estates, &c." This was the first origin of the inquisition.

An abbot of Citeaux was afterwards nominated, in conjunction with several other monks, to go to Toulouse, and execute what ought to have been done by the bishop of the place. This procedure provoked the count de Foix, and all the other princes of the country, who had been already brought over by the reformers, and were greatly irritated against the court of Rome.

This sect was in great part composed of burghers, reduced to indigence by the long slavery from which they had been scarce freed, and likewise by the crusades. The abbot of Citeaux made his appearance amongst them with the equipage of a prince; but he in vain assumed the character of an apostle; for the people cried out to him, "Either quity our pomp, or your sermon." A Spaniard, bishop of Osma, a very worthy man, who was then at Toulouse, advised the inquisitors to lay aside their sumptuous equipages, to walk on foot, to lead a life of abstinence, and imitate the behaviour of the Albigenes, the surest means of converting them. St. Dominic, who had accompanied this bishop, joined with him in setting an example of this apostolic life, and seemed at that time to wish that no other arms might be employed against error. But Peter de Castelleau, one of the inquisitors, was accused of having made use of arms which suited his character, by privately exciting several of the neighbouring lords against the count of Toulouse, and fomenting a civil war. This in-
quisitor

quisitor was murdered; and the suspicion fell upon the count of Toulouse.

Pope Innocent III. did not hesitate to release the subjects of the count of Toulouse from their oath of allegiance. Such was the treatment given to the descendants of that Raymond of Toulouse, who was the first in serving the Christian cause in the crusades.

The count, well apprised of the fatal consequences of a bull under certain circumstances, readily submitted to the satisfaction required of him. One of the pope's legates, 1209 named Milo, commanded him to repair to him at Valence, and there deliver up seven forts which he held in Provence, to enlist in a crusade against the Albigenses, his own subjects, and to make the *Amende honorable*. To every one of which articles the count payed obedience.

There now appeared, on the one side, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, Simon count of Montfort, with the bishops of Sens, Autun, and Nevers, at the head of their respective troops, and the unfortunate count of Toulouse, in the midst of them as their hostage: on the other side, a set of people animated by the spirit of fanaticism and religious conviction. The city of Beziers attempting to hold out against the crusaders, the inhabitants, who, upon its being taken, had fled for refuge to the churches, were all put to the sword, and their city reduced to ashes. The inhabitants of Carcassone, terrified at their fate, implored the mercy of the crusaders: upon which they had their lives spared, and were permitted to quit

quit the city half naked, while their conquerors took possession of all their goods and estates.

The name of Macchabee, and Defender of the church, was given to count Simon of Montfort, who made himself master of a great part of the country, seizing into his hands the castles of all the suspected lords, laying siege to those who refused to surrender, and persecuting all the heretics who dared to stand up in their own defence. Ecclesiastical historians themselves tell us, that upon Simon of Montfort's giving orders to set fire to a pile of faggots, intended for the execution of these unhappy wretches, an hundred and forty of them chanting a psalm, ran and threw themselves headlong into the midst of the flames. By thus unpeopling Languedoc, they ruined the count of Toulouse, who defended himself only by negotiations. He repaired to St. Giles to meet the legates and abbots, who were the leaders of 1210 this crusade, where he pleaded his cause with tears before them; but was told that those tears came only from fury and resentment; and the legate gave him his choice, either to yield to Simon of Montfort all the lands which this count had usurped, or to be excommunicated. On this occasion, however, the count of Toulouse had at least the courage to prefer excommunication. After the sentence was pronounced, he fled for refuge to the court of his brother-in-law, Peter, king of Arragon, who undertook to defend him, having almost as much reason as the count to be dissatisfied with the chief of the crusaders.

In the mean time the eagerness of gaining indulgences and riches, increased the number
of

of crusaders. The bishops of Paris, Lisieux, and Bayeux, repaired to the siege of Lavour. At this siege there were made prisoners eighty knights, with the lord of the town, who were all sentenced to be hanged; but the gibbet being broken down, they were delivered up to the crusaders, who massacred them all in cold blood. They threw the sister of the lord of Lavour into a well, round which they burnt
1211 three hundred of the inhabitants, who refused to renounce their opinions.

Prince Lewis, who was afterwards king Lewis VIII. did indeed join these crusaders, in order to share in the spoils; but Simon of Montfort soon got rid of a companion who would have been his master.

It was the interest of the popes to bestow the conquered lands on Montfort; and the scheme was so well laid, that the king of Arragon could never, with all his mediation, procure the least favour for the count of Toulouse. He therefore seems to have taken up arms only when every other method failed him.

The battle which he fought against the crusaders near to Toulouse, and in which he was killed, passed for one of the most ex-
1213 traordinary that had ever happened. It is related by a multitude of writers, that Simon of Montfort, with only eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked the army of the king of Arragon and the count of Toulouse, while they were carrying on the siege of Muret. They say that the king of Arragon had with him a hundred thousand fighting men; and that there never was a more complete defeat; as also that Simon of Montfort, the
bishop

bishop of Toulouse, and the bishop of Cominge, divided their army into three corps, in honour of the holy Trinity.

But is it likely, that so small an army as eighteen hundred men, going to attack an enemy an hundred thousand strong in the open field, should divide itself into three bodies? It was a miracle, some writers perhaps will say; but military gentlemen, who now-a-days read these strange stories, will be very apt to treat them as nonsensical and absurd.

After this victory, the pope held a general council at Rome, whither the count of Toulouse came to ask forgiveness. I cannot discover what foundation he had to flatter himself that they would restore him his dominions. He was very happy to escape with his liberty; and the council was even so generous as to allow him a pension out of his estates of four hundred marks of silver.

When Innocent III. was dead, count Raymond of Toulouse did not meet 1218 with milder treatment: he was besieged in his capital by Simon of Montfort; but here this conqueror, who had acquired such glory by doing so much mischief, had an end put to his successes, and to his life; being crushed to pieces by the fall of a great stone from the walls.

He left a son behind him on whom the pope conferred all his father's rights; but he could not give him the same credit. The crusade against Languedoc now began to abate of its vigour. The son of old Raymond, who had succeeded his father, was excommunicated as he had been: upon which Lewis VIII. king of France,

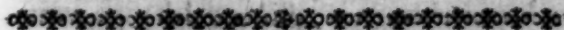
France, obtained from young Montfort the cession of all the countries which he was not able to keep; but death put a stop to Lewis, in the midst of his conquests; and this state did not come entirely under the dominion of the kings of France till the reign of Philip the Bold.

The popes divided the spoils, and the young count of Toulouse was obliged in 1228 to yield them all the county of Venaissin, containing five small cities. This was the place of his asylum, and a fief of the empire, as were all the territories situated on the other side of the Rhone. It is therefore to be wished, that the claim of the holy see on this little state had been less odious, and that it had not been the price of blood. The good understanding between the court of France and pope Gregory IX. wrested from the family of the counts of Toulouse these small remains of a patrimony which they had been in possession of ever since the time of Charlemagne. The misunderstanding between the emperor Frederic II. and this same pope restored it to them again. The emperor, as lord paramount, and insulted in his prerogative, did this act of justice. Philip the bold, king of France, upon taking possession afterwards of the large county of Toulouse, restored the Venaissin to the popes, which by the liberality of the kings of France they have ever since continued in possession of. The city and territory of Avignon were not included in this donation, but passed to the Anjou branch of the house of France, which then reigned in Naples, and remained with them till the time that the unfortunate queen Joan of Wasse yielded to the popes the perpetual inheritance.

During

During the reign of St. Lewis, the pope sent two Dominicans and a Franciscan friar, with the title of inquisitors, into the country of the Albigenes, which was at that time very quiet. The two Dominicans rendered themselves so odious there, that the inhabitants drove them out of the city. Rome itself was for a long time obliged to suspend the inquisition; but at length it was established. Nevertheless, this sect still continued to subsist, though weak, few in number, and reduced to live in obscurity.

It was this sect that brought the scourge of the inquisition upon Europe. Pope Innocent IV. established it all over Italy, 1257 Naples excepted, as a new tribunal which was to fix the authority of the holy see on a firm foundation. We shall see in the course of this work what cruelties this tribunal exercises both in France and Spain.



CHAP. LI.

The STATE of EUROPE in the thirteenth CENTURY.

WE have seen how Europe was exhausted of its men and money by the crusades, without their having in the least contributed to civilize it. Germany was one entire anarchy after the death of Frederic II. All the lords strove who should get most of the public revenues annexed to the imperial state; so that when Robert of Hapsburg was elected em-

peror in 1273, they only granted him soldiers, with which he conquered Austria from Ottocaris, who had taken it from the house of Bavaria.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of this Rodolph, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, entirely freed themselves from the slight tribute they were wont to pay the emperors.

Much about this time, likewise, several cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. They united together for their mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords; and the hanse towns, Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick, being in process of time joined by eighty others, formed a commercial republic, which was distributed into several different states. The Austreques were now established, which are courts of arbitration in compacts between the lords, as well as between the towns; and hold the places of laws and courts of justice, which were wanting in Germany.

Italy was formed into a new plan of government before and under the reign of Rodolph. Several cities having assumed their freedom, it was confirmed to them for a sum of money. At this time it appeared as if Italy might be for ever separated from the German dominion.

The German lords, in order to render themselves more powerful, were all of them desirous of having a weak emperor; and the four princes and their archbishops, who had by little and little arrogated to themselves the right of election, had joined with some other princes in chusing Rodolph of Hapsburg for emperor, only on account

count of his not being possessed of any considerable territories. This Rodolph was a Swiss lord, who had rendered himself formidable by being one of those chiefs called by the Italians *Condottieri* *. He had been champion for the abbot of St. Gall, in a dispute waged between him and the bishop of Basil, about some pipes of wine. He had also relieved the town of Strasburg: but his fortune was so little proportioned to his courage, that he was for some time steward of the household to that very Ottocaris, king of Bohemia, who, when he was afterwards pressed to do him homage, as emperor, replied, "That he owed him nothing, for he had always payed him his wages." The princes of Germany did not at that time foresee that this very Rodolph would be the founder of a house which continued for a long time to be the most flourishing in Europe, and which has more than once been on the point of acquiring as great a power in the empire as that of Charlemagne. This power took a considerable time in forming; and at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in particular, the empire had little or no influence over Europe.

France would have been happy under a sovereign such as St. Lewis was, had it not been for that fatal fondness for crusades, which occasioned all his misfortunes, and at length cost him his life on the sands of Afric. We

* *Condottieri*, literally conductors, though generally applied to carriers, and those who keep mules for hire. It was the name formerly given to soldiers of fortune, who raised and commanded mercenary troops.

may perceive, by the great number of vessels fitted out for these fatal expeditions, that France might have easily acquired a large maritime commerce. The statutes of St. Lewis relating to trade; the new police established by him in the city of Paris; his pragmatic sanction by which he confirmed the discipline of the Gallic church; his four grand bailiwicks for the trying of causes among his vassals, and which gave rise to the parliament of Paris; his regulations and exactness with regard to the coin, do all of them plainly shew, that France might at that time have been made a very flourishing kingdom.

As to England, it was as happy under Edward I. as the manners of the times would allow. The country of Wales was annexed to it; and it had conquered Scotland, who was obliged to receive a king from the hand of Edward. Indeed the English were no longer in possession of Normandy nor Anjou; but they still had the whole province of Guienne. Edward I. had but a slight and short war with France; but this is to be attributed to the almost continual difficulties he was involved in at home, either at the time he was making the conquest of Scotland, or when he afterwards lost it.

We shall presently allot a more particular and extensive article to Spain, which we have left for a long time a prey to the Saracens. It now remains to say a word or two of Rome.

The popedom was in the same state in the thirteenth century in which it had been for so long time before. The popes, though not well settled in Rome, and having but a tottering authority in Italy, being at best but masters of
a few

a few places in St. Peter's patrimony and of Umbria, still continued to give away crowns, and sit in judgment upon kings.

In 1289, pope Nicholas solemnly determined at Rome the disputes between the king of Portugal and his clergy. We have seen that in 1283, pope Martin IV. deposed the king of Arragon, and gave his dominions to the king of France, who was not able to put the pope's bull in force. Boniface VIII. gave Sardinia and Corsica to another king of Arragon called James the Just.

In the year 1300, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was in dispute, pope Boniface VIII. wrote thus to king Edward: "You ought to know that it is our place to give a king to Scotland, which has always in full right belonged and still does belong the church of Rome; but if you pretend to have any right thereto, send your lawyers to us, and we will do you justice; for we reserve this affair wholly to ourselves."

When about the end of the thirteenth century some princes of Germany deposed Adolph of Nassau, successor to the first prince of the house of Austria; they pretended a bull from the pope for deposing Nassau, by which they gave the pope that power which of right belonged to themselves. This same Boniface hearing of the election of Albert, wrote thus to the electors: "We command you to proclaim publicly that Albert, who calls himself king of the Romans, must come and appear before us, to answer to the charge of high treason, and of excommunication incurred."

It is known, that Albert of Austria, instead of appearing to these summons, gave Nassau battle near Spire, where he defeated and killed him; and that Boniface, after having loaded him with excommunications, lavished his benedictions as profusely on him in 1303, when he stood in need of his assistance against Philip the Fair. Then we find him supplying, by the plenitude of his power, all defects or irregularities in Albert's election; and conferring on him by his bull the kingdom of France, which of right belonged to the emperors. Thus can interest change sides, and without ceremony make use of every thing holy or profane that will answer its end.

But other crowned heads tamely submitted to the papal yoke. Mary, queen to Charles the lame, king of Naples, having laid claim to the kingdom of Hungary, carried her cause before the pope and his cardinals; and the pope adjudged the kingdom to this princess by default. Nothing was wanting to this sentence but a good army.

However, we shall soon see that France did not pay quite so much deference to Boniface. On the whole, it is sufficiently well known that this pontiff instituted the jubilee; and that he added a second crown to the pontifical cap, to signify the two powers with which he was invested. John XXII. afterwards added a third: but John had not two naked swords carried before him, as Boniface had when he went to distribute his indulgencies.

C H A P. LII.

OF SPAIN in the twelfth and thirteenth CENTURIES.

WHEN the Moors had been driven out of the kingdoms of Toledo and Valentia, by the *cid*, at the end of the eleventh century, Spain was divided into several governments. The kingdom of Castile contained the two Castiles, Leon, Galicia, and Valentia. The kingdom of Arragon was then annexed to Navarre. Andalusia, a part of Murcia, and Granada, still belonged to the Moors. Barcelona was governed by counts, who did homage to the kings of Arragon. One third of Portugal belonged to the Christians; but this was only a county. The son of a duke of Burgundy, descendant of Hugh Capet, whom they called count Henry, had made himself master of it at the beginning of the twelfth century.

A crusade would have been more effectual in driving the Moors out of Spain than out of Syria; but it is very probable that the Christian princes of Spain were not very desirous of this foreign aid, chusing rather to tear their country to pieces among themselves, and dispute it with the Moors, than see it invaded and striped by crusaders.

Alphonso, surnamed the Battle-giver, king of Arragon and Naples, took Sarragossa from the Moors, which city afterwards became the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, and never again returned under the dominion of the Moors.

Count Henry's son, whom I shall call Alphonso of Portugal, to distinguish him from the many other kings of that name, took Lisbon, the best port in Europe, from the Moors, together with all the rest of Portugal, the two Algarves excepted. He gained several battles, and at length caused himself to be crowned king of Portugal. Pope Alexander III. did not fail on this occasion to pretend that it was he who gave him his crown, and demanded a tribute of two marks of gold from him; to which the king submitted, knowing that in the disputes between so many different sovereigns in Spain, the pope's suffrage might sometimes incline the ballance in favour of the party he espoused.

A very few efforts would now have been sufficient to have driven the Moors entirely out of this part of the continent: but as to this, it was necessary that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves; whereas they were almost perpetually at war with one another. At one time the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were in arms against each other, and at another Navarre was engaged against Arragon, and sometimes these three provinces were all of them at war together; add to this, that each kingdom was frequently disturbed by intestine broils of its own. There were three kings of Arragon, who successively annexed a great part of Navarre to their dominions, while the Moors were in possession of the rest. Alphonso the Battle-giver, who died in 1134, was the last of these three kings. We may judge of the temper of those times, and the badness of the administration, by this king's will, who left

left his kingdoms to the knights templars and knights of Jerusalem. This was, in fact, bequeathing a civil war as his last legacy. Fortunately, however, these knights were not in a condition to enforce this will. The states of Arragon, who still preserved their freedom, chose for their king don Ramirez, brother to the deceased monarch, though he had embraced a monastic life for upwards of forty years, and had lately been made a bishop. He was called the Priest-king; and pope Innocent II. granted him a dispensation to marry.

In these commotions Navarre was rent from Arragon, and became a kingdom 1134 of itself; it afterwards fell by marriage to the counts of Champagne, it next belonged to Philip the Fair and the house of France, and at last came to the families of Foix and Albert, and is now swallowed up in the Spanish monarchy.

During these divisions, the Moors 1158 strengthened themselves, and retook Valentia. The frequent incursions they made gave rise to the order of Calatrava. The monks of Cîteaux finding themselves powerful enough to defray the expences of defending the city of Calatrava, armed their convent brothers, together with several squires, and fought under the badge of the scapulary. Soon after this the order itself was instituted, which is now neither religious nor military; every person is allowed to marry once, and it consists in nothing more than enjoying several considerable commanderies in Spain.

The quarrels among the Christians still subsisted, of which the Mahometans at different

times made their advantage. In the year 1197, a king of Navarre, named don Sancho, being persecuted by those of Castile and Arragon, was obliged to go to Africa, and implore succours from the miramolin, or emperor of Morocco; but this step, which was so likely to produce a revolution, had no such effect.

Heretofore, when almost all Spain was united under king Rodriguez, a prince of great courage, though somewhat incontinent, it was subdued in a less space than two years; and now that it was divided among so many different powers, jealous of each other, neither the African emperor, nor the Moorish king of Andalusia, could make any conquests in it. The reason was, that the Spaniards were become better soldiers, the country almost full of strong garrisons, and all parties united in a time of general danger; add to this, that the Moors were as imprudent in their conduct as the Christians.

At length all the Christian nations
1200 of Spain joined together, to make head against the African forces which were preparing to fall upon them.

Miramolin Mahomet Ben Joseph having crossed the sea with an army of near one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors of Andalusia, assured himself of making a conquest of Spain. The rumour of this great armament roused the attention of some French knights; the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, united their powers to withstand the common danger; the kingdom of Portugal furnished a body of troops; and these two

1212 great armies met together in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, as
it

it is called, on the borders of Andalusia, and the province of Toledo. The archbishop of Toledo was by the side of the king of Castile, Alphonso the Noble, and carried the cross at the head of the troops. Miramolin had in one hand a sabre, and in the other the alcoran. The Christians gained the victory; and this day, the 16th of July, still continues to be celebrated every year in Toledo: but this victory was more glorious than useful; the Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the remains of the African army, while that of the Christians was presently dispersed.

Almost all the knights who had been present at this battle returned to their respective homes after it was over. In those days, though they knew how to fight, they were ignorant of the art of making war; and the Moors were still less acquainted with it than the Christians. Neither Moors nor Christians kept an army constantly in the field.

Spain, taken up with her own misfortunes for the space of five hundred years, did not begin to take part in the troubles of the rest of Europe, till the time of the crusades against the Albigenses. We have seen that Peter I. king of Arragon, was obliged to assist his vassals of Languedoc and the country of Foix, who were oppressed on account of religion; and that he died fighting against Simon of Montfort, who had carried away his son, and conquered Languedoc from him. His widow, Mary of Montpelier, who had retired to Rome, pleaded her son's cause before Innocent III. beseeching him to use his authority to get him set at liberty. There have been some short periods of

time in which the court of Rome gained great honour by her behaviour; this was one of them. Innocent ordered Simon of Montfort to restore this child to the people of Arragon, which order was immediately complied with. Had the pope's always made the same use of their power, they would have become the law-givers of the world.

This young king, whose name was James, was the first of the kings of Arragon to whom the states of that kingdom took the oath of allegiance. It was him who took the island of Majorca from the Moors, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valentia, a country favoured by nature, who has endowed its inhabitants with a manly strength, and furnished them with every thing that can delight the senses. I do not know how so many historians can assert that the city of Valentia was not above a mile in circumference, and at the same time that upwards of fifty thousand Moors marched out of it. How could so small a town contain so great a number of people?

This seemed a period marked out for the glory of Spain and the expulsion of the Moors. Ferdinand III. king of Castile and Leon, took the famous city of Cordova from them, which was the residence of their first kings, and was a much finer city than Valentia. Here they had built their magnificent mosque†, and a number of noble palaces.

This Ferdinand also subdued the Moors of the province of Murcia; this country, though

† See Chap. xxxiv. Vol. I.

of a small extent, is extremely fertile, and the Moors used to get a great quantity of silk here; which they manufactured into curious stuffs. In short, after a siege of sixteen months, he made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city the Moors had in their possession. Death at length put an end to his successes. If divine honours are due to those who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain with as much reason reverences the name of Ferdinand as France invokes her St. Lewis. He enacted wholesome and wise laws, as well as the king of France, and like him erected several new courts of judicature. It is likewise said, that he instituted the royal council of Castile, which has subsisted ever since his time.

He had for a minister one Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a man who did no service to his country, and whom we must not confound with that Ximenes, who was afterwards regent of Castile.

The kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were at that time very powerful; but we are not to imagine that their kings were absolute: there was no absolute monarch then in Europe, and the nobles of Spain kept their king in stricter limits than in any other kingdom whatsoever. The people of Arragon remember to this day the formulary used at the inauguration of their kings. The grand justiciary of the kingdom addressed him in the name of the states in these words: *Nos que valemus tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y señor; con tal que guardéis nuestros fueros, si no, no.* "We, who are equal with yourself, do constitute you our king, on condition

dition that you maintain the laws *; other-
wise not."

The grand justiciary did not consider this as an empty matter of form, but pretended to have a right to accuse the king before the states, and to sit as president at the trial. I do not however meet with any instance of their having put this privilege in force†.

Castile possessed as extensive privileges, and the royal authority was as much limited there by the states, as in Arragon; in short, we may easily judge, that in countries where there were such a number of lords, it was as difficult for the kings to conquer their subjects as to drive out the Moors.

Alphonso, surnamed the Astronomer, or the Wise, son to St. Ferdinand, experienced the truth of this. It has been said of him, that while he was studying the heavens, he lost the earth; this trivial thought would have some justice in it, had Alphonso neglected business for study, but that he never did: the same fund of understanding which had made him a great philosopher, made him likewise an excellent king. He is accused by several authors of atheism, for having said on some occasion, "That if he had been of God's privy-council, he would have given him some good advice relating to the motion of the planets." But these authors do not consider

* *Fueros* signifies privileges, not laws, and comes from *Forum*, the place at Rome where those privileges were defended.

† It is a little remarkable, that our author should make such a reflection in this place, and, in the very next page, tell us, that this very king was deprived of his crown by an assembly of the states.

that

that this piece of pleasantry of this wise king fell upon the Ptolemaic system, of whose insufficiency and contradictions he could not but be fully sensible. This prince rivalled the Arabians in the sciences; and the university of Salamanca, which had been erected by his father, produced no one equal to him: his fables, called after him the Alphonfine Fables, remain to this day monuments of glory to him, and of shame to those princes who make a merit of their ignorance; but at the same time it must be owned that they were compiled by Arabians.

The difficulties with which his reign was disturbed were certainly not the effects of that love for the sciences which rendered Alphonso so illustrious, but the consequences of his father's extravagant expences; for as St. Lewis drained France by his crusades, so did St. Ferdinand ruin Castile for a time, even by the acquisitions he made, as they generally cost him more than they were worth.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, his son had the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon to encounter, who were grown jealous of his power.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, which this philosophic prince had to struggle with, the princes of the empire cast their eyes on him as the most proper person for their emperor; and actually made him an offer of the imperial diadem; and if Rodolph of Hapsburg was chosen in his room, I am of opinion that it may be wholly attributed to the great distance which divided Castile from Germany. Alphonso had at least given proofs that he merited the empire, by the manner in which he governed the kingdom of Castile. His collection
of

of laws, called *Las partidas**, still continue in that country to form the principal basis of their jurisprudence.

1283 In his old age he saw his son Sancho III. rebel against him; but certainly the son's crime is by no means the father's shame.

This Don Sancho was the only son of a second nuptials, and pretended, during his father's life-time, to be declared heir to the crown, in prejudice to the rights of the grand-children by the first marriage; and a meeting of his faction, under the title of the states, went so far as to make him an offer of the crown. This audacious attempt is a fresh proof of what I have so often said, that there was no law in Europe at that time; and that almost every thing was decided according to the occurrences of the times, and the caprices of mankind.

Alphonso the Wise was now reduced to the grievous necessity of joining with the Moors against his son and rebellious Christian subjects. This was not the first alliance which Christians had entered into with Mahometans against other Christians; but it was certainly the most just.

Alphonso invited the miramolin of Morocco to his assistance, who thereupon crossed the sea; and the African and Castilian monarchs met at Zara on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and speech of the miramolin on this occasion deserves to be perpetuated by history to all posterity. When they met, he gave the place of honour to Alphonso, with these words: "I

* So called from being divided into heads and chapters.

treat you thus because you are unfortunate, and enter into alliance with you purely to revenge the common cause of all kings and all fathers." Alphonso gave his son battle, and overcame him; a further proof how well he deserved to reign, but he died soon after 1284 his victory.

The king of Morocco was obliged to return to his dominions; and Don Sancho, the unnatural son of Alphonso, and the usurper of the throne of his nephews, succeeded to the crown, and even reigned happy and undisturbed.

The dominion of Portugal at that time contained the two Algarves, from which the Moors had been at length driven out. Algarves, in the Arabian language, signifies the fruitful country; and here let us not forget to observe, that Alphonso the Wise had greatly assisted the Portuguese in making this conquest; all which, in my opinion, proves beyond contradiction, that Alphonso had no reason to repent of having cultivated the sciences, as some historians would seem to insinuate, who, in order to acquire the doubtful reputation of politicians, affect to dispute those arts which they ought to honour; besides, Alphonso was so far from neglecting temporal matters, that he obtained from pope Gregory X. the gift of certain tenths out of the revenues of the clergy of Leon and Castile, which he transmitted to his successors.

His family indeed was involved in some troubles, but it still strengthened itself against the Moors; and his grandson Ferdinand IV. took Gibraltar from them, which was not so difficult a conquest then as it is at present. 1303

This

This Ferdinand IV. is by writers called the Summoned, because, say they, having one day in a fit of anger ordered two noblemen to be thrown from the top of a rock; they, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month from that day, at the end of which time he died. It is to be wished that this story was true, or at least believed to be so, by those who think they have a right to do every thing with impunity. This prince was father to the famous Peter the Cruel, of whose excessive severity we shall have occasion to take notice; and who, though of the most implacable disposition, and the most cruel in his punishments, died without being summoned, like his father, to God's tribunal.

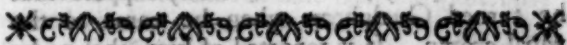
Arragon, which, as we have already seen, had fortified itself, gained an increase of power by the acquisition of Sicily.

The popes pretended to a power of disposing of the kingdom of Arragon, for two reasons; the first was, that they considered it as a fief of the church of Rome, and the second, that Peter III. surnamed the Great, who was accused of the massacre of the Sicilian vespers, had been excommunicated, not for having had a share in that massacre, but for having taken Sicily, which the pope would not bestow on him. His kingdom of Arragon therefore was, by the pope's decree, transferred to Charles of Valois, grandson to St. Lewis; but this bull could not be carried into execution. The house of Arragon remained in a flourishing state; and soon after the popes, who had endeavoured to destroy it, contributed to enrich it still
1294 more. Boniface VIII. in order to de-
prive

prive the Genoese and Pisans of the possession of Sardinia and Corsica, which they were disputing with each other, bestowed those two islands on James IV. king of Arragon, surnamed the Just.

At that time the kingdoms of Castile and France were in strict union with each other, as being both enemies to the house of Arragon; so that the French and Castilians were allies in their kingdoms, in their nations, and in their private persons.

What passed at that time in France, during the reign of Philip the Fair, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century, next demands our attention.



C H A P. LIII.

Of PHILIP the FAIR, and of Pope BONI-
FACE VIII.

THE reign of Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, proved a remarkable æra in France, by the admission of the third state into the general assemblies of the nation, by the institution of the supreme tribunals, called parliaments, by the first erection of a new peerage in favour of the duke of Brittany, by the abolition of duels in civil matters, and by the law of appanages, by which the succession was limited wholly to the heirs-male. We shall at present confine ourselves to two other objects, namely, the quarrels of Philip the

the Fair with pope Boniface VIII. and the extinction of the order of knights templars.

We have already seen, that Boniface VIII. of the family of the Cajetani, resembled Gregory VII. was more learned in the canon-law, and not the least inferior in his zeal for subjecting all powers to the church, and the whole church to the holy see. Italy was more than ever divided by factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines; the latter were originally partizans of the emperors; and the empire being at that time little better than an empty name, the Gibellines made use of that name to strengthen and aggrandize themselves. Boniface had for a long time, while a private man, been of the Gibelline party; but we readily suppose that he turned Guelphean when he came to the papal crown. It is reported of him, that as he was offering the ashes on an Ash-Wednesday to an archbishop of Genoa, that prelate threw some of them at him, (as is the custom) and instead of saying "Remember thou art a man," he said, "Remember thou art a Gibelline." The family of the Colonnæ, who are the chief barons of Rome, and possess several noble villas in the centre of St. Peter's patrimony, were of the Gibelline faction, and their interest with the popes was the same as that of the German lords with the emperor, and of the French nobility with the king of France. The lords opposed their feudal power in almost every thing to the sovereign power.

The other barons in the neighbourhood of Rome were in the same situation, and they united themselves to the kings of Sicily and the Gibellines of the Italian cities. We must not
be

be surprized therefore, if the popes at all times persecuted them, and were persecuted by them; almost all these lords had at one and the same diplomas as vicars of the holy see, and vicars of the empire, which must necessarily prove the source of civil wars, a source which not even the respect due to religion could close up, and which the insolence of Boniface VIII. only served to increase.

These excesses were not to be suppressed, but by the still more violent ones of Alexander VI. above a century afterwards. The pontificate, in the time of Boniface VIII. was no longer in possession of all those territories which were held by Innocent III. and which reached from the port of Ostia to the Adriatic Sea. It pretended indeed to the supreme dominion, and possessed some cities in its own right, but it was still in the rank of very middling powers. The great revenue of the popes consisted in what was furnished them by the whole body of the church, in the tenths which they frequently collected from the clergy, in dispensations, and in taxes.

In such a situation, it was certainly most prudent for Boniface to keep fair with a power who was able to deprive him of a great part of these revenues, and strengthen the Gibel-line faction against him. Accordingly, at the beginning of his disputes with the king of France, he invited Charles of Valois, brother to Philip, over to Italy, who arrived there with some few horsemen. The pope soon afterwards made him marry the grand-daughter of Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople, who had been dispossessed of his dominions; and then solemnly declared him emperor of the East; so that,

that, in the space of two years, he had disposed of the empires of the East and West, and of France; for we have already observed, (in the forty-second chapter) that when this same pope was reconciled to Albert of Austria, in 1303, he made him a gift of the kingdom of France. Of these three presents one only however was received, which was the empire of Germany, because Albert was already in actual possession of it.

The pope, before his reconciliation with the emperor, had bestowed another title on Charles of Valois, which was that of Vicar of the Empire, in Italy, and particularly in Tuscany. He thought, that as he nominated the masters, he might certainly appoint the vicars. Charles of Valois, in order to please his benefactor, commenced a violent persecution against the Ghibelline faction in Florence; and yet at the very time that Charles was doing him this piece of service, Boniface insulted his brother, the king of France, and drove him to the greatest extremities. Nothing more clearly proves that passion and animosity frequently get the better even of self-interest.

Philip the Fair, who wanted to spend a great deal of money, and had but very little, pretended that the clergy, as being the richest order in the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the kingdom, without the permission of Rome. The pope, on the other hand, wanted to have the money which had been raised by a tenth penny for the assistance of the Holy Land, which was no longer in a condition to be relieved, and was under the dominion of a descendant of Gengis-Can; this money King Philip

Philip had made use of for carrying on the war in Guienne in 1301 and 1302, against Edward king of England. This was the first occasion of the quarrel between the pope and the king; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers put things into a still greater ferment. This man had caballed against the king in his diocese, which at that time was under the jurisdiction of the crown; and the pope presently after nominated him his legate to the French court. This subject being thus invested with a dignity which, according to the court of Rome, made him equal with the king himself, comes to Paris, braves his sovereign, and threatens to lay his kingdom under an interdict. A layman, who had behaved in this manner, would have been punished with death; but here the king was obliged to use the utmost precaution even in securing the person of this insolent churchman, and at last was forced to deliver him into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne.

Immediately upon this out comes a bull from the pope, in which it is declared, "That the vicar of Jesus Christ is placed with full power over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." At the same time all the bishops of France receive an order from his holiness to repair to Rome. A nuncio, who was only archdeacon of Narbonne, comes and presents this bull and these orders to the king, at the same time declaring to him, that he must acknowledge, as well as all other princes, that he holds his crown of the pope. This insolence was answered with a moderation which appeared little consistent with Philip's character: he contented himself with ordering
the

the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and sent the nuncio back to his own country; at the same time prohibiting the bishops from stirring out of the kingdom. Notwithstanding which, there were at least forty of them, with several of the heads of religious orders, who went to Rome.

The king was now obliged to call a general assembly of the states, only to decide this plain question, Whether the bishop of Rome
1303 was king of France or not?

Cardinal le Moine, a Frenchman by birth, who had now no other country but Rome, came to Paris to negotiate matters, and, if he could not succeed, to excommunicate the kingdom. This new legate had likewise orders to bring the king's confessor, a Dominican friar, with him to Rome, in order to give an account of his own conduct, as well as of the king's. Every thing that human art could invent to exalt the pope's authority was exhausted on this occasion; the bishops were all submissive to him; new religious orders immediately depending on the holy see every where carried his standard; a king who confessed his most secret thoughts, or at least was supposed to confess them to one of those monks; and then, to complete the whole, this monk summoned by the pope, his master, to come and give an account at Rome of the conscience of his penitent. Notwithstanding which, Philip did not yield, but seized upon the temporalities of all the absent prelates. The states appeal to a future general council, and a future pope: an expedient which betrayed a conscious weakness; for to appeal to the pope was acknowledging his authority, and
what

what occasion have mankind for either council or pope to know that all governments are independent, and that we owe obedience only to the laws of our country?

The pope then deprived all the ecclesiastical bodies of France of the right of election, and the universities of their right of conferring degrees, and even of teaching, as if he was revoking a gift of his own granting. These were still but feeble arms; and he in vain endeavoured to strengthen them by the forces of the German empire, Albert of Austria not being sufficiently strong to afford him any assistance.

The French king was now at full liberty to treat the pope as a prince with whom he was at open war. Accordingly he joined with the family of Colonna; and William de Nogaret goes into Italy under plausible pretences, where he privately raises a few horse, with which he joins Sciarra Colonna. They surprised the pope at Agnani, a town in his own demesnes, and the place of his birth, crying out, "Let the pope die, and long live the French!" The pontiff however did not lose his courage; he dressed himself in his cope, put his tiara upon his head, and holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, he presented himself with an air of majesty before Colonna and Nogaret. It is very doubtful whether Colonna had not the brutality to strike him; however, the writers of that time say, that he cried out to him, "Tyrant, renounce the pontificate, which thou dishonourest, as thou hast obliged Celestine to renounce it." Boniface replied, with an air of intrepidity, "I am pope, and I will die pope." The French then plundered his palace, and

made themselves masters of his treasure. But after these outrages, which had more the appearance of a robbery than the just revenge of a great king, the inhabitants of Agnani, perceiving the inconsiderable number of the French, and ashamed to leave their countryman and their pope in the hands of foreigners, they fell upon them, and drove them out of the town. Boniface then returned to Rome, meditating revenge; but died almost immediately
 1303 upon his arrival.

Philip the Fair pursued his enemy even into the grave, by endeavouring to get his memory condemned in a council; and actually engaged Clement V. who was born his subject, and who then held his see at Avignon, to declare the process commenced against the pope, his predecessor, equitable and in form. He was there accused of having prevailed on pope Celestine V. his predecessor, to resign the pontificate; of having procured his own election by illegal methods; and, in short, of having put Celestine to death in prison. This last charge was indeed but too justly founded; one of his own domestics, named Maffredo, and thirteen other witnesses, deposed publicly that he had more than once insulted the religion from whence he derived his power, by saying, "How profitable has this fabulous story of Jesus Christ been to us!" and consequently, that he denied the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Transubstantiation. These depositions are still to be seen in the collection of juridical inquests. An accusation is generally strengthened by the number of witnesses, but here they served rather to weaken it; for is it
 at

at all likely, that a sovereign pontiff should have made such a declaration before thirteen witnesses as no one would chuse to do before a single person. Clement V. was prudent enough to stifle by delays an enquiry which would have proved very dishonourable to the church.

Some time afterwards, all Europe and Asia were astonished by an event which had also its source in the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.



CHAP. LIV.

Of the Punishment of the KNIGHTS-TEMPLARS, and the Suppression of that Order.

AMONG the many contradictions which enter into the government of this world, it is certainly none of the least, that there should be such an institution as that of armed monks, who make a vow of living at the same time as anchorets and soldiers.

The knights templars were accused of uniting in their order, every bad quality of the two professions; namely, the debauchery and cruelty of the soldier, and that insatiable thirst of gain, which is imputed to those great orders, who have made a vow of poverty.

While they and the knights hospitallers of St. John were enjoying the fruits of their labours, the Teutonic order, which, as well as theirs, was first instituted in the Holy Land, made themselves masters in the thirteenth century, of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Sa-

mogitia. The Teutonick knights were accused of reducing the clergy as well as the peasants to a state of slavery; of robbing them of their possessions; of usurping the rights of the bishops; and of exercising every shocking act of rapine and plunder. But conquerors are generally exempt from a rigid enquiry.

The templars had made themselves objects of envy, by living amongst their countrymen with all that pomp and splendor which are the attendants of great wealth, and in those licentious pleasures in which soldiers generally indulge themselves, when unrestrained by the marriage curb.

1306 The severity of the taxes, and the mal-administration of Philip and his council, in regard to the coin, raised a sedition in Paris. The knights templars, who had the keeping of the king's treasury, were accused of having been concerned in the mutiny; and we have already seen, that Philip the Fair was implacable in his revenge.

The first who preferred accusations against this order, were a burgher of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and Noffo de Florentin, an apostate templar, both of them at that time under confinement for crimes they had committed. These men demanded to be carried before the king, to whom they had some affairs of the utmost importance to discover, and which they would reveal to no other person. Had these men not heard of the king's indignation against the templars, they could hardly have expected to gain a pardon by accusing them. They had a hearing; and, in consequence of the deposition they made before the king, he directed all
the

the bailiffs, and other officers of justice in the kingdom, to call in aid and assistance; and sent them an order sealed, with prohibition, upon pain of death, to open it before the 13th of October. The day being come, 1309 each of them opened his order, and found it was to imprison all the knights templars; accordingly they were all arrested, and the king immediately caused all their estates to be seized upon in his name, till they could be properly disposed of.

It appears very plain to me, that their ruin was resolved upon long before this affair broke out. Their accusation and imprisonment happened in 1309; but letters have been found from Philip the Fair to the count of Flanders, dated from Melun in 1306, in which he requests that prince to join with him in extirpating the templars.

It now remained to try this vast multitude of criminals. Pope Clement V. who was Philip's creature, and resided at that time at Poitiers, joined with him, after having settled some disputes between them concerning the right which the church had of judging religious orders, and the king's right of judging his subjects. The pope himself examined seventy-two knights, and the rest were prosecuted by inquisitors and commissaries appointed for that purpose. Bulls were dispatched to all the potentates of Europe, to excite them to imitate the example of France. The courts of Castile, Arragon, Sicily, and England, complied with them, so far as to banish all of the order; but these unfortunate people were put to death no where but in

France. They were accused, by two hundred and one witnesses, of denying Jesus Christ at their admittance into the order, of spitting on the cross, and of worshipping a golden head erected on a block, with four feet. The novice kissed the knight who had made his vow, and was received by him with a kiss at his mouth, his navel, and a certain part which seems to be seldom destined for such a purpose: he then swore to give himself up in all things to the brotherhood. We learn from the informations relating to this affair preserved down to our time, that these several articles were acknowledged by seventy-two templars to the pope himself, and by one hundred and forty-one to brother William, a Franciscan friar and inquisitor at Paris, before witnesses. It is further added, that the grand-master of the order himself, the grand-master of Cyprus, the masters of France, Poitou, Vienne, and Normandy, made the same confession to three cardinals who were sent by the pope to examine them.

Certain it is, that above one hundred knights were put to the most cruel torture; that fifty more were burnt in one day near the abbey of St. Anthony of Paris; and that the grand-master, Jean de Molay, and Guy brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, two of the principal lords in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were also thrown alive into the flames, on the very spot where now stands the equestrian statue of king Henry IV.

The tortures with which so many citizens, otherwise respectable, were put to death, the cloud of witnesses which appeared against them, and

and the numerous confessions of the accused themselves, seem strong proofs of their crime, and the justice of their punishment.

But, at the same time, how many things may be offered in their favour; in the first place, of all the witnesses who deposed against these templars, the greater part have only given in idle and vague accusations.

Secondly, Very few of the evidences swear to their denying Christ; and indeed, what were they to gain by reviling a religion which was their support, and for which they fought.

Thirdly, Allowing that several of them, who had been witnesses to, and even sharers in the debauches of the princes and clergy of those times, might have expressed a contempt for the abuses of a religion which had been so shamefully dishonoured both in Asia and Europe, and that in their freer moments they might have expressed themselves much after the same manner as Boniface VIII. did when speaking of it; yet, after all, this is but the folly of young people, and by no means chargeable upon the order.

Fourthly, The golden head, which it was pretended they worshipped, and which they were said to keep at Marseilles, ought certainly to have been produced to them; on the contrary, there was not the least search made after it, and we must acknowledge that this part of the accusation overthrows itself.

Fifthly, The infamous manner of their admittance into the society, with which they are reproached, could never have been passed into a law. It shews a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to suppose, that there can be any

societies that support themselves by the badness of their morals, or who make a law of impudence and obscenity. Every society endeavours to render itself respectable to those who are desirous of becoming members of it; not that I in the least doubt, that several of the young knights might have given themselves up to these excesses, which have prevailed in all times amongst youth; but these are vices which it is always better to be ignorant of than to punish.

Sixthly, If there were a great many evidences against the templars, there were likewise a great number of witnesses of other countries in their favour.

Seventhly, If the parties accused, overcome by the severity of the tortures they underwent did confess such a multitude of crimes, their confession perhaps will be found to reflect as much infamy upon their judges as upon themselves, these having flattered them with hopes of pardon, to extort a confession from them.

Eighthly, The fifty-nine who were burnt alive took God to witness for their innocence, and refused to accept of life when it was offered them, on condition of acknowledging themselves guilty.

Ninthly, Seventy-four templars, who were not accused, engaged to defend the cause of the order, but were not permitted to be heard.

Tenthly, When they read to the grand-master the confession which he had made before the three cardinals, and which had been taken down in writing, that old warrior, who could neither write nor read, cried out, That he was betrayed; that they had written down a different

present deposition to that which he had given; and that the cardinals who were concerned in this piece of treachery deserved to be punished as the Turks punished those guilty of forgery, by cleaving them asunder from head to foot.

In the eleventh and last place, the grand-master, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, were offered their lives, if they would make a public acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge; and they burnt them at last, only because that when called upon on the scaffold, in the presence of the people, to acknowledge the justice of the accusation against the order, they solemnly swore, that the order was innocent of what was alledged against it. This declaration incensed the king, and drew upon them their punishment; and they died, crying out in vain for the vengeance of heaven to fall upon their persecutors.

In the mean time, in consequence of the pope's bull, and the great riches of the order, the templars were persecuted over all Europe: only in Germany they found means to secure their persons against the fury of their persecutors. In Arragon they sustained sieges in several of their castles; at length the pope abolished the order by his own authority, in a private consistory held at Vienne, and those might share the spoils who were able. The kings of Castile and Arragon seized upon part of their possessions, and gave a part to the knights of Calatrava. The lands belonging to the order in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the knights hospitallers, then called the Knights of Rhodes, on account

of their having lately taken that island from the Turks, and which they afterwards defended with a courage that deserved to be rewarded at least with the spoils of the templars.

Denis, king of Portugal, instituted in their room the order of the knights of Christ, which was at first intended to fight against the Moors; but which coming afterwards to be a badge of honour, has now ceased even to be an honour, by being indiscriminately lavished.

Philip the Fair took two hundred thousand livres on his own account, and his son, Lewis Hutin, sixty thousand more, out of the estates of the knights templars. That faithful and exact historian, Dupuis, says, that the pope did not forget himself in this partition.

We must now consider another memorable event, which happened about the same time, and does more honour to human nature, as it gave rise to an invincible republic.

CHAP.

C H A P. LV.

OF SWISSERLAND, and the Revolution in that Country at the beginning of the fourteenth Century.

OF all the countries in Europe, Swisserland was that which preserved most the simplicity and poverty of the earlier ages. If Swisserland was not a free country, it would not deserve our attention, nor indeed a place in the history of the world, but would lie undistinguished and confounded with the many more rich and fruitful provinces which have followed the fate of those kingdoms in which they are included. Those only engage attention who are something of themselves. A gloomy climate, a rocky and barren soil, rude mountains, and frightful precipices, is all that nature has done for three parts of this country: and yet the sovereignty of these rocks was disputed with as much fury and obstinacy, as the possession of the kingdom of Naples, or of Asia Minor, for which the lives of so many thousands were sacrificed.

During the eighteen years of anarchy in which Germany was without an emperor, there were warm disputes between several lords of castles and prelates, about who should have a small portion of Swisserland. The small towns aimed at being free, in the same manner as the cities of Italy, under the protection of the emperor.

When Rodolph was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Ury, Schweiz, and Underwald, of having

withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. Rodolph, who had formerly fought against these petty tyrants, decided in favour of the citizens.

Albert of Austria, his son, upon his accession to the empire, wanted to erect Swisserland into a principality for one of his children. A part of this country was his own demesne, as Lucern, Zurich, and Glaris; tyrannical governors were sent amongst these people, who abused their power.

The founders of the Helvetian liberty were Meletald, Stauffacher, and Waltherfurf. The difficulty of pronouncing these truly respectable names, has been a great hindrance to their fame with posterity. These three peasants were the first conspirators; and each of them drew in three others. These nine * gained over the can-
1315 tons of Schweitz, Ury, and Underwald.

It is related by all the historians of these times, that while this conspiracy was in agitation, a governor of Ury called Grifler, devised a most ridiculous and detestable act of tyranny: he caused, they say, his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place, and all who passed by were commanded, upon pain of death, to pay their respects to it. One of the conspirators, whose name was William Tell, refused to pay this honour to the hat; upon which the governor ordered him to be hanged, but granted him his pardon, on condition that as he

* If each of the three first conspirators brought three other men into the plot, surely the whole number would amount to twelve; and this was really the case. Our author is also mistaken in his chronology, who places this transaction in 1315, whereas it really happened in 1308.

was reckoned an excellent marksman, he should, with his arrow, strike an apple from his son's head. The father trembling let fly his arrow, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. Grissler perceiving a second arrow under Tell's coat, enquired of him what he intended to do with it; "It was designed for thee, replied the Swiss in a rage, if I had killed my son." It must be confessed that this story of the apple wants a little confirmation. It seems as if it was thought necessary to ornament the birth of the Helvetic liberty with a fabulous narrative. It is however agreed on all hands, that Tell, having been laid in irons for this speech, killed the governor afterwards with an arrow; which was the signal for the conspirators to rise; who being joined by the people, they demolished all the fortresses.

The emperor Albert of Austria, intending to punish these people, who had made so glorious a struggle for liberty, was prevented from carrying his designs into execution by death. Leopold, duke of Austria, the same who violated the laws of hospitality, in the person of Richard *Coeur de lion*, marched against them with an army of 20,000 men; and the people of Swisserland behaved on this occasion, like the Lacedemonians at the streights of Thermopylae. A small body of four or five hundred men waited for the main part of the Austrian army at the pass of Morgate: but they were more fortunate than the Lacedemonians; for they put their enemies to flight, by rolling great stones down upon them. The other detachments of the army were beaten at the same time by as small a number.

These

These victories being gained in the canton of Schweiz, the other two cantons gave this name to their confederacy, which now become more general, still reminds them, by the very name, of the victory to which they are indebted for their liberty.

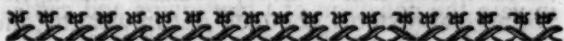
The other cantons by degrees joined in the alliance. Berne, which is in Swisserland the same as Amsterdam is in the republic of Holland, did not join the league till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513, that the petty country of Apenzel joined the other cantons; which completed the number thirteen.

Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiss: they have purchased it by above sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is probable they will preserve it for a long time. Every country that is not of a great extent, abounds not in wealth, and is governed by mild laws, ought to be free. The change of government in Swisserland seems to have wrought a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated. The craggy rocks are covered with vines. And the wild heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is become a fruitful plain.

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Swisserland. In short, this country might have deserved the name of happy, had not religion afterwards divided those citizens, whom the public good at first united; and if while they sold their services to princes richer than themselves, they had taken care always to preserve that incorruptibility for which their nation is distinguished.

There

There has been in all nations a time when the minds of the people seem to have been carried away beyond their natural character. Such times have been less frequent in Switzerland than elsewhere. Simplicity, frugality, and moderation, the preservers of liberty, have always been the portion of these people. They have never maintained armies to defend their own frontiers, or to make encroachments on their neighbours. They have no citadels, which may be turned either against the citizens or the enemy; nor do they groan beneath the burden of taxes. They have neither the calls of luxury, nor the troops of a master to provide for. Their mountains are their only ramparts; and every member of the community is a soldier ready armed for the defence of the country.



C H A P. LVI.

Sequel of the State of the EMPIRE, ITALY,
and the PONTIFICATE in the fourteenth
century.

WE are now entered upon the fourteenth century, and may have observed, that for the space of six hundred years, Rome, though weak and miserable, was always the principal object of Europe. She governed by religion, even while plunged in meanness, and rent in pieces by anarchy: and notwithstanding all her humiliations and troubles, the emperors were never able to establish the throne of the Cæsars in Rome, nor could the pontiffs render themselves

themselves absolute. From the time of Frederick II. we find four emperors successively who seem to have entirely forgotten Italy; namely, Conrad IV. Rodolph I. Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria. Accordingly at that time all the cities of Italy recovered their natural rights, and set up the standard of liberty. Genoa and Pisa emulated the example of the Venetians; Florence became an illustrious republic; and Bologna refused to acknowledge any longer either emperors or popes. The municipal form of government prevailed every where, and more particularly in Rome. Clement V. who was called the Gascon pope, chose rather to abandon Italy, and transfer the holy see to France, where he might enjoy the sweets of those liberal contributions furnished at that time by all the faithful, than to dispute in vain the possession of a few towns and castles in the neighbourhood of Rome. Accordingly this pope fixed the court of Rome on the frontiers of France; and these times are still called by the people of Rome the times of the captivity of Babylon. This good pontiff made a circuit to Lyons, Vienne, and Avignon, carrying about with him publicly the countess of Perigord, his mistress; and collecting as much money as he could possible raise from the pious donations of the faithful †.

How

† This was the honest pontiff who introduced the custom of annates. Certain English bishops having begged his permission to enjoy one year's revenue of the benefices that should fall vacant in their respective dioceses, Clement remembered the old maxim, *Charity begins at home*; and instead

How comes it that the Italians did not, during this conjuncture, while both the emperors and the popes were at such a distance from them, act as the Germans had done, who, under the very eyes of their emperors, had from century to century established their independence, and raised themselves to an equality with the supreme power? There was no longer an emperor, nor a pope in Italy; what was it then that forged new chains for that delightful country? discord and division. The Guelph and Gibelin factions †, which arose from the quarrels between the pontificate and the empire, still subsisted like a latent flame, which was receiving continual increase from new disorders. Discord reigned every where. Italy did not form a body; Germany always did. In short, the first enterprising emperor who should think proper to repass the Alps, had it in his power to renew the rights and claims of

stead of granting their request, appropriated to himself one year's revenue for every benefice that should fall vacant in that kingdom within the space of two years.

† The most probable derivation of these terms is this. During the schism of the church in the twelfth century, while the emperor Conrad III. declared for Innocent II. and the cause of the antipope Anacletus was espoused by Guelph duke of Bavaria; the imperialists in the field, from respect to the emperor's grandson Henry, who often commanded them in person, gave the word *Gibelin*, the name of a town in Germany where this young prince was educated, and of which he was remarkably fond. On the other hand, the Bavarians used the duke's name *Guelph*; and the Italians, without knowing the meaning of these barbarous terms, adopted them in the signification of enemies and friends to the church: thus the imperial faction was called *Gibelin*, and the popish party acquired the name of *Guelphes*.

the

the Charlemagnes and others. This at length happened under Henry VII. of the house of Luxembourg, who, in 1311, made a descent into Italy with an army of Germans, in order to get himself acknowledged. The Guelph party looked upon this journey as a new irruption of Barbarians; but the Gibelins favoured him. In his way he reduced the cities of Lombardy, which was a new conquest: and, at length, marched to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

Rome, who desired neither emperor nor pope, yet was unable to shake off the yoke of either, shut her gates against him in vain. Nor could the Urfini, and the brother of Robert king of
1313 Naples, hinder the emperor, assisted by the Colonnas, from entering the city sword in hand. They fought a long time in the streets, and a bishop of Liege was killed by the emperor's side. Much blood was shed on account of this ceremony of the coronation, which was at length performed by the cardinals instead of the pope. We must not forget that the emperor protested before a notary, that the oath taken by him at his consecration was not an oath of allegiance.

Henry, now master of Rome, appointed a governor of that city; and ordered that all the cities and princes of Italy should pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprised the kingdom of Naples, then separated from that of Sicily, and summoned its king to appear before him.

The Pope was lord-paramount of the kingdom of Naples; and the emperor called himself

self lord-paramount of the pope. A strange kind of right on both sides !

The emperor was going to make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Na-¹³¹³ ples by arms, when he died, as some say, by poison given him by a Dominican friar, in the consecrated wine of the sacrament.

At that time the emperors communicated in both species, in quality of canons of the church of St. John Lateran. They had a right to officiate as deacons at the pope's mass, and then the kings of France were to act as sub-deacons.

We have no authentic proofs that Henry VII. was really poisoned in this sacrilegious manner. Friar Bernard Politianus of Montepulciano was the person accused of it; and thirty years afterwards the Dominican order obtained letters from John king of Bohemia, son to this Henry VII. in which he declares them innocent. After all, it was very unfortunate that they stood in need of such letters.

As in the elections of popes, at that time, there was very little order observed; so were those of the emperors very irregular. Mankind had not yet found out prudent laws to prevent schisms.

Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederick the Handsome, duke of Austria, were elected at the same time in the midst of the most fatal disorders; and the sword alone could decide a point which ought to have been determined by a regular diet of electors. At length a battle, in which the Austrian was defeated and taken¹³²² prisoner, placed the crown on the head of the Bavarian.

The

The reigning pope at that time was John XXII. who had been elected at Lyons in 1315. Lyons looked upon itself then as a free city; but its bishop always wanted to be its master, and the kings of France had not yet been able to reduce the bishop to subjection. Philip the Long, before he was well settled upon the throne of France, called an assembly of cardinals in this free city; and after having given them his oath that he would use no violence towards them, he caused them all to be shut up, and would not set them at liberty till they had nominated John XXII.

This pope is another strong example of what great things may be done, in the church, by merit alone; for he doubtless must have had no small share of it, who from a cobbler rose to be the head of the christian world.

He was one of those pontiffs who surpass others in haughtiness in proportion to the meanness of their birth. It has been already observed, that the papal court subsisted only on the contributions of the faithful †, a fund more considerable than even the lands of the countess Matilda. When I speak of the merits of John XXII. I do not include in the number that of disinterestedness; for this pontiff was more rigorous than any of his predecessors in exacting the dues of the church, not only from the English who had been very remiss in the payment of the St. Peter's penny, but likewise from the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the Poles, who owed tributes to the holy see: and he made his demands so frequently, and in such peremptory

† See page 208.

terms, that he generally succeeded in drawing money from them. But he could hardly be called a pope who resided at Lyons, and had little or no interest in Italy.

While he held his court at Lyons, and that Lewis of Bavaria was establishing himself in Germany, Italy was lost to them both. The Viscontis began to establish themselves at Milan. The emperor Lewis, who could not humble them, pretended to protect them, and granted them the title of his lieutenants. These Viscontis, who were of the Gibelline party, having seized on part of the lands of the countess of Matilda, which had been a perpetual subject of discord, John XXII. caused them to be declared heretics by the inquisition. As he resided in France he could run no risk in issuing one of those bulls by which the popes bestow and take away empires. He deposed the emperor Lewis of Bavaria in his own imagination, depriving him, to use his own words, "Of all his goods moveable and immoveable."

The emperor thus deposed, marched with all expedition into Italy, where his ¹³²⁷ deposer did not dare to face him, and arrived at Rome, which was still only the temporary residence of the emperors, accompanied by Castracani †, tyrant of Lucca, Machiavel's hero.

† Castruccio Castracani, the history of whose life is written by Machiavel, was a native of Lucca, and a famous Gibelline commander: for his services against pope John XXII. and Robert king of Naples, he was invested with the dukedom of Lucca, by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and died in that dignity at the age of forty-seven:

Ludovico Monaldesco, a native of Orvietto, who at the age of one hundred and fifteen, wrote the memoirs of his own time, says, that he perfectly well remembers the entry of the
 1328 emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and tells us that the populace chaunted before him, "Blessed be God and the emperor, who have delivered us from war, famine, and the pope." This passage is no further deserving of our notice, than as it comes from a man who wrote at the age of an hundred and fifteen

Lewis called a general assembly at Rome, resembling the antient parliaments held by Charlemagne, and his sons. This assembly or parliament was held in the very piazza of St. Peter, at which a croud of German and Italian princes, deputies of cities, bishops, abbots, and monks assisted. The emperor was seated on a throne, raised above the steps of the church, with the crown on his head, and the golden sceptre in his hand. Here he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustine Friar: "Is there any person who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John?" No one appearing, Lewis pronounced sentence, by which he deprived the pope of all his benefices, and delivered him over to the secular arm to
 1328 be burnt as an heretic. The condemning to death in this manner a sovereign pontiff, was the utmost extreme to which the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate could be carried.

Some few days afterwards the emperor with the same ceremony created a new pope, who was a Neapolitan cordelier; he invested him with

with the ring, put the cope upon him himself, and made him sit down by his side under the canopy; but he took care not to conform to the custom of kissing the pontiff's feet.

Among all the religious orders, of each of which I shall speak separately, the Franciscans or Cordeliers at that time made the greatest noise. Some amongst them pretended that religious perfection consisted in wearing a sharp pointed cowl, and a very close habit. To this reform of dress they added further the opinion of general property in eating and drinking. The pope had condemned these propositions, and this occasioned a revolt on the side of the reformers. At length the dispute between them growing warm, the inquisitors of Mar-
seilles caused four of these unhappy 1318 monks to be burnt.

The Franciscan who had been nominated pope by the emperor, was one of their sect; and this was sufficient for John XXII. to be declared an heretic. This pope seems destined to be accused of heresy: for not long after that, having said in a sermon, that the saints would not enjoy the beatific vision till the final judgment; and that, in the mean time, they had an imperfect vision: this affair of the two visions caused a schism in the churches, and John at length thought proper to retract his opinion.

But all this mighty parade of Lewis of Bavaria at Rome produced no other consequence than the efforts of the other German Cæsars. Like them he was recalled by troubles in Germany, and Italy slipped through his hands.

Lewis

Lewis was far from being a powerful prince; and therefore after his return to Germany could not hinder his pope from being taken prisoner by John's party, and carried to Avignon, where he was confined. In short, such was the difference between an emperor and a pope in those days, that Lewis of Bavaria, though a prudent prince, died very poor in his own country; while the pope, who lived at a distance from Rome, and drew very little assistance from Italy, left, when he died at Avignon, treasure to the amount of twenty-five millions of gold florins, if we will give credit to Villani, a cotemporary writer: but Villani certainly exaggerates; and if we reduce this sum to one third, it will still be very great, and such as the papacy never was worth to any other person; but never did any other pope sell such a number of benefices, nor at so high a price.

He kept the reversion of all prebendaries, of most of the bishoprics, and the revenues of all vacant benefices in his own hands. By this means he acquired a leading interest in most elections, and the disposal of all benefices. Besides this, he seldom made one bishop without removing seven or eight. One promotion constantly occasioned several others, all which brought in money. The taxes for dispensations and mortal sins were first invented and carried into law in his pontificate. The book of these taxes, of which there were several impressions in the sixteenth century, brought these desperate abuses to light, which were always condemned by the church, and which she found the greatest difficulty to abolish.

The popes his successors continued at Avignon till the year 1371. This city did not belong to them, but to the counts of Provence; but the popes had insensibly made themselves usufructuary masters of it, while the counts of Provence were disputing with the kings of Naples for the possession of that kingdom.

The unfortunate queen Joan, of whom we shall speak in the ensuing chapter, thought herself happy, in 1348, to cede the town of Avignon to pope Clement VI. for eighty thousand florins in gold, which he never payed. The papal court, which resided there in full tranquility, spread riches and plenty throughout Provence and Dauphiny, and forgot the stormy mansions of Rome.

I meet with few times since Charlemagne in which the Romans did not recall their ancient notions of grandeur and liberty. Sometimes, as we have seen, they chose a number of senators, sometimes a single one only, or else a patrician, or a governor, or a council, and sometimes a tribune: and, now when they found that the pope had purchased Avignon, they entertained thoughts of restoring the antient republic. In this view they bestowed the office of tribune on a private citizen called Nicholas Rienzi, and commonly Cola, a man who born a fanatic, was become ambitious, and consequently capable of great things, which he undertook, and amused the Roman people with the most flattering hopes. It is of this person that Petrarch speaks in one of his finest odes or canzoni, where he describes Rome with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes imploring the assistance of Rienzi.

*Con gli occhi di dolor bagnati e molli
Ti chier' mercè da tutti sette i colli.*

She supplicates thy aid with streaming eyes,
And all her sev'n hills echo with her cries.

This tribune assumed the title of the *severe and merciful deliverer of Rome, the stickler for the liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind*. He declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and denizens of Rome. But these convulsive struggles of a long expiring liberty, proved as inefficacious as the pretensions of the emperors on Rome. This tribunate had still a shorter duration than even the senate and consulate which had been set up before in vain. Rienzi, who set out like the Gracchi, met with the same end, being assassinated by the patrician faction.

Rome necessarily fell to decay by being deprived of the residence of the papal court, by the troubles in Italy, the barrenness of her own territories, and the removal of her manufactures to Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and Florence. Her only support now depended on the numerous pilgrimages made to her holy places.

The grand jubilee in particular, which was first instituted by Boniface VIII. at the beginning of every century, but afterwards changed by Clement VI. to every fiftieth year, brought a prodigious concourse of people to Rome; insomuch that, in the year 1350, they reckoned above two hundred thousand pilgrims in that city. Thus Rome, destitute of both emperor and pope, continued the weakest and principal city of the Christian world.

C H A P. LVII.

Of JOAN Queen of NAPLES.

WE have already observed that the holy see had made the purchase of Avignon, from Joan of Anjou and Provence, queen of Naples. It is seldom found that princes dispose of their dominions, unless they are under great difficulties. This misfortune and death of this queen make part of the events of these times, and especially of the great schism in the West, which we shall soon have occasion to treat of.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily still continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert, who died in 1343, had made Naples a flourishing kingdom. His nephew, Lewis of Anjou, had been elected king of Hungary. The house of France extended its branches on all sides: but these branches were not united either to the common stock, or with each other, and were all of them unfortunate. Robert, king of Naples, had before his decease married his grand-daughter and heiress, Joan, to Andrew, brother to the king of Hungary. This match, which seemed to cement the happiness of that house, proved the source of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, young as she was, insisted that he should be considered only as the queen's husband. A Franciscan friar, called brother Robert, by whose advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and discord between this royal pair. Joan had her

court composed of Neapolitans; while that of Andrew consisted wholly of Hungarians, who were looked upon as Barbarians by the natives of the country. This proved a fresh subject of animosity; and it was soon determined in a council of the queen's favourites, principally composed of Lewis prince of Tarentum, of the blood royal, who afterwards married the queen, some other princes of the blood, and the famous Catanese*, so remarkable for her attachment to Joan, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly strangled in the city of Averfa, in his wife's anti-chamber, and in a manner before her eyes; after which his body was thrown out of the window into the street, where it remained without burial for three days. In a year after this, the queen was married to the prince of Tarentum, who was publicly accused of the murder of her husband. How strong a presumption of her own guilt! but those who take upon them to justify her, alledge that she was married to four different husbands: and that a queen who could so often submit to the marriage yoke, cannot with justice be accused of crimes that are committed only through excess of love. But does love then alone inspire such horrid actions? Joan consented to the death of her first husband through weakness; and it was owing to a

* Philippa of Catanea, originally a laundress, insinuated herself into the favour of Joan of Naples, and became her confidante and counsellor. She is said to have fomented this queen's aversion to her husband, Andrew king of Hungary, and was concerned in strangling him at Averfa, before he had attained the nineteenth year of his age. She was afterwards convicted of this horrible crime, and put to death by the most excruciating tortures,

more pardonable kind of weakness, and more common to her sex, that she had three husbands afterwards: she was incapable of managing the reins of government alone.

Lewis of Hungary, brother to the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of his brother on her and her accomplices. Accordingly he set out for Naples, by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he accused Joan publicly before the tribune Cola Rienzi, who, during the existence of his ridiculous and transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as they did in the time of the old republic. Rienzi however declined giving his decision, by which alone he gave an example of his prudence.

In the mean time Lewis advanced towards Naples, carrying with him a black standard, on which was painted the king's murder. He ordered Charles of Durazzo, a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the murder, to be beheaded, and pursued queen Joan, ¹³⁴⁷ who with her new consort fled before him into her territories of Provence. One very extraordinary circumstance in this affair is, that ambition had no part in the revenge taken for Andrew's murder. Lewis might have made himself master of the kingdom of Naples, but he did not do it. Examples of this kind are rarely to be met with. He was a prince of the most rigid virtue, on which account he was afterwards chosen king of Poland. We shall speak more particularly of him when we come to treat of the kingdom of Hungary.

Joan, who before she had attained the age of twenty, had plunged herself in guilt, and suffered the punishment due to a crime that drew as many miseries upon her subjects as upon herself, abandoned at once by the people of Naples and Provence, went to seek pope Clement VI. in Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, and which she sold to that pontiff, together with its territories, for eighty thousand florins in gold, which she never received.

1348 While she was negotiating this affair, she appeared before the consistory, where she pleaded her cause in person, and was by the general voice declared innocent. Clement VI. in order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, stipulated for Joan, that she should pay him three hundred thousand florins; but Lewis returned for answer, that he was not come thither to sell his brother's blood, but to revenge it; which as he had partly effected, he should go away satisfied. The spirit of knight-errantry, so prevalent in those times, had not produced a more striking instance of firmness and generosity.

The queen, who had been driven from her kingdom by her brother-in-law, and restored by the mediation of the pope, lost her second husband, and for some years swayed the sceptre alone. She then married a prince of Arragon, who died soon after their nuptials: at length, when she was near forty-six years old, 1376 she espoused a younger son of the house of Brunswick, whose name was Otho. This was rather chusing a husband for her pleasure, than a prince capable of protecting her. The natural heir to her kingdom was Charles Du-razzo,

razzo, her cousin, the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou, in Naples. These princes took their name from the city of Durazzo, which had been conquered by their family from the Greeks, and afterwards taken from them by the Venetians. This Durazzo she had acknowledged as her heir; and had even gone so far as to adopt him. This adoption, and the great schism which happened in the West, hastened the unfortunate end of this princess.

The bloody consequences of this schism, (of which we shall speak more fully hereafter,) began already to break out. Brigano, who took the name of Urban VI. and the count of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. disputed the triple crown with the utmost fury; and Europe was divided between them. Queen Joan sided with Clement, who then resided at Avignon: and Durazzo, who thought it too long to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, joined himself to Brigano, or Urban VI.

This pope crowned Durazzo king of Naples, in Rome, on condition that he should bestow the principality of Capua on his nephew Brigano; he excommunicated and deposed queen Joan: and the more effectually to secure the principality of Capua in his family, he bestowed all the church benefices on the chief Neapolitan families.

His holiness then began his march with Durazzo towards Naples. The church plate was employed in raising an army; while the queen, who could not procure succours either from pope Clement, in whose favour she had declared,

nor from the prince she had chosen for her husband, saw herself almost destitute of troops. In this situation she invites to her assistance a brother of Charles V. king of France, who was also of the family of Anjou, whom she adopts in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo.

Lewis of Anjou, which was the name of this new heir of the queen of Naples, arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom she had conferred on him.

This choice of the queen's alienated the minds of the people more than ever: they were naturally averse to the introduction of new foreigners. The pope and Durazzo now drew near: Otho of Brunswick, in this extremity, hastily assembles a few troops, is defeated, and taken prisoner.

Durazzo now made his entry into Naples: six galleys which the queen had sent for from her county of Provence, and which came to an anchor under the *Castello del Ovo*, proved an useless succour. All resistance was now too late, and flight alone appeared practicable: but even in this she failed, and fell into the usurper's hands, who, to give some colour to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of Andrew's murder. Upon this occasion he consulted Lewis, king of Hungary, who still persisting in his inflexibility, sent him word, that he must by all means make the queen suffer the same death as she had inflicted on her husband Andrew.

1382 Upon which Durazo ordered her to be stifled between two mattresses †. Thus we

† The unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, has been often compared to this princess, whom it must be owned

we every where see one crime punished by another.

Posterity, always just, as beholding without prepossession, has commiserated the fate of this princess, as thinking the murder of her first husband to have proceeded rather from her weakness than the badness of her heart; seeing she was barely eighteen years of age when she gave her assent to that cruel deed; and that from that time she was never accused of debauchery, cruelty, or injustice. But her people deserve the most to be pitied, who were the victims of all these troubles. Lewis, duke of Anjou, after exhausting the treasures of his brother Charles V. of France, and impoverishing that kingdom by his vain attempts to revenge the death of queen Joan, and to recover the inheritance she had left him, died soon after in Apulia, without having gained either success or glory, and destitute of friends and money.

The kingdom of Naples, which under king Robert had begun to emerge from its state of barbarism, was plunged back again into it by all these misfortunes, which were still more augmented by the schism in the West, which was afterwards extinguished by the emperor Sigismund. Let us now take a view of the form which the empire put on about this time.

owned she nearly resembled in character, circumstances, and catastrophe. Joan was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace,

C H A P. LVIII.

Of the Emperor CHARLES IV. and of the
Return of the Holy See from AVIGNON to
ROME.

THE empire of Germany (for in the confusion and troubles which distinguished the latter end of Lewis of Bavaria's reign, there was no longer a Roman empire) at length assumed a more settled form of government, under Charles IV. of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and grandson to Henry VII. who 1356 published at Nuremberg the famous constitution known by the name of the Golden Bull, from a golden seal affixed to it, which in vulgar Latin was called *bullæ*. This may sufficiently explain to us the reason of the popes edicts being called bulls. The stile of this charter partakes strongly of the spirit of the times. It begins by an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, and luxury. It says, that it is necessary the number of the electors should be seven, in order to oppose the seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of the angels, of a heavenly paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and asserts, that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity.

This famous law of the empire was made in the presence, and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities, who then, for the first time, assisted at the assemblies of these Teutonic nations. These privileges of the towns, which are the natural

natural effects of liberty, began first to be revived in Italy, afterwards in England, then in France, and last of all they found admittance into Germany.

Every one knows, that the number of the electors was fixed to seven. The archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, who had long been in possession of the right of electing emperors, would not suffer other bishops, though equal in power to themselves, to partake with them in this honour. But how happened it that the dutchy of Bavaria was not ranked among the electorates? And why should Bohemia, which was originally a distinct state from Germany, and which by the golden bull was excluded from deliberations of the empire, yet continue to have a right of suffrage in the election? The reason is evidently this, Charles IV. was king of Bohemia, and Lewis of Bavaria had been his enemy.

But the imperial dignity, which at that time conferred no real power of itself, never received more of that lustre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on this occasion. The three ecclesiastical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared there with the seals of the empire: Mentz carried those of Germany, Cologne those of Italy, and Triers those of Gaul, and yet the empire had nothing in Gaul, but the empty homage of the remains of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiné, which which were soon after swallowed up in the vast kingdom of France. Savoy, which then belonged to the house of Maurienne, was a fief of the empire, and Franche-Comté was under its protection, but independent.

We have already seen what the emperor's possessions in Italy were; in Germany his sovereignty was confined to his hereditary dominions, and yet he speaks in his bull like a despotic king; he does every thing there "Of his certain knowledge, and by the fullness of his power;" terms inconsistent with the Germanic liberty, and which are no longer suffered in the imperial diets, where the emperor expresses himself thus; "We have agreed with the states, and the states with us."

To conceive some idea of the pomp and magnificence with which this ceremony of the golden bull was accompanied, it will be sufficient to be informed that the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, presented him with his drink; the duke of Saxony, as grand marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg held the water for the emperor and empress to wash; and the count Palatine placed the gold dishes on the table, in presence of all the great officers of the empire.

Charles IV. appeared, on this occasion, the king of kings: and Constantine, the vainest of all the Roman emperors, never displayed a more dazzling outside of pomp and splendor. And yet Charles, with all this affectation of the Roman emperor, had engaged himself by oath to pope Clement VI. before his election, that whenever he went to Rome to be crowned, he would not lye a single night in the city; ¹³⁴⁶ and would never again return to Italy without the holy father's permission. And there is yet to be seen a letter written by him to cardinal Colombierus, dean of the sacred college,

college, dated in the year 1355, in which he calls that dean "Your Majesty."

He also left the house of Visconti in the quiet possession of Milan and Lombardy, which they had usurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, which had formerly been the mistress of Venice, but was now become subject to her; as likewise Vicenza and Verona.

The electors, whose rights had been settled by the golden bull of Charles IV. soon put them in force against his own son, the emperor Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

France and Germany were afflicted both at the same time, with a most extraordinary scourge. The emperor and the French king lost the use of their reason almost at the same time. On the one hand, Charles VI. by the disorder of his organs, occasioned that of his kingdom; and the emperor Wenceslaus so stupefied himself in gluttony and debauch, that he left the empire in a state of anarchy. Charles VI. continued on the throne while his relations ruined France under his name. But in Bohemia, the barons confined Wenceslaus, who one day made his escape quite naked out of prison; and the electors of Germany, by a public sentence, juridically deposed him. The sentence says only that he is deposed, for being "negligent, idle, extravagant, and unworthy of reigning."

It is said that when he received notice of his deposition, he wrote to the imperial cities of Germany, that he required no other marks of their fidelity than that they would send him some butts of their best wine.

The

The deplorable situation of Germany seemed to leave an open field for the popes to stir in Italy; but the republics and principalities which were raised during the late commotions had had time to settle themselves. From the time of Clement V. Rome had been a stranger to popes, at length Gregory XI. who was born in the Limousin, and did not understand one word of Italian, removed the papal see to Rome.

1376 This pope had high disputes with the republic of Florence, which was then establishing its power in Italy, and had entered into an alliance with Bologna. Gregory, who was by the antient donation of Matilda, the immediate lord of this last city, did not confine his revenge to ecclesiastical censures, but drained his treasury to pay the *Condottieri*, who at that time furnished troops to any one who would purchase them. The Florentines were for accommodating matters, and gaining the pope over to their interest. In this view they thought it would be of advantage to them for the pope to reside at Rome: they were therefore, if possible, to persuade Gregory to quit Avignon.

It is almost inconceivable that in times when men's understandings were so enlightened in regard to their true interests, they should have made use of means to gain their purpose that would appear so highly ridiculous in the present age. They employed St. Catherine of Sienna in this negotiation; a woman who not only pretended to revelations, but even pretended to have been solemnly espoused to Jesus Christ, and to have received a ring and a diamond from him

him at their nuptials. Peter of Capua, who was her confessor, and has written her life, pretends to have been eye-witness to most of these miracles. "I was witness, says he, to her being transformed one day into the figure of a man with a little beard upon his chin; and this figure into which she was suddenly changed, was exactly that of Jesus Christ." Such was the ambassador whom the Florentines sent to the pope: and they had likewise recourse to the revelations of St. Bridget †, who was born in Sweden, but had settled in Rome, and to whom an angel dictated several letters which she was to write to the pope. All the popes have not been men of genius: and Gregory, whether he was a simple man, and that they worked upon him by springs proportioned to his intellects; or whether he acted from a principle of policy, or through weakness, he complied with their desires; and the papal residence was transferred from Avignon to Rome, after an absence of seventy-two years; but it was only to plunge Europe into new disorders.

† This was no less than the princess of Nericia, not only a saint herself but the mother of seven children, all of whom were deemed beatified. She founded the religious order called Saint Salvator, or Saviour, the rules of which, comprehended in thirty-one chapters, were, if we may believe Matthew de Suecia, canon of Lincoping, dictated by the mouth of Jesus Christ to his devout spouse St. Bridget. She also wrote a book of revelations, which had like to have been condemned by the council of Basil.

C H A P. LIX.

Of the GREAT SCHISM of the WEST.

THE patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the Campagna di Roma, the country of Viterbo and Orvieto, Sabino, the dutchy of Spoleto, Benevento, and a small part of the marche of Ancona, were all that the see of Rome possessed at this time: all the countries afterwards annexed to its demesne belonged to lords who were vicars of the holy see, or of the empire. Since the year 1138, the cardinals had usurped the privilege of excluding the people and clergy from the election of pontiffs; and about the year 1216, they had made a law, that two thirds of the votes were necessary for a canonical election. At the time I am speaking of, there were only sixteen cardinals in Rome; eleven French, one Spanish, and four Italians. The Romans, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, and their hatred to their masters, were desirous of having a pope who would reside in Rome, because they hated the French and Germans still more than they did the popes, and because the presence of the pontiff always drew riches to the city. The people, in this mood, threatened to destroy the cardinals, if they gave them a foreigner for pope. These menaces had such an effect on the cardinal-electors, that 1378 they chose Brigano bishop of Barri, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban. This was a morose and passionate man, consequently very unfit for such a dignity; and no sooner was he installed, than he declared in full

full consistory, that he would punish the kings of France and England, Charles the Wise, and Edward III. who, he said, were disturbers of all christendom by their quarrels. Cardinal de la Grange, a man of as violent a temper as the pope himself, shaking his fist at him, told him *he lied*: these two words involved Europe in a confusion, which lasted forty years.

Most of the cardinals, even the Italians themselves, shocked at the brutal disposition of a person so unfit for governing, withdrew into the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the election of a pope made by violence, to be, *ipso facto*, null and void; and proceeded unanimously to the election of a new pontiff. On this occasion, the French cardinals had the uncommon satisfaction of outwitting their Italian brethren. They promised the tiara to each Italian in particular, and, after all elected Robert son to Amadeus count of Geneva, who, at his promotion, took the name of Clement VII.

Upon this Europe became divided. The emperor Charles IV. England, Flanders, and Hungary acknowledged Urban, who was also obeyed in Rome and Italy. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine, declared for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors all wrote; and the universities issued out decrees. The two popes treated each other as Antichrists and usurpers, and proceeded to mutual excommunication. But what rendered this dispute truly horrible was, that they fought with the complicated fury of a civil and a religious war. A body of troops which Clement's nephew had raised in Gascony and Brittany, marched into Italy, surprised

prised the city of Rome, and in the first transports of their fury, put every one they met with, to the sword. But the people of Rome recovering from their surprise, quickly rallied, and turning upon them, killed every man found within the walls; after which they murdered every French priest they could meet with. Soon after this, another army of pope Clement's, which had been raised in the kingdom of Naples, appeared within a few miles of Rome, and offered battle to Urban's forces.

Each of these armies carried the keys of St. Peter in their ensigns. Clement's troops were defeated; but the quarrel did not end here, this dispute not being confined wholly to the interests of the two pontiffs. Urban seeing himself victorious, was resolved to bestow the kingdom of Naples on his nephew; and for that purpose, deposed queen Joan, the protectress of his rival Clement, who had long reigned in Naples with various success, and a sullied reputation.

The preceding chapter has shewn us this princess murdered by her cousin Charles of Durazzo, with whom pope Urban now wanted to divide the kingdom of Naples. But this usurper, when in quiet possession of the throne, was far from keeping his promise to a pope, who had it not in his power to oblige him to do it.

Urban, who had more warmth than policy, had the imprudence to pay a visit to his vassal, inferior as he was in strength, and attended but with a slender retinue. The antient ceremonial obliged the king to kiss the pope's feet, and hold his horse by the bridle. Durazzo conformed to only one of these ceremonies; he

he took hold of the bridle, but it was to conduct the pope to prison. Urban was detained for some time in confinement, continually negotiating with his vassal, who treated him sometimes with respect, and at others with contempt. The pope at length found means to escape from his confinement, and retired to the little town of Nocera; there he assembled the scattered remains of his court. His cardinals and some of the bishops were so tired with his morose temper, and still more with his misfortunes, that they concerted measures at Nocera, for quitting him, in order to remove to Rome, and there make choice of a person more worthy of bearing the pontifical dignity. Urban, having had notice of their design, caused them all to be put to the torture in his presence. Being soon obliged to fly from Naples, he retired to the city of Genoa, who sent some galleys to escort him. He dragged along with him those poor cardinals and bishops in that maimed condition, and bound in chains. One of the bishops, half dead with the tortures he had undergone, not being able to get on shore so soon as the pope chose he should; that cruel pontiff ordered him to be murdered by the way. As soon as he arrived at Genoa, he got rid of those cardinals, his prisoners, by different kinds of punishments. We have heard of Caligulas and Neros, who were guilty of crimes like these, but they met with the punishments they deserved, and Urban died peaceably at Rome. His creature and persecutor, 1389 Charles Durazzo, was more unfortunate; for, having made an expedition into Hungary, with

a design to seize a crown that did not belong to him, he was there murdered.

The death of pope Urban ought in all appearance to have put an end to the civil war; but the Romans were far from acknowledging Clement. Thus the schism was kept up on both sides. The Urbanists chose Perin Tomafel, and he dying, they pitched upon cardinal Meliorati. The Clementines chose Peter of Arragon to succeed Clement, who died in 1390. Never had any pope less authority in Rome than Meliorati; and Peter Luna in a short time was only the shadow of a pope at Avignon. The Romans, who still aimed at establishing the municipal form of government, expelled Meliorati, after a great deal of bloodshed, though they still acknowledged him as pope; and the French, who had acknowledged

1403 Peter Luna, besieged him in his city of Avignon, where they afterwards detained him prisoner.

The assembly of the states of France formed so prudent a resolution during these times of trouble and confusion, that I am surpris'd it was not followed by other nations. They acknowledged neither of the popes, but each diocese was governed by its proper bishop; they remitted no annates, and owned no reservations nor exemptions; so that Rome had reason to fear lest that administration which lasted some years, should have continued for ever.

Luna, previous to his election, had promised to resign his dignity, if necessary for the sake of peace, but did not keep his word. A noble Venetian, named Corario, whom they elected at Rome, took the same oath, and kept it no better.

better. The cardinals on both sides being at length heartily tired of the general, as well as private quarrels with which the dispute about the triple crown was attended, agreed to call a general council at Pisa. Accordingly they met, and twenty-four cardinals, twenty-six archbishops, a hundred and ninety-two bishops, two hundred and eighty-nine abbots, deputies from all the universities, as also of the chapters of one hundred and two metropolitan churches, together with three hundred doctors of divinity, the grand-master of Malta, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes were present at this assembly. Here they made a new pope, named Peter Philargi, who took the name of Alexander V. But the fruit of this great council was, that three popes, or rather antipopes, started up instead of two. The emperor Rodolph refused to acknowledge this council; so that the confusion was greater than ever.

We cannot forbear lamenting the hard fate of Rome, who had a bishop and a prince imposed upon her against her will; and a body of French troops now came, under the command of Tanegui du Chatel, to compel her to receive a third pope. Corario the Venetian transferred his residence to Gaieta, where he put himself under the protection of Charles Durazzo, whom we call Launcelot, and who then reigned in Naples; and Peter Luna removed his see to Perpignan. Rome was sacked, but to little purpose for the third pope, who died by the way; and from the politics which prevailed at that time, every body believed him poisoned.

The cardinals of the council of Pisa, who

had elected him, being masters of Rome, they chose in his place Balthazar Cozza, a Neapolitan. This Balthazar was a military man; he had formerly been a Corsair, and had distinguished himself during the troubles which still continued to subsist between Charles Durazzo and the house of Anjou: afterwards, being made legate in Germany, he grew rich by selling indulgencies, and bought a cardinal's hat, for which he paid a high price; nor did he purchase at a cheaper rate the favours of his mistress, Catharine, whom he had taken away from her husband. Perhaps such a pope was the fittest for Rome in her present situation, when she stood more in need of a soldier than a divine.

From the time of Urban V. the rival popes went on negotiating and excommunicating, and all their politics centered in extorting money; but this pontiff went to war. He was acknowledged by France, and the greatest part of Europe, by the name of John XXIII. He had no occasion to fear the pope of Perpignan; but the pope of Gaieta was somewhat more formidable, as being protected by the king of Naples. John however collects a body of troops, publishes a crusade against Launcelot (or Charles Durazzo) king of Naples, furnishes Lewis of Anjou with arms; and bestows on him the investiture of Naples; and a battle is soon after fought on the banks of the Garigliano, in which John's party proved victorious: but gratitude making no part of the virtues of a sovereign, and reasons of state being stronger than any other considerations, the pope recalled the investiture he had bestowed on Lewis of Anjou, though his benefactor, and the revenger
of

of his cause, and acknowledged Launcelot as king, on condition he should deliver up the Venetian Corario.

Launcelot, on his side, not willing to suffer John to grow too powerful, let pope Corario escape; and that pontiff, after wandering about some time, retired to the castle of Rimini, which belonged to Malatesta, one of the petty tyrants of Italy. From hence, though subsisting wholly on the benevolence of this nobleman, and acknowledged only by the duke of Bavaria, he excommunicated all the princes of Europe, and talked in the stile of sovereign of the world.

John XXIII. the only lawful pope, as having been elected and acknowledged by the cardinals of the council of Pisa, and succeeded to the pope chosen by the same council, was the only pope in fact: but as he had betrayed his benefactor, Lewis of Anjou, so Launcelot, whose benefactor he had been, betrayed him in like manner; and, upon finding himself successful, aimed at the sovereignty of Rome. Accordingly he surprised this unhappy city, and John had hardly time to make his escape. It was fortunate for him then, that there were free cities in Italy. To throw himself, like Corario, into the arms of one of the petty tyrants, would have been making himself a slave; he therefore put himself under the protection of the people of Florence, who fought at the same time against Launcelot for their liberties and for the pope.

Launcelot's army however was on the point of prevailing, and the pope saw himself shut up in Bologna. In this extremity he had recourse to the emperor Sigismund, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians.

Sigismund,

Sigismond, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power by the humiliation of the pope, but, on the other hand, he was the natural enemy of Launcelot, the tyrant of Italy. John proposes to him, to form a league and assemble a council, the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate. A council was in fact become necessary, that of Pisa having ordered one to be called at the end of three years. Accordingly Sigismond and John issued their joint proclamation, for the holding of this council in the little city of Constance. But Launcelot opposed his victorious army to these negotiations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could deliver the emperor and the pope from their critical situation: this happened by the death of Launcelot, who ¹⁴¹⁴ yielded up his breath at the age of forty, in sudden and most excruciating pains, and the custom of poisoning was at that time but too frequent.

John XXIII. thus delivered from his most implacable enemy, and having now only the emperor and the council to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high assembly, which may not improperly be stiled the senate of Europe, and has the power of judging the supreme pontiffs; but the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor pressed for its sitting, and those who had a right to assist at it were hastening from all parts to take possession of the august title of arbitrators of Christendom.

C H A P. LX.

The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

ON the western bank of the lake of Constance stands the town of that name, said to have been built by Constantine. This place Sigismond pitched upon as the theatre where this great scene was to be acted. Never had there been a more numerous convocation than that of Pisa : it was however exceeded by this of Constance.

Besides the crowd of prelates and doctors who assisted at this council, there were twenty-eight great vassals of the empire present, and the emperor himself constantly attended, as did the electors of Mentz, Saxony, the Palatine, and Brandenburg, with the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and twenty-seven ambassadors from the several courts of Europe, and every one of these vied with the other in luxury and magnificence ; as appears by the number of goldsmiths, amounting to fifty, who, with all their workmen, came to settle in Constance during the sitting of the council.

There were likewise five hundred players on instruments called in those times minstrels ; and seven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magistracy. They were obliged to build a number of wooden huts to lodge all the ministers to luxury and incontinence ; which these lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought in their train. No one was ashamed of these practices, as they were now as publicly authorized in every state, as

242 The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

they had formerly been with most of the ancient nations. On this occasion the church of France allowed every archbishop it sent to the council ten franks a day (which is equivalent to fifty livres of our present currency,) eight to a bishop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

Before I proceed to take a view of what passed in this assembly of the Christian states, I judge it necessary to make a short recapitulation of the principal sovereigns who reigned at that time in Europe, with the state and condition of their respective dominions.

Sigismund joined to the imperial dignity the crown of Hungary. He had been unsuccessful against Bajazet the famous sultan of the 1393 Turks; so that Hungary being drained, and Germany divided, they were both threatened with the Mahometan yoke. He had been still worse used by his own subjects than by the Turks. The Hungarians had imprisoned him, and offered his crown to Launcelot, king of Naples; but having escaped 1410 from his confinement, he retrieved his affairs in Hungary, and was afterwards chosen head of the empire.

In France the unhappy Charles VI. who had been seized with a frenzy, enjoyed only the name of king; and his relations, employed in dismembering the kingdom to serve their own private purposes, were very little attentive to what passed at the council: it was however their interest that the emperor should not appear to be the master of Europe.

Ferdinand,

The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE. 243

Ferdinand, who governed the kingdom of Arragon, supported the interests of his pope, Peter Luna.

John II. king of Castile, had no influence on the affairs of Europe; but he still espoused Luna's claim, and was master of Navarre.

Henry V. king of England, being taken up, as we shall shew hereafter, with the conquest of France, wished to see the pontifical power so humbled and reduced, that it might never again be able to impose a tribute on England, nor interfere with the rights and privileges of crowned heads.

Rome, who had been delivered from the French troops, but still saw them in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and was obliged to submit to John XXIII. hated her pope, and feared the emperor.

The cities of Italy were so divided that they were hardly of any weight in the ballance: and Venice, who aspired at the sovereignty of Italy, took advantages of the troubles of that country and of those of the church.

The duke of Bavaria, that he might act some part on this grand theatre, protected Pope Corrarior, who had taken refuge in the castle of Rimini; and Frederick, duke of Austria, who was secretly an enemy to the emperor, thought only how to frustrate his designs.

Sigismond made himself master of the council, by placing soldiers round the city of Constance, under the specious pretext of providing for the safety of the fathers.

It would have been much better for John XXIII. to have returned to Rome, where he could have been master, than to have put him-

244 The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

self in the power of an emperor who was able to ruin him : he entered into a confederacy with the duke of Austria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the duke of Burgundy, which completely ruined him. The emperor from that instant became his enemy ; and insisted, notwithstanding his being a lawful pope, that he

should lay down the tiara as well as
 1415 Luna and Corrario. This he solemnly promised to do, and repented his promise the moment after ; for he now found himself a prisoner in the midst of that very council where he sat as president. He had now no resource left but to make his escape ; but the emperor caused him to be narrowly watched. The duke of Austria, who was desirous to favour the pope's flight, could not think of any better way to effect it than by giving the council the diversion of a tournament. In the midst of the hurry and confusion usual on these occasions, the pope made his escape in the disguise of a postillion ; and the duke of Austria set out immediately after him. They both retired into a part of Swisserland which still belonged to the house of Austria. The duke of Burgundy was likewise ready to protect the pope. This duke was very powerful, both on account of his great possessions, and the authority he had in France. Thus a new schism was on the point of being kindled. The heads of religious orders who were in the pope's interest, were already retiring from Constance, and the council by this turn of affairs might have become an assembly of rebels. Sigismund, who had been unfortunate on so many occasions, proved successful in this. He had, as we have already
 observed,

The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE. 245

observed, a body of troops at hand; with these he made himself master of all the duke of Austria's territories in Alsace, Tyrol, and Swisserland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he asked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promised in the most solemn mannner, never for the future to undertake any thing contrary to his will; and resigned all his dominions to him, to be disposed of as he should think proper, in case of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand, and pardoned him, on condition he would deliver up the person of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff is accordingly seized at Fribourg, and conveyed to a neighbouring castle. In the mean time the council proceeded to his trial.

He was charged with having sold benefices and relicks; with poisoning the pope his predecessor; with having murdered a number of innocent persons: in short, he was accused of the most impious licentiousness, and of the highest excess of debauchery, even of sodomy and blasphemy: they however suppressed fifty-five articles of the verbal process, which they thought reflected too great an infamy on the pontifical character. At length, 29th the sentence of his deposition was read May in the presence of the emperor. This 1415 sentence imported, that the council reserved to itself the power of punishing the pope for his crimes, according to justice or mercy.

John XXIII. who had formerly given such proofs of courage both by sea and land, was all resignation when they came to read his sentence to him in prison. The emperor kept him pri-

246 The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

soner three years at Manheim, where he treated him with such severity, that the public began to compassionate him more for his sufferings, than it had even hated him for his crimes.

The council having thus deposed the true pope, wanted the renunciations of those who pretended to the pontificate; Corrario sent them his, but the proud Spaniard Luna would never yield. The council found no difficulty in deposing him; but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to succeed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately vested in themselves; and the council, as representatives of the whole Christian church, pretended likewise to the same right. The present question was about giving a head to the church, and a sovereign to Rome. It was but just that the cardinals, who constituted the privy council of this sovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them as representatives of the church, should with them enjoy an equal right of suffrage. Thirty deputies of the 1417 council, joined with the cardinals in unanimously electing Otho Colonna of that same family who had been excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation.

This pope, who after his election changed his illustrious name for that of Martin, possessed all the qualities of a prince, with the virtues of a bishop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp. He went in procession to the church, mounted on a white palfrey; the emperor and the count palatine on foot,

The COUNCIL of CONSTANCE. 247

foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous croud of princes, and all the members of the council closed the train. When he arrived in the church, the triple crown was put on his head, which the popes had worn for upwards of two centuries.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet about the deposing a pope; their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the church, at least this was the chief design of Gerson and the deputies of the university of Paris.

There had been great complaints made in this council for above two years against the annates, or first fruits, the exemptions, the reservations, and the taxes imposed by the popes on the clergy, for the profit of the holy see, and against the torrent of vice with which the church was at that time overflowed. But how did this so much desired reformation end? Pope Martin declared, First, that no exemptions ought to be granted, without shewing just cause. Secondly, that an enquiry should be made into the reunited benefices. Thirdly, that the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of according to common law. Fourthly, he made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. Fifthly, he ordered, that for the future, those who had benefices, should be distinguished by the tonsure. Sixthly, he forbade the celebrating of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulgated by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson even found great difficulty in getting the following propositions condemned, viz. that in some cases the assassination of a person may become a virtuous act; that it is more meritorious in a knight than in a squire, and far

more in a prince than in a knight. This doctrine of assassination had been maintained in France by one John Petit, a doctor of the university of Paris, upon the occasion of the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerson's petition; at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the cordelier John Petit's name.

Such is the idea which I thought necessary to form to myself of the several political views of the council of Constance; the fires which were afterwards lighted up by a religious zeal, are of a different nature.

CHAP. LXI.

Of JOHN HUS, and of JEROM of PRAGUE.

THE portrait of general history, which has hitherto been exhibited to our view, evinces the profound state of ignorance in which the western world was plunged. The nations subject to the Roman empire, were, upon the desolation of that empire, reduced to a state of barbarism; the other nations had always continued so. Reading and writing were sciences very little known before the time of Frederick II. and the famous benefit of the clergy, by which a criminal condemned to die, obtained his pardon, if he could read, is the most striking proof of the stupidity of the times. From the great ignorance of the people, the clergy and monks had,

had, by the means of a little knowledge, especially in religious matters, acquired that kind of authority over their minds, which a superiority of understanding naturally gives a master over his scholars; and from this authority they derived all their power. There was not a bishop in Germany, or in the North, who was not a petty sovereign; not one in Spain, France, or England, but was possessed of, or disputed with their prince, part of the regal rights. Almost every abbot was become a prince; and the popes, though prosecuted on all sides, were kings over all those sovereigns. At length, through the vices attendant upon luxury, and the disorders which follow ambition, the greatest part of these abbots and bishops were themselves reduced to the same ignorant state with the laity. The universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which had been founded in the thirteenth century, still continued to cultivate that learning which the clergy, too much occupied with their riches, had not thought worth their while to preserve.

The doctors of these universities, who were only doctors, soon exclaimed against the scandalous lives of the rest of the clergy; and the desire of distinguishing themselves, led them to the examination of those mysteries, which for the public good should never have been unveiled.

He who rent this veil with the greatest fury, was John Wickliff, a doctor of the university of Oxford. This man preached and wrote while Urban V. and Clement ravaged the church by their schism, and were publishing crusades against each other. He pretended that what France had

willions

M 5

done

done only for a time, in refusing to acknowledge any pope, should be carried into a perpetual law. This opinion was embraced by many of the English lords; who had for a long time beheld with indignation, their country treated as a mere province of Rome; but it was as vigorously opposed by all those who had a share in the emoluments arising from this submission.

Wickliff was not so much protected in his theology as in his politics; he revived the old opinions of Berangerius, which had been formerly proscribed, and maintained, that nothing is to be believed, that is in itself contradictory or impossible; that no accident can subsist without a subject; in a word, that the bread and wine in the eucharist, still continue after consecration to be bread and wine. He was also for abolishing confession, indulgencies, and the church hierarchy. What the Vaudois only taught in secret, he published openly; and his doctrine was nearly the same as that of the protestants, who appeared a century after him; and of a sect which had been established a long time before.

His doctrine was condemned by the university of Oxford, and by the bishops and clergy; but this did not hinder its spreading. His books, though obscure and ill written, were every where circulated, by the mere dint of curiosity, which the subject of the dispute, and the boldness of the author, had raised in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his unspotted manners, and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly risen out of barbarism, and which from the grossest ignorance, had arrived at
another

another species of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV. the lawgiver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the university at Prague, on the same model as that at Paris. In this university, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century, contained not less than 20000 students, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one. John Hus, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of batchelor in that academy, and was confessor to queen Sophia of Bavaria, wife to Wenceslaus, obtained of that princess, that for the future, his countrymen should have three votes, and the Germans only one. These latter, incensed at this change, withdrew from the university, and became so many irreconcilable enemies to John Hus. At the same time some of Wickliff's works had fallen into his hands; and though he totally rejected the speculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's passionate invectives against the scandalous lives of the popes and the bishops, against the excommunications thundered out with such levity and fury, and in fine against all ecclesiastical power, in which neither he nor Wickliff had properly distinguished between the rights and the usurpations. This step made him many more enemies, but at the same time it procured him a number of protectors, especially the queen, whose spiritual director he was. He was accused before John XXIII. and summoned to appear in the year 1411, which summons he did not obey. In the mean

mean time the council of Constance 1414 assembled, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes, and the opinions of men; hither he was also summoned, the emperor himself writing to the court of Bohemia, to desire he might be sent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hus, full of confidence, repaired to the council, from whence both he and the pope ought to have kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by several Bohemian gentlemen, and many of his disciples, and what is most remarkable, he came with the emperor's safe-conduct, dated the 18th of October, 1414, and drawn up in the fullest and most favourable terms; but no sooner was he arrived, than he was committed to close confinement, and the council proceeded to try him at the same time with the pope. He like the pope made his escape, and like him was brought back again, and they were both confined for some time in the same prison.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning several passages in his writings. It is certain that any man may be ruined by wresting the meaning of his words. What teacher, what writer is sure of his life, if we condemn to the flames, a person who says, "That there is but one catholic church, which contains all the predestined in its bosom; that a reprobate is not a member of this church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the priests to observe the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jesus Christ?"

And

And yet these and no other, were the propositions maintained by John Hus, and which he explained in such a manner, as might have acquitted him, had not the council put such a sense upon them, as was found necessary to condemn him. If you do not believe the *universale a parte rei*, said one of the fathers to him, you do not believe in the real presence. What a method of arguing was this ! And on how precarious a thing did men's lives at that time depend !

Hus had not embraced any of those propositions of Wickliff, which now divide the protestants from the church of Rome *, and yet he was condemned to perish by the flames. Upon inquiry into the cause of such an execution, I could never find it to be any other than that spirit of obstinacy, which is generally imbibed in the schools. The fathers of the council were determined that Hus should retract his opinion, and Hus, on his side, persuaded that he was in the right, would not acknowledge himself in an error. The emperor, moved with compassion, said to him, "What harm is there in abjuring errors falsely attributed to you ? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors ; does it follow from thence that I have held them ?"

* Surely this must be a mistake in our author. John Hus adopted the doctrines of Wickliff, who maintained that the bread and wine in the eucharist, was not the real substance ; and that the church of Rome was not supreme over all churches ; two of the most essential articles of the protestant faith. The Hussites were in particular so tenacious with respect to the cup in the communion, that cups were painted in their churches, houses, and even on their colours ; so as to give rise to the following distich :

Tot pingis calices Boëmorum terra per urbes,
Ut credas Bacchi numina sola coli.

Hus however remained inflexible. He demonstrated the difference between a general abjuration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and chose rather to be burnt than acknowledge that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obstinate as himself; but his obstinacy in rushing to certain death was something heroic; whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithstanding the faith of the safe-conduct he had granted him, ordered the elector palatine to see him carried to execution; and he was accordingly burnt alive, in the presence of the elector, chaunting out hymns of praise to the divinity, till the flames stifled his voice.

Some months afterwards, the council exercised the same severity against a disciple and friend of John Hus, named Jerom, whom we commonly call Jerom of Prague. This man was greatly superior in understanding and eloquence to Hus. He at first had subscribed to the condemnation of his master's doctrine; but being informed with what greatness of soul Hus had encountered death, he was ashamed to survive him, and having made a public retraction, he was consigned to the flames.

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII. and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present at his examinations and execution, says, that he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerom made to his judges. "He spoke, says he, like Socrates, and walked to the stake with as much

much chearfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock."

Since Poggio himself has made this comparison, let it be permitted me to add, that Socrates was in fact condemned upon much the same account as John Hus and Jerom of Prague; that of having incurred the hatred of the sophists and priests of his time: but how wide the difference between the manners of the Athenian senate and those of the council of Constance; between a cup of gentle poison, which, far from being attended with this parade of horror and infamy, suffers the citizen to die quietly in the midst of his friends, and that dreadful punishment by fire, to which the priests and ministers of mercy and peace condemned their brethren; who, though somewhat too obstinate and tenacious in their opinions, were of an exemplary purity of life, and shewed a fortitude that has been the admiration of posterity!

May I be permitted likewise to observe, that in the proceedings of this council, a man who had been convicted of all manner of crimes, was only divested of his honours, and two persons accused of some few false reasonings, were condemned to the flames!

Such was the famous council of Constance, which lasted from the 1st of November 1413, to the 20th of May 1418.

Neither the emperor, nor the fathers of the council foresaw the consequences of the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague. Out of their ashes arose a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as an affront offered to their whole country; and imputed the death

death of their fellow subjects to the revenge of the Germans who had withdrawn from the university of Prague. They openly reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations: and not long afterwards, 1419. when Sigismond attempted to succeed his brother Wenceslaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found, that though he was emperor and king of Hungary, the death of two private citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The avengers of John Hus amounted to the number of 40,000, and a set of savages whom the severity of the council had rendered wild, and let loose in all the fury of mad revenge.

Every priest they met with atoned with his blood for the cruelty of the fathers of the council of Constance. John, surnamed Ziska, which signifies One-eyed, chief in barbarity and rank among these barbarians, defeated Sigismond in several battles. This same Ziska, having lost his only remaining eye in the engagement, still continued to march at the head of his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and assisting at their victories. He commanded his soldiers, that after his death they should make a drum of his skin, which they obeyed; and these his remains proved a long time fatal to Sigismond, who with difficulty could reduce Bohemia in sixteen years, though assisted with all the forces in Germany, and the terror of crusades.

Thus he paid for having violated his safe-conduct, by sixteen years of war and desolation.

C H A P. LXII.

Of the STATE of EUROPE at the Time
of the COUNCIL of CONSTANCE.

O F I T A L Y.

IF we reflect upon this council, held under the emperor's eye, and in the presence of so many princes and ambassadors, and also on the depolition of the supreme pontiff, and on that of the emperor Winceflaus ; we shall see that the catholic nations of Europe did, in fact, form altogether an immense republic, the chiefs of which were the pope and the emperor ; and whose disunited members consisted of kingdoms, provinces, and free cities, under twenty different governments.

There was no one public affair in which the pope and the emperor had not some share : and the several parts of Christendom corresponded with each other even in the midst of their discords. In fine, Europe was, upon the whole, much the same kind of state with antient Greece, excepting the difference of politeness.

Rome and Rhodes were two cities common to all the Christians of the Latin communion ; and the Turkish sultan was their common enemy. These two chiefs of the catholic world, the emperor and the pope, had in fact only an imaginary greatness, and no real power. If the emperor Sigismond had not been possessed of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and even from these he drew but very inconsiderable supplies, the imperial dignity would have been rather

rather a burthen to him than otherwise. The imperial demesnes were all of them alienated, and the princes and cities of Germany no longer able to pay their fines. The Germanic body was at that time also free, although not so well regulated as it has since been by the peace of Westphalia. The title of king of Italy was as empty as that of sovereign of Germany; the emperor not possessing a single town on the other side the Alps.

We still meet with this question to resolve: Why did not Italy insure to herself the enjoyment of her liberties, and for ever exclude foreign nations? She made continual efforts towards it, and had a right to flatter herself with success. She was in a flourishing condition. The house of Savoy had already began to aggrandise itself, though it had acquired no great encrease of power. The sovereigns of this country were feudatories of the empire, and counts. The emperor Sigismund, who had still the power of bestowing titles, made them dukes in 1416; and they are independent kings, though with the title of feudatories. The Visconti possessed the whole Milanese, which became still more powerful under the Sforzas.

The industrious Florentines had rendered themselves a respectable state by their freedom, their genius, and the trade they carried on; and a number of petty states, even as far as the frontiers of Naples, were daily aspiring at liberty. The system of affairs in Italy remained upon this footing from the death of Frederick II. till the time of the popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. making a period of about 300 years. But this period was chiefly spent in fac-
tious

tious jealousies, or the mutual attempts of one town against another, and the usurpation of tyrants, who made themselves masters of these towns. In short they exactly resembled antient Greece. The arts were every where cultivated, and conspiracies every where formed ; but they had not yet learnt to fight as those people did at Thermopylæ and Marathon.

Look into Machiavel's history of Castracani, the tyrant of Lucca and Pistoia, in the time of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and you will find that the very same designs and the same successes, fortunate or unfortunate, make the history of Italy. A private family of Verona, named Scala, seized upon the government about the end of the thirteenth century, and kept possession of it for near an hundred years. In the year 1330 they subdued Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Parma, Brescia, and several other territories. But in the fifteenth century there did not remain the least footstep of their power. The Viscontis and the Sforzas, dukes of Milan, passed somewhat later in review ; and disappeared likewise never to return again. Of that number of lords who divided amongst them the territories of Romagna, Umbria, and Emilia, there are at present but two or three families remaining, and those subject to the pope.

If you examine the annals of the Italian cities, you will find that there was not one in which conspiracies were not carried on with as much art as that of Catiline. It was impossible in those petty states for the discontented to rise up in revolt, or defend themselves by force of arms. In the room of these they had frequently recourse to assassinations and poison. One mutiny

mutiny of the people raised up a new prince, and another pulled him down. Thus for example, the city of Mantua passed successively from the hands of one tyrant into those of another, till the establishment of the family of Gonzagues in 1328.

Venice is the only one of these states that has constantly preserved her liberty. This she owes to her watry bulwarks, and the wise form of her government. Genoa, the rival of Venice, frequently engaged, and at length triumphed over her towards the end of the fourteenth century. But Genoa soon afterwards fell into decay, while Venice continued rising till the reigns of Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, when we shall see her filling all Italy with dread, and the powers of Europe with jealousy; who all conspire together for her destruction. Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was the best regulated, the most settled, and uniform, and had only one fundamental error, which however was not considered as such by the senate; I mean the want of a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and a proper encouragement for the common people. In Venice, a private citizen could never hope to rise by his merit as in antient Rome. It makes the principal merit of the English government, since the house of commons has had a share in the legislative power, that such a counterpoise is provided, and the road to honour and dignity left open to all who deserve them.

Pisa, which is at present only a depopulated city dependent on Tuscany, was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a famous republic.

lic, and sent fleets to sea as considerable as those of Genoa.

Parma and Placentia belonged to the Viscontis; the popes, after being reconciled to that family, having granted them the investiture, as they would not at that time ask it of the emperor, whose power in Italy was daily diminishing. The house of Este, which had produced the countess Matilda so famous for her benefactions to the holy see, was possessed at that time of Ferrara and Modena; the former of which it held of the emperor Otho I. but the holy see still asserted a claim to it, and sometimes granted the investiture of this as well as of several other states in Romania, which furnished an inexhaustible source of trouble and confusion.

It happened that during the transmigration of the holy see from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhone, there existed two imaginary powers in Italy, namely the emperors and the popes, from whom all the other powers received the diploma, which determined their rights or their usurpations; and even after the holy see was again established in Rome, it remained without any real power; and the emperors continued in a manner forgotten till the time of Maximilian. No foreign power at that time was possessed of any territories in Italy; for we cannot give that name to the houses of Anjou and Arragon, the former of which was established on the throne of Naples in 1266, and the latter in Sicily ever since the year 1287. Thus Italy, rich and full of flourishing cities, and moreover abounding with men of genius, might have put herself in a condition to have rejected the

the yoke of any nation whatsoever. She had even one advantage over Germany, which was, that no bishop, except the pope, exercised any sovereign authority; and that the several states being governed by secular masters, were consequently much fitter for taking the field.

If Italy was troubled with those divisions, which are sometimes the consequences of public liberty, Germany was not in a more tranquil state, while the lords were continually making pretensions to each other's office. But as we have already observed, Italy never formed a body, and Germany did. The German phlegm has hitherto kept the constitution of the state sound and entire; whereas Italy, though as extensive as Germany, has never been able so much as to form a constitution; and merely from the consequences of a superior understanding and cunning, has suffered itself to be divided into a number of weak states, which have been subjected by foreign nations.

Naples and Sicily, which under the Norman conquerors made together a formidable power, after the Sicilian vespers became two separate states, envious of each other, and continually striving to injure each other. The weakness of Joan I. first ruined the kingdom of Naples and Provence, of which she was likewise sovereign; and the still more scandalous failings of Joan II. completed its destruction. This princess, who was the last of the race which St. Lewis's brother had transplanted into Italy, was, as well as her kingdom, in a very low degree of credit during her whole reign. She was sister to the Launcelot who had made Rome tremble, during those times of anarchy which pre-

preceded the council of Constance. But Joan herself was far from being formidable. Her amours and court intrigues proved the scandal and ruin of her dominions. James of Bourbon, her second husband, who had more than once experienced her infidelity, was clapt up in prison, for attempting to complain, and thought himself very happy to make his escape, and retire to conceal his grief, or as it is called, his shame, in a convent of Franciscan friars, at Besançon.

This Joan II. proved, without her foreseeing it, the cause of two great events. The first was the raising of the Sforzas to the dukedom of Milan; the other, the war carried into Italy by Charles VIII. and Lewis XII.

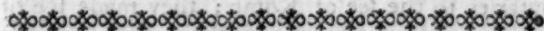
The advancement of the Sforzas is one of those caprices of fortune, which shew us, that this world belongs to whoever can make themselves masters of it. A country fellow, called Jacomuzio, who had taken arms as a soldier, and changed his name to Sforza, became the queen's favourite, constable of Naples, and standard-bearer of the church, and acquired such an immense fortune, that he left money enough to one of his bastards, wherewith to conquer the dutchy of Milan.

The second event which proved most fatal to Italy and France, was brought about by adoptions. We have already seen that Joan I. adopted Lewis I. of the second branch of the house of Anjou *, and brother to Charles V. king of France. These adoptions, which were relicts of the old Roman laws, conferred the

* See Chap. LVII.

right of succession on the person adopted, who, by virtue of such adoption, took place of the natural heir, but not without the consent of the barons, which in such cases, was always necessary. Joan II. at first adopted Alphonso V. king of Arragon, surnamed by the Spaniards, the wise and the magnanimous. But no sooner did this wise and magnanimous prince see himself acknowledged as heir to the queen of Naples, than he divested her of all authority, and even wanted to deprive her of her life. Francis Sforza, son to the illustrious peasant Jacomuzio, first signalized himself in arms on this occasion, and by delivering his father's benefactress, proved himself deserving of the honours he afterwards arrived at. Joan, after her deliverance, adopted Lewis of Anjou, grandson to that Lewis who had been so vainly adopted by Joan I. This prince dying, 1435 she declared René of Anjou, his brother, her heir and successor. This double adoption proved a double firebrand of discord between France and Spain; and René of Anjou, who had been called to the throne of Naples by an adoptive mother, and to that of Lorraine in right of his wife, proved equally unfortunate in both these kingdoms. He took the title of "king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, Arragon, Valencia, and Majorca, and duke of Lorraine and Bar;" and yet he was neither of these. The multiplicity of empty titles assumed without either foundation or consequence, has thrown a confusion into our modern histories, which frequently renders them disagreeable, and even ridiculous to the reader. In short, the history of Europe is become an immense verbal

verbal process of marriage contracts, genealogies, and disputed letters, which make the subject appear both dry and obscure, by suppressing great events, and hindering us from coming at the knowledge of the laws and manners of nations ; objects far more worthy our attention.



C H A P. LXIII.

Of FRANCE and ENGLAND, in the time of PHILIP of VALOIS and EDWARD III.

ENGLAND recovered its strength under Edward I. towards the end of the thirteenth century. This prince, who succeeded his father Henry III. was indeed obliged to give up Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine, the patrimonies of his ancestors, but he still retained the province of Guienne, and likewise made himself master of the principality of Wales. He knew how to restrain the impetuous tempers of the English, and animate them to noble purposes ; he rendered their commerce as flourishing and extensive as the nature of the times would permit. The royal house of Scotland being extinct in 1291, he had the glory of being chosen arbitrator, by the pretenders to that crown. His first step was to oblige the Scottish parliament to acknowledge that their crown was dependent on England ; and afterwards he nominated Baliol king, whom he made his vassal. At length he took the kingdom of Scotland for himself, after having conquered it in several battles, but was unable to

keep possession of it. Then began that antipathy between the natives of England and Scotland, which, notwithstanding the union of the two crowns, is not yet entirely extinguished.

Under this prince it began to be perceived that the English would not long continue tributaries to the see of Rome; they made use of various pretences to excuse their non-payment of the taxes imposed on them by that church, and artfully evaded an authority they durst not yet openly attack.

In the year 1300, the English parliament began to take a new form*, nearly the same with that it now wears. The title of barons and peers was appropriated only to those who sat in the upper house, and the house of commons began to regulate the supplies. Edward resolved to give a weight to the lower house, sufficient to ballance the power of the barons; and this prince, who had steadiness and dexterity sufficient to manage, and not to fear them, formed that kind of government, which includes all the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but which at the same time has the inconveniencies of all three, and can never subsist, but under a prudent king. His son

* It was about the year 1264, and in the reign of Henry III. that the commons of England were first represented in parliament. The barons who were in rebellion against that weak prince, compelled him to sign commissions, appointing in every county, certain officers or magistrates, called conservators, for preserving the privileges of the people. Writs were issued to these conservators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every shire, to sit and represent it in the ensuing parliament; and this is the origin of that right which the commons have to sit in the great council of the nation.

proved

proved not to be such, and England was rent in pieces.

Edward I. died as he was going to make another conquest of Scotland, which he had already thrice subdued, and which had as often rebelled again. His son, a youth of twenty-three years of age, though at the head of a numerous army, abandoned his father's designs, to devote himself to pleasures; which appear more unbecoming in a king of England, than in the sovereign of any other nation. His favourites had displeased the nation, especially the queen, daughter to Philip the Fair, a wanton and imperious woman, jealous of her husband, whom she betrayed. The public administration was now a scene of fury, confusion and weakness, and a prevailing party in the parliament caused a favourite of the king's, whose name was Gaveston, to be beheaded. 1312 The Scotch took advantage of these troubles, defeated the English, and Robert Bruce being made king of Scotland, restored that monarchy by the weakness of England.

It is impossible to act with more imprudence, and consequently more unfortunately, than Edward II. He suffered his queen Isabella, notwithstanding the provocation 1316 he had given her, to go to France with her son, who was afterwards the happy and famous Edward III.

Charles the Fair, brother of Isabella, and at that time king of France, followed the general policy of all kings, which is to sow discord among their neighbours, and encouraged his sister to make war against her husband.

Thus under pretence that the king of England was held in a shameful subjection, by a young favourite named Spenser, his wife prepares to wage war against him. While she was in France, she married the young prince her son, to a daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, and persuades that count to lend her troops. At length she returns to England, and with an armed force joins the enemies of the king her husband. Her gallant Mortimer attended her, and commanded her troops, while the king and his favourite Spenser fled before them.

The queen being arrived at Bristol, ordered this favourite's father, an old man of 1316 ninety, to be hanged, and afterwards inflicted the same death on the favourite himself, who fell into her hands at Hereford; and it is said they tore from him while he hung upon the gallows, those members which it was pretended he had made a criminal use of with his monarch.

After this, the king, abandoned by every one, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, is taken prisoner, carried up to London, insulted by the populace, confined in the Tower, tried by the parliament, and deposed in a solemn manner. His crown was then given to his son, a youth of fourteen years of age, and the queen is invested with the regency, and a council appointed to assist her. In fine, a pension of about 60000 livres of our present money was allowed the king during life.

Edward II. did not survive his disgrace above a year; at his death there were no marks of violence

violence found upon his body, but it is said that he was killed by means of a red hot iron, thrust up his body through a pipe made of horn *. 1327

His son Edward III. soon revenged him of his perfidious wife. This young monarch was yet a minor ; but being impatient to grasp the reins of government, which he thought himself able to manage, he one day seized on the person of his mother's gallant, Mortimer earl of March, in her own presence. The parliament condemned this favourite, as it had done the Spensers, without hearing him ; and he 1331 died by the hands of the common hangman, not for having dishonoured his king's bed, and for having deposed and murdered him, but for having been guilty of extortion and misdemeanors, crimes which ministers of state are always accused of. The queen-mother was confined in a castle, with a pension of five hundred pounds sterling †, where she remained in solitude, and lamented more her misfortunes than her crimes.

Edward being now master, and soon after absolute master of the kingdom, began his reign by the conquest of Scotland ; but now a new scene was opened in France, and all Europe stood in suspense to see whether Edward would acquire this kingdom by right of blood or right of conquest.

* The unfortunate Edward II. was murdered in Berkely castle in Gloucestershire, by sir John Gurney and John de Mautrevers, instigated by the bishop of Hereford.

† Her allowance amounted to four thousand pounds a year.

France, which comprehended neither Provence, Dauphiny, nor the Franche-Comté, was still a formidable kingdom; but its king was not yet possessed of much power. The large demesnes, such as Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Brittany, and Guienne, which were held as fiefs of the crown, always contributed more to the uneasiness than to the grandeur of the prince.

The demesnes of Philip the Fair, with the imposts on his immediate subjects, amounted to 80000 marks. When he went to war with the Flemings in 1302, and that almost all the vassals of France contributed towards the expence of that war, a tax of one fifth was laid on the revenues of all secular persons, who on account of their callings were dispensed with attending the campaign. If the people were unhappy, the royal family was still more so. Nothing is better known than the infamy to which the three sons of Philip the Fair subjected themselves at the same time, by accusing their wives of adultery in open court, who were thereupon all three ordered into close confinement. Lewis Hutin, the eldest of Philip's sons, strangled his wife Margaret of Bourdeaux. The gallants of those princesses were condemned to suffer a new kind of punishment, that of being dead alive.

After the death of Lewis Hutin (or 1316 Lewis X.) who, like his father, annexed Navarre to the crown of France; the public attention was wholly engrossed by the question concerning the Salic law. This king had left only one daughter, and it had never been examined in France, whether females had a right to inherit the crown. Laws are
always

always made for the present occasion. They had no knowledge at that time of the antient Salic laws; but had supplied the want of them by established customs, and these customs were perpetually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair, had adjudged the county of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next heir male. The succession of Champagne had been decided some times in favour of the females, and at other times taken from them. Philip the Fair possessed Champagne, wholly in right of his wife, by whom the princes of the family were excluded.

These examples shew us, that right varied with fortune, and that it was far from being a fundamental law of the state, to exclude the daughter from her father's throne. To say, with a number of authors, "that the French crown is so noble that it cannot admit of women," is in my opinion a puerile assertion, and to say with Mezeray, "that the weakness of their sex does not permit women to reign," is doubly unjust; besides the article of this antient law, which deprives the females of all right of inheritance in Salic land, seems to be founded on this, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public assemblies of the nation. Now a queen is not obliged to bear arms, the nation does it for her. Hence we may fairly infer, that the Salic law, in other respects so little known, related to the other fiefs, and not to the crown; and so little was it esteemed a law with respect to kings, that it was ranked under the head *de allodis* or of *allodials*. Besides, if this law was made by the ancient Salians, it must have been made before there were any kings of France,

and consequently could not relate to these kings*.

Again, it is beyond a doubt that there were several fiefs not subject to this law, and by a much stronger reason might it be said, that the crown ought not to be subject to it. These arguments were for some time maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the princess, daughter to Lewis X. and by several princesses of the blood. Lewis Hutin had two brothers, who within a short time succeeded one after another, the elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles at that time not thinking he was so near to the crown, opposed the Salic law out of jealousy to his brother.

Philip the Long took care to have it declared at a meeting of barons, prelates, and burghiers of Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. But had the opposite party prevailed, they would soon have enacted a quite contrary fundamental law.

This Philip who is known for little else than having excluded the bishops from a seat in parliament, died after a short reign, and left only daughters behind him. The Salic law was then confirmed the second time; and Charles the Fair,

* The particular expression on which the French found the exclusion of Females, is in the sixty-second article of the code containing the laws of the Ripuarians and Salians. It imports, that in Salic land, no portion of the inheritance descends to the females, but, being acquired by the males, they only are capable of the succession. In all probability the Salic land, to which this expression alludes, was no more than certain conquered estates held by knight's service, in contradistinction to other estates termed *allodial*, which might be acquired by descent, marriage, or purchase, without any exclusion of the female sex.

who

who had so strongly opposed it, succeeded to the crown without the least dispute, and excluded his brother's daughters.

Charles the Fair at his death left the same cause to be again decided. He had left his queen with child, and a regent was wanting to the kingdom. Edward III. pretended to the regency as grandson to Philip the Fair by the mother's side, and Philip of Valois took possession of it in quality of first prince of the blood; which was afterwards solemnly conferred upon him, and the queen being brought to bed of a daughter, he ascended the throne with the general consent of the nation. It appears then that this Salic law, by which all females were excluded from the crown, was a law of the heart, and had become a fundamental law by ancient and universal agreement. There are indeed no other, since all laws are made and abrogated by men. And can any one doubt that if ever it should happen that the blood royal of France should become wholly extinct, excepting in one princess, and she worthy of reigning, that the nation might not, and ought not to confer the crown on her?

At that time Philip of Valois had the surname of the *Fortunate* given him by the people; he might also for a while have been called the *Just* and the *Victorious*; for the count of Flanders, who was his vassal, having oppressed his subjects, they revolted against him, upon which Philip marched to the assistance of that prince, and when he had quelled the rebellion, he advised him "to take care not to cause any more revolts by his ill conduct."

He might moreover be called the *Fortunate*, when at Amiens he received the solemn homage yielded to him by Edward III. But this homage was soon followed by a war; Edward disputing the crown with Philip, after he had acknowledged himself his vassal.

A brewer of the city of Ghent was the principal promoter of this famous war, and the person who determined Edward to take the title of king of France. This brewer, whose name was James d'Artevelt *, was one of those subjects whom princes ought either to ruin or to keep fair with. The prodigious credit he had obtained among his countrymen made him a necessary instrument to Edward; but he would not exert this credit in behalf of the English monarch, unless he would take the title of king of France, in order to make an irreconcilable breach between the two kings. Edward and the brewer signed this treaty at Ghent long before hostilities had been commenced against France.

I shall spare myself the trouble of entering into a detail of wars, which are mostly alike, and confine myself to those things which serve to characterise the manners of the times: and here I must take notice, that Edward defied Philip de Valois to single combat, which the latter refused, saying, "It was not for a sovereign prince to fight with his vassal."

In the mean time, a new event happened, which seemed again to overturn the Salic law. Brittany, a fief of the crown of France, had

* Or Jacob Van Artevelt,

been lately adjudged by the court of peers to Charles of Blois, who had espoused the daughter of the last duke, and the count 1341 of Montfort, this duke's uncle, had been disinherited. The laws and private interest were here in contradiction. The king of France, who, one would think, should have maintained the Salic law in the count of Montfort's cause, sided with Charles of Blois; and the king of England, who ought to have supported the right of the females in Charles of Blois, declared in favour of the count of Montfort.

Upon this occasion, the war was renewed between France and England. At first Montfort is surprised in the city of Nantes, and carried prisoner to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre: his wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, was one of those heroines who so seldom make their appearance in the world, and from whom the fable of the Amazons was doubtless first invented. She presented herself to her husband's troops, holding her young son in her arms, with a sword in her hand, and a helmet on her head. She stoutly defended the town of Hannebon, and at length, with the assistance of the English fleet, she obliged the enemy to raise the siege.

While this was passing, the English and French parties carried on the war in Guienne, Brittany, and Normandy. At length was fought the bloody battle of Cressy, Aug. between Edward and Philip of Valois, 26, near the river Somme. Edward had 1346 with him his son, the prince of Wales,

called

called the Black Prince, on account of his brown armour, and a black plume of feathers he wore on his helmet. This young prince had almost the whole honour of the day. Some historians have attributed the defeat of the French to some pieces of cannon, which the English had provided themselves with on this occasion *. It had been upwards of ten or twelve years since the use of artillery had been introduced.

It has been a question, whether this invention, which originally came from the Chinese, was brought into Europe by the Arabians, who traffic on the Indian seas? I can hardly think it. It was a Benedictine monk, named Berthold Schwartz, who first discovered this fatal secret. Several however had approached pretty near to it before his time. Roger Bacon, who was likewise a priest, and of the same order, had a long time before taken notice of violent explosions, that might be produced from saltpetre pent up. But how happened it, that the French king had not cannon in his army, as well as the king of England? Or if the English had this superior advantage, why do all our historians throw the loss of the battle on the Genoese cross-bowmen, which Philip had in his pay? and whose bow-strings had been rendered useless by a sudden shower of rain; whilst those of the English archers were not the least wetted †? These historians however might have

* No English or French historian that we know, makes mention of any cannon on either side at this battle. Villani indeed takes notice of the circumstance, but in all probability he is mistaken.

† The English historians expressly say, that their archers kept their bows in cases, until the rain, or rather shower, was over.

With

with more justice observed, that a prince, who, like the king of France, hired Genoese archers, instead of training to discipline the people of his own nation, and who suffered his own army to want cannon, when that of the enemy was provided with them, did not deserve to conquer.

It is very strange, that, considering the total change the use of gun-powder must have wrought in the art of war, we have never been able to trace out the æra of this change. A nation that was able to procure a good train of artillery, must doubtless have been superior to all others. This was of all arts the most fatal; but, at the same time, that which required to be carried to the greatest perfection. And yet even in the time of Charles VIII. it still continued in its infancy; so prevalent are ancient customs and such the bar which indolence throws in the way of human industry. They did not know the use of artillery in ships till the time of Charles V. and lances continued to be the chief warlike weapons in most engagements till the latter end of the reign of Henry IV.

It is pretended, that at the battle of Cressy, the enemy had no more than 2500 horsemen in complete armour, and 40000 foot; and that the French had 40000 foot, and near 3000 men at arms. Those who are for making the loss still less on the side of the French, say, that their army did not amount in the whole to more than 20000 men*.

The

* The author must certainly be greatly mistaken in this account of the force of the two armies. The best historians inform

278 OF FRANCE and ENGLAND.

The count of Blois, who was one of the seeming causes of this war, was killed in this battle; and the following day the troops of the commons of the kingdom were likewise defeated. Edward, after two victories, obtained within two days, took the town of Calais, which the English remained in possession of 210 years.

This war, which was carried on at the same time in Guienne, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy, drained both France and England of men and money. And yet that was a very unfit time for ambition to display itself in the destruction of the human species; they should rather have united against a scourge of another kind. A terrible plague, which had
 1347 made the circuit of the world, and had
 and depopulated Asia and Africa, now made
 1348 dreadful havoc in Europe, and especially in France and England†.

Mezeray has said after others, that this plague came from China, and that there arose out of the

form us, that Philip divided his army into three distinct bodies, the first of which, commanded by John de Luxemburgh, the blind king of Bohemia, consisted of 3000 men at arms, 20000 infantry, and 15000 Genoese cross-bows. The second division, conducted by Charles, count of Alençon, was composed of 4000 men at arms, and 20000 infantry: and the third body, commanded by Philip in person, consisted of 12000 men at arms, and 50000 infantry; making in all 100000 horsemen, and 114000 foot. Whereas the English army did not consist at most of above 36000 men, viz. in the first line, commanded by the prince of Wales, there were 800 men at arms, 4000 archers, and 6000 infantry; in the second line, there were 3000 men at arms, 4000 halberdiers, and about 2000 archers: the third line, commanded by the king himself, was composed of 700 men at arms, 5300 bill-men, and 6000 archers.

† In the first six months of this plague (which lasted two years) 57000 persons are said to have died of it in the cities of Norwich and London,

earth,

earth, an inflammatory exhalation in the form of a globe of fire, which bursting, dispersed its infectious contents over the whole hemisphere. Methinks this is ascribing too fabulous an origin to so certain a calamity. In the first place, we have no instance of any such meteorical exhalations having ever caused the plague; and in the second place, the Chinese annals make no mention of any contagious distemper, except that in the year 1504. The plague, properly so called is a malady peculiar to the climate of the middle part of Africa, as the small-pox is to Arabia, and the poison which infects the springs of life, to the Caribbee islands. Every climate of this wretched globe, in which nature has every where blended the evil with the good, has its particular poisons. This plague, which made such havoc in the 14th century, resembled those which depopulated the world under the reign of Justinian, and in the time of Hippocrates; and during the continuance of this heavy scourge, king Edward and Philip of Valois sought only for the mastery over expiring subjects.

After a series of so many calamities, after the elements and the unbridled fury of ambitious men seemed to have combined to desolate the face of the earth, it is astonishing to see Europe in so flourishing a condition. The only resource left for mankind in those times of universal distress, were the towns which were beneath the notice of the great lords. There industry and commerce repaired in secret the evils, which the princes of the world perpetrated with so much noise and ostentation. England during the reign of Edward III. abundantly repaid herself the immense sums she had been obliged

280 OF FRANCE and ENGLAND.

obliged to lavish in support of her monarch's enterprizes. She found a market for her wool at Brussels, the inhabitants of which manufactured it. The Flemings likewise employed themselves in various manufactures. The Hanse Towns* formed a republic useful to mankind; and the arts maintained their footing in all the free and commercial cities of Italy. These arts only require to spread themselves and to encrease; and after the fury of the general storm is over, they transplant themselves as it were of their own accord, into those desolated countries which stand in need of them.

During this situation of affairs died 1350 Philip of Valois, far from carrying with him to his grave the title of Fortunate, tho' he had annexed Dauphiné to the kingdom of France. The last prince of this country having lost all his children, and being tired with the wars which he had maintained against Savoy, gave Dauphiné to the king of France, in 1349, and became a Dominican friar at Paris.

This Province, so named from one of its kings having taken a dolphin (in French called dauphin) for his arms, made a part of the kingdom of Arles, which was one of the imperial demesnes; so that the king of France became by this acquisition a feudatory to the emperor Charles IV. We know for certain, that the emperors always claimed a right of jurisdiction over this province, till the time of Maximilian I. and the German civilians insist

* The Hanse Towns, a well known confederacy of trading cities in different parts of Europe,

to this day, that it ought to depend as a fief on the empire. Its princes however think differently. In fact, nothing is more vain than researches of this nature; and they might as well assert, that the emperors have a claim to Egypt, because Augustus was once master of it.

Philip of Valois had also encreased his demesnes by the accession of the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which a king of Majorca, of the house of Arragon, had mortgaged to him for a sum of money, and which Charles VIII. restored again, without being reimbursed. He also made the acquisition of Montpellier, which has ever since continued in the house of France.

It may appear surprizing, that Philip, during so troublesome a reign, should have been able to purchase these provinces, besides paying so much money for Dauphiné. But the duties upon salt, which the people called Philip's Salic law, the augmentation of the taxes, and the frequent alteration of the coin, had enabled him to make these purchases, by which the state indeed became encreased, but was at the same time greatly impoverished; and although this prince had at first the appellation of Fortunate, his subjects had never the least claim to that title. And yet under the reign of his son John, they regretted even the times of Philip of Valois.

The most interesting affair with respect to the people, during this reign, was the law of writs of error, which the parliament gradually introduced, with the assistance of the attorney-general, Peter Cugnieres. The clergy made loud complaints against this act; but the king

con-

contented himself with winking at this new custom, and would not oppose a remedy, which added a fresh support to his authority, and the laws of the realm.

A writ of error, which is to be lodged in the courts of parliament of the kingdom, takes place upon cause of complaint for any unjust or insufficient sentence given by the ecclesiastical courts; any declaration which destroys the royal jurisdiction, or an opposition made to the pope's bull, which may be contrary to the rights of the king and kingdom.

This state remedy, or rather palliative medicine, was no other than a weak imitation of the famous statute of *premunire* *, enacted by the parliament of England, in the reign of Edward III. by which statute, every one who prosecuted a cause in an ecclesiastical court, which properly fell under the cognizance of the king's courts, was punished with imprisonment. The English have generally set an example to other nations in all matters relative to the liberties of the state.

* Edward III. in the 27th year of his reign, enacted a law against those who drew the subjects out of the realm, to prosecute causes that properly belonged to the king's court: but that law, which was known by the name of the statute of *premunire*, was made in the reign of Richard II. decreeing that the offenders should be put out of the king's protection, forfeit their lands and goods, and be imprisoned and ransomed at the king's pleasure.

C H A P. LXIV.

Of FRANCE, under King JOHN.

THIS reign proved still more unfortunate to France than the foregoing. John, who was surnamed the Good, began his reign with ordering the count d'Eu * his constable of France to be assassinated in his own palace. Soon after his cousin and son-in-law, the king of Navarre, ordered the new 1354 constable † to be murdered. This king of Navarre, Charles Petit, who was son to Lewis Hutin, and king of Navarre in his mother's right, and a prince of the blood by the father's side, was, as well as king John, one of the scourges of France, and well deserved the title of Charles the Bad.

The king, after having been obliged to pardon him in full parliament, caused 1355 him to be apprehended for a much smaller crime, and without any form of trial, ordered four of his friends to be beheaded. These dreadful executions were the consequences of a weak government, which produced cabals ;

* Raoul, count of Eu and Guynes, had been prisoner in England, from whence he was just returned. The king, being informed that he was concerned in some intrigues against the state, ordered him to be arrested and beheaded without form of trial.

† The king of Navarre, incensed to see the county of Angoulême, which he had begged of the king, given to Charles of Spain, constable of France, whom he looked upon as his mortal enemy, he way-laid and assassinated him at l'Aigle in Normandy.

these cabals brought on acts of the blackest revenge, which ended in a severe but untimely repentance.

John, being in want of money, had begun his reign with renewing the false coin which had been current in his father's time, and had threatened to put the officers entrusted with this secret to death. These abuses were at once the effects and proofs of a disastrous time: misfortunes and abuses produce at length salutary laws. France was for some time under the same kind of administration with its neighbouring kingdom England. The kings called a general assembly of the states; this assembly had been substituted in the place of the ancient parliaments of the kingdom. These general assemblies were exactly the same with the parliaments of England, being composed of nobles, bishops, and deputies from the several towns; and that which was called the new parliament, and sat at Paris, was nearly the same with the court of king's bench in London. The chancellor was the second officer of the crown in both kingdoms. In England he spoke for the king in the general assembly of the states, and had a right of superintendency over the court of king's bench*. He was the same

* The chancellor of England never had any right of superintendency over the king's bench, which is the *custos morum* of all the subjects in the realm, where the king is supposed to preside in person. Far from its being subordinate to chancery, it hath been held, that upon judgment given in that court, writ of error in some cases will lie returnable in the king's bench: nay, it hath been asserted, that a writ of error lies in the king's bench of an attainder before the lord high steward.

in France; and what proves beyond contradiction, that the administration was carried on upon the same principles, both at Paris and at London is, that the assembly of the states of France in 1355 enacted, and obliged king John to sign almost the same kind of regulations, nay almost the same kind of charter with that which the barons of England obliged their king John to subscribe. The supplies, the nature and term of these supplies, and the value of the species, were all regulated in this assembly. The king obliged himself not to compel the subject for the future, to furnish provision for his household unless paid for it; never to make any alteration in the coin, &c. &c. &c.

This assembly of the states in 1355, which was the most memorable of any ever held in France, has been taken the least notice of by our historians. Father Daniel only says, that it was held in the hall of the new court of parliament. But here it will be necessary to observe, that the parliament was not at that time perpetual, and had no place in this great assembly of the states. In fact, the provost of the merchants of Paris, being in virtue of his office the natural deputy of the first city in the kingdom, was speaker for the third state.

There is one essential point in history which has been passed over in silence: this is, that the states granted a supply of about 190,000 marks of silver for paying 30,000 gendarmes; this makes about nine millions five hundred thousand livres of our present money. These 30,000 gendarmes were part of an army of at least 80,000 men, to which the commons of the kingdom were also to be added, and at the expiration

287 OF FRANCE, under King JOHN.

expiration of the year another supply was to be provided for the maintenance of the same army. Lastly, we must observe that this great charter proved only a temporary regulation in France, whereas it was made an established law among the English.

At length the black prince, with a small, but formidable army, advanced as far as Poitiers, and ravaged all those territories which had formerly made part of the demesnes of his ancestors. King John, at the head of 60,000 armed men*, immediately flew to meet him; whereas had the French king declined coming to 1356 an engagement, it is obvious to every Sept. one, that he might have starved the whole English army.

If the black prince committed a fault in advancing too hastily, John was guilty of a much greater one in attacking him. This battle of Maupertuis or Poitiers greatly resembled that which had formerly been lost by Philip de Valois. There was order and discipline in the army of the black prince, whereas the French had only courage; and this was overcome by the superior courage of the English and Gascons who fought under the prince of Wales. We do not find it said that cannon was made use of by either army in this battle. The silence of writers in this respect leaves room to doubt whether there was any used at the battle of Cressy; or, at least, it proves that if there was, it had proved of very little effect, and upon that account they had discontinued the use of

* Besides infantry.

it: it may likewise serve to shew, how apt men are to slight advantageous discoveries on account of their novelty, and for the sake of adhering to an old established custom: or lastly, it is a tacit reflection on the negligence and inaccuracy of historical writers.

Most of the French knights were slain in this battle; the rest fled; and the king, being wounded in the face, was taken prisoner, with one of his sons. It is worthy of notice, that this monarch surrendered himself to one of his subjects * whom he had banished, and who on this occasion served against him in the enemy's army. The same thing happened to Francis I. †.

The black prince conducted his two royal captives to Bourdeaux, and from thence they were conveyed to London. It is well known that upon this occasion he behaved with the utmost tenderness and respect to the king of France. His moderation added new lustre to the glory he had acquired by his valour. He made his entrance into London upon a little black horse, and rode on the left hand of his prisoner, who was mounted on a horse of remarkable beauty, and ornamented with the richest trappings.

The king's confinement proved the signal of a civil war in Paris; every one was immediately for forming a party. Factions are generally

* Named Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, who, coming up to him when he was deserted by all his followers, exhorted him to yield: upon which John threw his gauntlet to him in signal of surrender.

† At the battle of Pavia.

established upon the pretext of reformation. Charles, the dauphin of France, who was afterwards the wise king Charles V. was declared regent of the kingdom; but it was only to see almost the whole kingdom revolt against him.

Paris at that time was become a formidable city, for it contained 50000 men able to bear arms. On this occasion they first invented the use of chains in the streets, which served for intrenchments against the revolters. Charles the dauphin, now found himself obliged to release the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined in prison. This was in fact letting loose an enemy against himself. The king of

Navarre arrives at Paris, and arrives to
1357 blow the coals of sedition. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, enters the Louvre, at the head of the malecontents, where he causes Robert de Clermont, marechal of France, together with the marechal of Champagne to be massacred before the dauphin's eyes. In the mean time the peasants assemble from all parts, and in the hurry of the tumult fall upon all the gentlemen they meet with in their way, treating them as revolted slaves may be supposed to treat those severe masters who happen to fall into their hands, revenging themselves upon them by a thousand cruel punishments for the meanness of their condition, and the miseries they had suffered; and they even carried their brutal fury so far as to roast a nobleman in his castle, and to compel his wife and daughters to eat the flesh.

During these commotions in the state, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown. And the dauphin and he waged war with one another, which

which ended only in a dissembled peace. In this manner was the unhappy kingdom rent in pieces, for the space of four years, after the battle of Poitiers. How comes it that Edward and his son did not take advantage of their victory, and the misfortunes of the conquered? It seems as if the English were afraid their prince should grow too powerful, and therefore were tardy in their supplies. Thus Edward was treating about the ransom of his prisoner, while the Black Prince was concluding a truce*.

It is evident to me that there were faults committed on all sides. But I cannot comprehend why all our historians should have been weak enough to assert, that Edward III. being come into France to reap the fruits of the two victories of Cressly and Poitiers, and being advanced within a few leagues of 1360 Paris, was on a sudden struck with an holy pannic, occasioned by a violent shower of rain, and that falling upon his knees, he made a vow to the holy Virgin, to grant the French terms of peace. When was it ever known that a shower of rain determined the wills of conquerors, or the fate of nations? If Edward III. did make any vow to the Virgin Mary, it was doubtless such an one as was for his own advantage; for he demanded for the king's ransom, Poitou, Saintonge, Agenois, Perigord,

* This truce was mediated at Bourdeaux, by the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital, whom pope Innocent VI. had sent thither for that purpose. We must not imagine that the conduct of princes is always influenced by matters of policy. They, as well as individuals, have their passions, their prejudices, their fears, and their weaknesses.

Limoufin, Quercy, Angoumois, Rouvergue, and all that he had possessed himself of in the neighbourhood of Calais; the whole in full sovereignty. I am surprized that he did not at the same time insist upon Normandy and Anjou, his antient patrimony. He further demanded the sum of three millions of gold crowns.

Edward by this treaty, ceded to John the title of king of France, together with all his rights to Normandy, Touraine, and Anjou. It is certain, that the antient demesnes which the kings of England had formerly possessed in France, were much more considerable than what was yielded to Edward by this treaty; and nevertheless this was a fourth part of the kingdom.

At length John was released from his four years confinement in the Tower of London, upon delivering up his brother, and two of his sons as hostages. One of the greatest difficulties was to raise the money for his ransom. He was to pay 600,000 gold crowns for the first payment, and he well knew that France was so impoverished, that she could not raise that sum. In this exigence he was obliged to recal the Jews, and to sell them the privilege of living and trading in the country. The king himself was obliged to pay for the necessaries of his household, with leathern money, in the middle of which there was a little silver nail. The poverty and misfortunes of this prince stripped him of all authority, and his kingdom of all good government.

The soldiers who were disbanded, and the peasants who had in the late troubles learnt something of the art of war, formed themselves into parties in the different provinces, but especially beyond the

the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of "The friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow named John de Gouge, a burgher of Sens, caused himself to be declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief to the kingdom by his depredations, as the true king had done by his misfortunes. In fine, what is most surprising, the king, in the midst of this general desolation, made a journey to Avignon, where the popes then resided, to revive the antient projects of the Crusades.

A king of Cyprus had lately come to solicit this expedition against the Turks, who already began to spread themselves over Europe. Probably king John was only desirous to leave his native country; but instead of undertaking this ridiculous voyage against the Turks, finding himself unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom to the English, he returned to London, to surrender himself up as hostage in the room of his brother and his children. 1363 There he died, and his ransom was never paid. To complete his humiliation, it is said that his sole motive for returning to England, was to see a woman whom he had fallen in love with at the age of fifty-six.

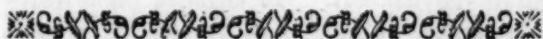
Brittany, which had been the cause of this war, was abandoned to its fate. The count of Blois, and the count of Montfort, disputed this province with each other. Montfort, who was just returned from his confinement at Paris, and Blois from his at London, decided their quarrel in a pitched battle fought near 1364 Avray; when the fortune of the English again prevailed, and the count of Blois was slain.

These times of ignorance, sedition, rapine, and murder, were however those in which chivalry shone in its greatest lustre. As this institution served in some measure to counter-balance the general brutality of manners, we shall consider it apart. Honour and generosity, joined with gallantry, were its fundamental principles. The most celebrated feat of arms in the annals of chivalry, is the combat between thirty Bretons against twenty English, six Bretons and four Germans, which happened at the time that the countess of Blois, in the name of her deceased husband; and Montfort's widow, in the name of her son, carried on war against each other in Brittany, in the year 1351. This famous combat was concerning a point of honour, and took its rise at a conference held about a treaty of peace. At this meeting, instead of deliberating upon the matter in hand, both sides began to brave each other; and Beaumanoir, who was the chief of the Bretons that were for the countess of Blois, proposed a combat, to decide who had the handsomest mistress. Accordingly, the challenge being accepted, the combatants, to the number of sixty, met upon a spot of ground enclosed for the purpose. Of the sixty combatants, there were five knights only killed, one on the side of the Bretons, and four of the English. This confirms a remark we have already made, namely, that the complete armour of those times rendered the wearer in a manner invulnerable, and that it was much easier to throw a knight to the ground, than to kill him when he was fallen*.

* See Chap. XXVIII. Vol. I.

But all these feats of arms were of no real service; for they neither contributed to the better disciplining the troops, nor remedied the abuses of an almost savage administration. Had the Pauli-Æmilii and the Scipios of Rome fought hand to hand with their enemy, to determine who had the handsomest mistress, the Romans would never have been the conquerors and law-givers of the world.

At the time when Charles V. surnamed the Wise, came to the crown of France, he found the kingdom in a most exhausted and desolate condition, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to patience, to intrigues, and to negotiations, as the most effectual means of repairing the mischiefs which had been caused by his father's misfortunes. But the Black Prince, now absolute master of Guyenne, which his father Edward had bestowed on him in full sovereignty, as a reward for his valour, soon added new laurels to those he had already won in the fields of Cressy and Poitiers.



CHAP. LXV.

Of the BLACK PRINCE.

Of Don PEDRO the Cruel, king of Castille,
and of the Constable Du GUSCLIN.

THE kingdom of Castille was almost in as miserable a condition as France. Peter or Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, sat upon the throne, whom historians have represented

as a merciless tyger, that thirsted after human blood, and even felt a ferocious joy in spilling it. I dare affirm, that there does not exist such a character in nature. Sanguinary men are only such in the transports of revenge, or in the severity of that horrid policy, which considers cruelty as a necessary measure; but no man ever spills blood merely for his pleasure*.

This prince ascended the throne of Castille a minor, and under a very unfavourable circumstance. His father, Alphonso XI. had had seven bastards by his mistress, Eleonora de Gusman: these bastards had such powerful settlements left them, that they defied the royal authority; and their mother, who had still more power than they, insulted the queen-dowager. In short, the kingdom of Castille was divided into two parties, one of which sided with the queen-mother, and the other with Eleonora de Gusman; so that when the young king came of age, he found himself obliged to maintain a civil war against the faction of the bastards. He engaged them in several battles, proved victorious, and at last put Eleonora to death, to satisfy his mother's revenge †. Thus far he might be termed valiant, but

* It were to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that our author's assertion was true; but we cannot see why a brutal disposition may not be as much delighted with human carnage, as with bear or bull-baiting. Witness the pleasure which even the Romans took, in the combats of the gladiators and prisoners, the pastime of a Nero, a Caligula, a Heliogabalus, and, almost in our days, of Muley Ishmael, tyrant of Morocco, who used to slay his innocent subjects with his own hand, in the way of common exercise and diversion.

† Eleonora was perfidiously murdered at Talavera, in violation of the public faith, before any civil war was excited. Immediately

but too severe. He afterwards espoused Blanche of Bourbon, and the first news 1351 he heard concerning his wife, upon her arrival at Valladolid, was that she had fallen in love with the grand master of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who had waged war against him. I am sensible, that intrigues of this nature are seldom authenticated by proofs, and that a prudent king ought rather to pretend ignorance in such matters, than blindly follow the dictates of revenge; but after all, the king was excusable, since there is to this day a family in Spain, which boasts of being descended from this adulterous commerce.

Queen Blanche had at least the imprudence to enter into too close a connection with the faction of the bastards, her husband's enemies. Can we then be surprised, that the king left her in a castle, and consoled himself with other amours?

Don Pedro therefore had, at the same time, the king of Arragon and his rebellious brothers

mediately after this cruel assassination, he repaired to Burgos, and sent for Garcilasso de la Vega, who no sooner entered the palace, than Pedro caused him to be dispatched, and his body thrown into the street. His own brother, Don Frederic, was butchered in his presence, in the hall of the palace at Seville, and he dined in the same room, before the body was removed. His other brother, Don Tello, was destined to the same fate, but escaped. His cousin, Don Juan of Arragon, was stabbed in his presence at Bilbao, and the body was thrown out of a window, from whence Pedro insulted it, in the hearing of the populace: This nobleman's widow he poisoned, and his own aunt, the queen-dowager of Arragon, he put to death. He sacrificed his own queen, Donna Blanca, a princess of the most amiable character; and embued his hands in so many murders, that he seems to have been destitute of all sentiments of humanity.

to encounter : Victory however still followed him, and it must be confessed, he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave, and his relations, who were found in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment. In short, he ordered the grand master of St. Jago to be put to death. This action procured him the name of Cruel, while John, king of France, who had assassinated his constable, and four Norman lords, was called John the Good.

During these troubles, his wife Blanche died. She had been judged culpable, and of course it was said she died by poison. But let me once more observe, that we should be cautious how we give credit to a charge of this nature, without sufficient proof.

It was doubtless the interest of the king's enemies, to spread a report about Europe of his having poisoned his wife. Henry de Trastamare, one of the bastards, who had the death of a mother and a brother to revenge, and what was still more, his own interest to support, took advantage of this conjuncture. France was at time infested by those united banditti, called Malandrini *, who did all the mischief which

* This is the name given in Spanish romances to robbers and ruffians. The *Malandrini* here mentioned were freebooting companies, formed of the soldiers who had been disbanded at the peace. A great number of them were English ; Sir Hugh de Calverly and Sir Matthew Gournay were two of their principal chieftains. They engaged with du Guesclin in a formal treaty, stipulating that they should receive a certain consideration in money from the king of France and the pope ; that his holiness should absolve them from the censures they had incurred ; that du Guesclin should be their commander ; and that

which Edward of England had not been able to do. This Henry de Trastamare entered into a treaty with Charles V. to rid France of those freebooters, by taking them into his service. The king of Arragon, always an enemy to the sovereign of Castille, promised to grant them a free passage through his dominions. Bertrand du Guesclin, a knight of great reputation, who only sought for an opportunity to signalize himself, engaged the Malandrins to acknowledge him as their chief, and follow him into Castille. This enterprize of du Guesclin has been considered as an holy action, which he performed, as he himself acknowledged, for the good of his soul. The holiness of this action consisted in leading a band of robbers, to assist a rebel against his lawful, though cruel sovereign.

It is well known, that du Guesclin, in passing by Avignon, being in want of money to pay his troops, obliged the pope to give him a large sum for the safety of himself and his court. This was at that time a necessary extortion, but I dare not mention the name which would have been given it, had it not been done by one, who commanded a troop that might pass for a little army.

The bastard Henry, assisted by these troops, which had increased in their 1366 march, and likewise supported by the king of Arragon, began, by causing himself

that they should not be desired to serve against the prince of Wales, whom they adored. It was because the pope delayed the payment of the sum he had promised, that they afterwards laid him under contribution.

to be proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. Don Pedro, finding himself thus attacked by the French, applied for assistance to the Black Prince, their conqueror. This prince, who was sovereign of Guyenne, and consequently must have beheld with a jealous eye, any success of the French arms in Spain, determined by interest and honour, espoused the justest side, and marched to the assistance of Pedro, with his Gascons and some English; and soon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarette, the bloody battle which is called by that name, between Don Pedro and the Black Prince on the one side, and Henry de Trastamare and the constable du Guesclin on the other. This battle proved more glorious to the Black Prince, than even those of Cressy and Poitiers had done; because here the field was longer disputed. In a word, his victory was complete; for he took Bertrand du Guesclin* and the marechal d'Andrehen prisoners, who would surrender to no one but him.

Henry de Trastamare, after the loss of this battle, was obliged to fly into Arragon; and the Black Prince resettled Don Pedro on the throne. Don Pedro, on this occasion, exerted the unhappy right of revenge in its full extent, and treated several of the rebels with all that severity, which the laws of government authorize under the name of justice. The
 1368 Black Prince, who had the glory of restoring him to his crown, had also that of put-

* It must be observed, however, that by this time the freebooting companies had revolted to the Black Prince,

ting a stop to his cruelties †: and indeed this prince is, next to Alfred, the hero whom the English hold most in veneration.

As soon as the supporter of Don Pedro was withdrawn, and Bertrand du Guesclin had paid his ransom, the bastard of Traстамare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Guesclin, at the private instigation of the French king, Charles V. began to raise new troops.

The count de Traстамare had, on his side, Arragon, the rebels of Castille, and the succours of France; while not only the greater part of the Castillians, but also Portugal, and the Moors of Spain, declared for Don Pedro, who only gained fresh odium by these new allies, without reaping much real service from them.

Henry and du Guesclin, having no longer the superior genius and fortune of the Black prince to encounter, gained a complete victory over Pedro, in the neighbourhood of Toledo; who, after this defeat, retired 1368 for safety to a castle, where he was soon besieged by the victors, and, endeavouring to make his escape, was taken prisoner by a French gentleman, named le Begue de Vilaines. Being conducted to this knight's tent, the first object which met his eyes was the count de Traстамare. It is said that, transported with rage at this sight, he slew, disarmed as he was, upon him,

† All the prisoners taken in this battle would have been put to death, had not the prince of Wales interceded warmly in their behalf with Don Pedro, who was prevailed upon to be reconciled to them, and to publish a general amnesty to all his subjects,

300 OF FRANCE and ENGLAND.

and this brother (so far is the truth) with a poniard he held in his hand, instantly put an end to his life.

Thus perished Don Pedro, at the age of thirty-four ; and with him ended the Castillian race. His mortal foe succeeded him in the throne, without any other right than that of murder : And from him descended the kings of Castille, who afterwards reigned in Spain, till the sceptre of that kingdom was transferred to the house of Austria, by the marriage of queen Joan of Castille with Philip the Handsome, father to the famous Charles the Fifth.



C H A P. LXVI.

OF FRANCE and ENGLAND;
during the REIGN of CHARLES V.

THE policy of Charles V. saved France from ruin ; and the necessity of weakening the conquerors, Edward III. and his son the Black Prince, gave a shew of justice to his procedure. He took advantage of the father's old age, and the son's ill state of health, who was afflicted with a dropsy, of which he died in 1371. His first step was to sow division between the Black Prince, sovereign of Guyenne, and his vassals ; he eluded the performance of his treaties, and refused to pay the remainder of his father's ransom, under various plausible pretences. He entered into connections with the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, who had so many large possessions in France ; he like-

likewise stirred up the new king of Scotland, Robert Stuart, against the English; he restored order and regularity in the finances, and made the people contribute to the necessary supplies, without murmuring; in fine, without stirring out of his cabinet, he found means to have as much success as king Edward, who had crossed the sea, and gained such signal victories.

As soon as he perceived all the springs of his political machine well secured, and in readiness for action, he struck one of those bold strokes, which might pass for rashness in politics, if not justified by well concerted measures, and a successful issue. He sent a knight and a judge of Toulouse, to summon the Black Prince to appear before him in the court of peers, to give an account of his conduct*.

* This step was not taken but at the express desire of the Gascon lords, who were by this time quite alienated from the prince of Wales, on account of the severe impositions he laid upon them; and his flagrant partiality to the English, in the distribution of his favours. But our author is mistaken in saying, the English were now defeated in every battle. So long as the Black Prince remained in that country, the French durst not appear in the field, even when he was reduced to extremity, by an incurable distemper. After his return to England, divers advantages were gained over the French by John de Chandos, Sir Hugh de Calverly, Sir Robert Knolles, and other English commanders. True it is, lord Grandison was taken, in consequence of his own imprudence, on the borders of Le Maine; but Bertrand du Guesclin had very little to boast of, until one Owen, a Welch renegade in the service of France, surprised the person of John de Grailly, Captal de Buche, the great rival of Bertrand du Guesclin. The Captal was conveyed to Paris, and confined to close prison, because he would not engage in the service of France, in violation of his allegiance to the Black Prince, whom he loved to such a degree, that he would not survive him; but broke his heart in confinement soon after the death of Edward.

This.

302 Of FRANCE and ENGLAND.

This was acting as sovereign judge of the conqueror of his father and grandfather, who was still in possession of Guyenne, and the circumjacent territories, in absolute sovereignty, by right of conquest, and the most solemn treaty. For he not only summoned the 1370 prince as his subject, but an arret of parliament was likewise issued, confiscating the province of Guyenne, and all the places that appertained to the English in France. The custom of those times was to declare war by an herald at arms ; but on this occasion, one of the king's domestic servants was sent to London, to perform the ceremony. A plain proof that Edward was no longer in a situation to be feared.

The irregularity of these proceedings was in some measure dignified by the valour and abilities of Bertrand du Guesclin, now become constable of France, and more especially by the good order which Charles had established throughout his whole kingdom, which proved the truth of this maxim in public affairs, that "where the profit is, there is the glory."

The Black Prince who was every day declining in his health, was no longer able to take the field : his father could send him but very weak supplies, and the English, who had before been every where victorious, were now beaten on all sides. Bertrand du Guesclin, though he did not obtain such signal victories as those of Cressy and Poitiers, made exactly such a campaign, as that by which in these latter times, Marechal Turenne gained the character

rafter of the greateft general in Europe. He fell upon the Englifh, fettled about 1370 Maine and Avignon, defeated all their parties, one after the other, and with his own hand took their general, Grandifon, prifoner. He reduced Poitou and Saintonge to the French dominions, and took all the towns belonging to the Englifh, either by force of arms, or intrigues. The very feafons themfelves feemed to fight for Charles. A formidable fleet of Englifh fhips, which was deftined to make a defcent upon the coafts of France, were feveral times put back by contrary winds; and temporary truces, artfully managed, prepared the way for future fuccesses.

Charles V. who, twenty years before, had not money fufficient to pay his guards, now faw himfelf mafter of five armies, and a fine fleet. His fhips of war infulted the Englifh on their own coafts, landing troops, and ravaging the country, while England, who had now loft her warrior king, fate tame fpectatrefs of thefe infults. She had now nothing left in France, but the city of Bourdeaux, Calais, and a few other fortified towns.

About this time alfo, France loft her Bertrand du Guefclin. Every one knows 1380 what honours his fovereign paid to his memory. He was the firft, I think, that had a funeral oration pronounced in his praife, and none but himfelf and marechal Turenne, were ever interred in the church defigned for the burying - place of the kings of France. His body was carried to the grave with the fame ceremonies as thofe of crowned heads, and was followed by four princes of the blood; his
horses,

horses, agreeable to the customs of those times were presented, in the church, to the bishop who performed the funeral service, who laid his hand upon them, and blessed them. These circumstances are of no further importance, than as they serve to shew the spirit of chivalry, since the regard and veneration paid to great knights, who had rendered themselves famous by their feats in arms, extended even to the horses who fought under them in battle.

Charles V. did not long survive 1380 du Guesclin. He is said to have died by a slow poison, which had been given him ten years before, and put a period to his life at the age of forty-four, as if there were any aliments in nature that could deprive people of life at the expiration of a certain time. It is undoubtedly true, that when a poison is not strong enough to produce instant death, it will leave a weakness and languor in the body, the same as every violent disease; but it is far from being true, that it will produce those slow effects, which are by the vulgar deemed inevitable. The real poison which dispatched Charles V. was a bad constitution.

No one is ignorant of the wise ordinance published by this prince, wherein the time of a king of France coming of age, was fixed at fourteen. This wise ordinance, which however proved insufficient to prevent the subsequent troubles, was enrolled at a bed of justice held in 1374.

Charles was desirous, by this ordinance, to eradicate the ancient abuse of private wars between the lords, an abuse which had hitherto passed as a law of the state, and which, as soon

as

as he came to be master, he took care to prohibit it, and even forbid the wearing arms ; but this was one of those laws which it was impossible at that time to put in execution.

The treasures which he amassed during his reign are said to have amounted to the sum of seventeen millions of livres of the money then current. It is certain that he had accumulated great riches, and that all the fruits of his œconomy were dissipated by his brother, the duke of Anjou, in the unfortunate expedition to Naples, of which I have already spoken *.

After the decease of Edward III. the conqueror of France, and of Charles V. the restorer of that kingdom, it was plainly seen, that the superiority of a nation depends wholly upon those who are at the helm of government.

Richard II. son to the black prince, succeeded his grandfather Edward III. at the age of eleven ; and, some time after, Charles VI. came to the crown of France at the age of twelve. These two minorities proved both unhappy ; but England had the first and greatest reason to complain.

We have seen the frenzy and madness which possessed the peasants of France under king John †, and how cruelly they revenged the state of slavery they had been in, and the miseries they had suffered, upon those gentlemen who had in fact been their oppressors : the same madness seized the English ; and the war

* See chap. LVII.

† See chap. LXIV.

of Rome with the slaves seemed revived in this country. A tiler * and a priest did as much mischief to England as the quarrels between the king and parliament are capable of producing in that kingdom. These two incendiaries assembled the people of three counties †, and easily found means to persuade them that the rich had long enough enjoyed the goods of this world, and that it was now time for the poor to take their revenge. They led them directly to London, plundered a part of the city, and caused the archbishop of Canterbury and the high-treasurer to be beheaded. It is true that this madness ended in the deaths of the chiefs, and the total dispersion of the mutineers : but these state-storms, which were become common in Europe, sufficiently shew what kind of government prevailed at that time ‡. They were as yet unacquainted with the true end of politics, which consists in subjecting all degrees and orders, in a state, to the public good.

It may be also said, that the English at that time did not better understand the limits of

* M. de Voltaire seems in this place to have mistaken the proper name of the chief of these insurgents, for that of his trade or calling.

† Kent, Essex, and Hertfordshire.

‡ He alludes to the insurrections of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, which were indeed desperate efforts of ignorant plebeians, to emerge from villenage or slavery. Every body knows they were excited to rebellion by one John Bull, a fanatic priest, who enflamed them with sermons and circular letters couched in quaint mysterious rhimes, extremely well calculated to work up the minds of ignorant rustics to fury and enthusiasm. Tyler, after having done abundance of mischief, was slain in Smithfield at the head of his rabble, by Walworth, mayor of London, and others. Straw and Bull were afterwards executed as traitors,

their

their kings prerogatives, nor of the privileges of their parliaments. Richard II. at the age of eighteen, aimed at being despotic, and his subjects wanted to be free. This soon produced a civil war. In other countries a civil war almost always proves fatal to the malcontents, but in England the king generally smarts for it. Richard, after having maintained a ten years contest with his subjects, about authority, saw himself at length abandoned even by his own party. His cousin, the duke of Lancaster, grandson to the late Edward III. and who had a long time been banished out of the kingdom, returned back with only three ships. Indeed he stood in need of no greater assistance; for, the instant he arrived, the whole nation declared for him; and Richard only requested that they would grant him his life and a pension for his subsistence.

A parliament was called, in which this prince was solemnly deposed, and confined to the Tower, from whence he sent the duke of Lancaster the ensigns of royalty, together with a writing, signed by his own hand, in which he acknowledged himself altogether unqualified to reign, as indeed he was, since mean enough to subscribe such a declaration. 1399

Thus did this one century behold two kings of England, Edward II. and Richard II. the emperor Winceslaus, and pope John XXIII. all four tried, condemned, and deposed, in the most solemn manner, and with all the formalities of justice.

The English parliament, having deposed their king, issued a decree, importing, that, in
case

case of any attempt being made to restore him, he should be adjudged worthy of death. Accordingly, upon the first rising that was made in his favour, eight ruffians went and 1400 assassinated the unhappy monarch in his prison. But Richard defended his life better than he had done his throne. He wrested a pole-ax from one of the assassins, with which he laid four of the number dead at his feet before he fell himself. The duke of Lancaster now ascended the throne, by the name of Henry IV. during whose reign England neither enjoyed tranquility, nor was in a capacity to undertake any thing against France: but his son Henry V. brought about the greatest revolution that had happened since the time of Charlemagne.

The END of VOL. II.

Erratum in Vol. I.

Page 31, Line 30: For courtiers, read brokers.

The mean of January
48

Quelques jours de
retablissement. 17

Municipal Gov. of Cities &
Boroughs

Henry 1st. one hundred
by weight, & in bag?

52

12th conception

54

John King of England

54

Magna Charta 1215

Barons had claimed through
the first of kings with the
help of their feudal
vassals. 58

Gregory's constitution

66

Origin of the Turks. 76

Me



Miller. inv. et fecit

14 Adic

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBURY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

W. O. R. K. S.

79

ALDE VOLTAIRE

THE END OF THE LINE

CONTENTS.

	C H A P. LXVII.	
O F King Charles VI. of France, and the invasion of that kingdom by Henry V. king of England		1
	C H A P. LXVIII.	
Of France, in the time of Charles VII.		15
	C H A P. LXIX.	
Of manners, customs, arts, and sciences, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries		25
	C H A P. LXX.	
Infranchisements, privileges of towns, general estates		49
	C H A P. LXXI.	
Of taxes and coins		53
	C H A P. LXXII.	
Of the parliament till the reign of Charles VII.		58
	C H A P. LXXIII.	
Of the council of Basle, held in the time of Charles VII.		65
	C H A P. LXXIV.	
The fall of the Greek empire		74
	C H A P. LXXV.	
Of Tamerlane		79
	C H A P. LXXVI.	
Continuation of the history of the Turks and Greeks till the taking of Constantinople		89
	C H A P. LXXVII.	
Of Scanderbeg		94
	C H A P. LXXVIII.	
Of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks		97
	C H A P. LXXIX.	
The progress of the Turks		109
	C H A P. LXXX.	
Of Lewis XI. king of France		123
	C H A P. LXXXI.	
Of Burgundy and the Swiss nation, in the time of Lewis XI. in the fifteenth century		135
	C H A P. LXXXII.	
Of chivalry		141
	C H A P. LXXXIII.	
Of the feudal government in the fifteenth century, after the death of Lewis XI.		146
	C H A P. LXXXIV.	
Of Charles VIII. and of the state of Europe when that prince undertook the conquest of Naples		152
	C H A P.	

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. LXXXV.	
<i>The state of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century</i>	156
C H A P. LXXXVI.	
<i>Of the conquest of Naples. Of Zizim, brother to Bajazet II. Of pope Alexander VI. &c.</i>	176
C H A P. LXXXVII.	
<i>Of Savonarala</i>	185
C H A P. LXXXVIII.	
<i>Of Pico de la Mirandola</i>	188
C H A P. LXXXIX.	
<i>Of pope Alexander VI. and Lewis XII. of France</i>	193
C H A P. XC.	
<i>The villainies of the family of Alexander VI. and of Caesar Borgia. Sequel of affairs between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. Death of pope Alexander</i>	201
C H A P. XCI.	
<i>Sequel of the political concerns of Lewis XII.</i>	208
C H A P. XCII.	
<i>Of the league of Cambray, and its consequences. Of pope Julius II. &c.</i>	211
C H A P. XCIII.	
<i>Sequel of the affairs of Lewis XII. of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Henry VIII. king of England</i>	221
C H A P. XCIV.	
<i>Of England, and the troubles in that kingdom, after its invasion of France. Of Margaret of Anjou, wife to Henry VI. &c.</i>	226
C H A P. XCV.	
<i>Of Edward IV. Of Margaret of Anjou, and of the murder of Henry VI.</i>	235
C H A P. XCVI.	
<i>Sequel of the troubles of England, during the reigns of Edward IV. the tyrant Richard III. and to the latter part of the reign of Henry VII.</i>	240
C H A P. XCVII.	
<i>A general view of the sixteenth century</i>	249
C H A P. XCVIII.	
<i>State of Europe in the time of Charles V. of Muscovy, or Russia. A digression concerning Lapland</i>	254
C H A P. XCIX.	
<i>Of Germany and the empire</i>	283
C H A P. C.	
<i>Customs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the state of the liberal arts</i>	293



IV [1] 10

A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. LXVII.

Of King CHARLES VI. of FRANCE, and the
invasion of that kingdom by HENRY V.
King of England.

PART of the care which Charles V. had taken to re-establish France, proved the means of hastening its subversion. The immense treasures he had amassed were dissipated, and the taxes he imposed had alienated the minds of his people. It has been observed, that this prince expended fifteen hundred marks of gold annually for the maintenance of his household; and his brothers, who were regents of the kingdom during the minority of Charles VI. who came to the crown before he was thirteen, expended upwards of seven thousand, and yet that prince was almost in want of

VOL. III. B com-

common necessities. These minute details are not to be slighted, since they frequently prove the secret springs of ruin in most states, as well as in private families.

Lewis of Anjou, one of the uncles of Charles VI. and the same who had been adopted by Joan I. queen of Naples, not satisfied with having embezzled his pupil's treasure, loaded the people with exactions. Paris, Rouen, and most of the cities rose up in arms; and the same fury which afterwards raged to the destruction of Paris in the time of the league in the minority of Lewis XIV. appeared under Charles VI. The public and private punishments inflicted on this occasion, were as cruel as the insurrection had been outrageous. The great papal schism which prevailed at that time, and of which we have already treated †, contributed to increase their disorders. The popes of Avignon, who were acknowledged by the French court, completed the impoverishment of this kingdom by all the arts which avarice could invent, under the disguise of religion. The people however flattered themselves that when the king came of age he would make amends for all these evils by a more happy government.

He had in person revenged the count of Flanders, his vassal, on the rebellious Flemings, whom the English still continued to support; and took advantage of the troubles which
1384 distracted that unhappy island under the reign of Richard II. He likewise fitted out a fleet of twelve hundred ships, to make a descent

† See chap. lix.

upon the English coast. This prodigious number of ships is by no means incredible; St. Lewis had a much larger fleet. It is true they were only vessels for transporting the troops over; but the ease with which they equipped these large fleets plainly shews, that they had a much greater quantity of timber for building than we have at present, and that they were not deficient in point of industry. The jealousy which prevailed at that time between the king's uncles put a stop to the sailing of this fleet; and at last it only served as a proof of the resources France might have been provided with under a good administration, since, notwithstanding the great quantity of money which the duke of Anjou carried out of the kingdom with him in his unhappy expedition to Naples, it was still able to undertake such great enterprises.

At length there seemed to be some respite of the confusions which had perplexed the kingdom. The king set out for Brittany to chastise the duke, of whom France had so much reason to complain; when unfortunately, at this very juncture, he was seized with a terrible frenzy. This distemper began with a drowsiness, followed by a loss of understanding, and ending at length in a fit of madness. When he was first seized with this fit, he killed four men, and continued striking every one about him, till at length, exhausted by these convulsive motions, he fell into a deep lethargy.

I am not in the least surprised that all France thought him poisoned and bewitched. There have been instances even in this present age, notwithstanding its improvements in knowledge, of popular prejudices altogether as unjust. His

brother, the duke of Orleans, had married Valentina of Milan; and she was accused of having been the cause of the king's misfortune, which proves that the French, who were at that time very ignorant, thought the Italians had more knowledge than themselves. This suspicion was sometime afterwards increased by an adventure entirely agreeable to the rudeness of those times.

There was a masquerade at court, in 1393 which the king appeared in the dress of a satyr, dragging four other satyrs after him in chains. Their dresses were made of linen, daubed over with rosin, to which they had fastened cords of flax and hemp. The duke of Orleans unfortunately thrust his torch against one of those habits, which took fire in an instant. The four lords, who were the four satyrs in the masque, were burnt, and the king's life was with great difficulty preserved by the happy presence of mind of his sister-in-law, the dutchess of Berry, who wrapped him all over in her mantua. This accident caused a return of one of his fits; from which he might probably have been relieved by immediate bleeding, bathing, and a proper regimen; but, instead of that, they sent for a forcerer from Montpellier. The forcerer came; and the king appeared a little better, which was instantly ascribed to the power of magic. But, by frequent relapses, the disorder was rendered so inveterate as to become incurable. To compleat the misfortune of France, the king had some intervals of sanity, otherwise they might have provided for the government of the kingdom; thus the little share

share of reason he enjoyed, proved more fatal than even his fits: the estates were never assembled, nor was the least regulation made in the public administration. The king still continued king, entrusting his despised authority and the care of his person sometimes to his brother and at other times to his uncles the dukes of Burgundy and Berry. It was still a farther addition to the misfortunes of the state, that these princes had very considerable inheritances in the kingdom; in course Paris became the theatre of a civil war, sometimes privately, sometimes openly carried on. Factions prevailed every where, and even the very university pretended to a share in the government.

Every body knows that John duke of Burgundy caused his cousin, the duke of ¹⁴⁰⁷ Orleans to be assassinated in the *rue Barbette* *. The king had neither understanding nor power enough to bring the aggressor to justice. However, the duke of Burgundy thought it necessary to take out letters of grace, after which he came to court, and triumphed in his crime. He assembled all the princes and grandees; and, in the presence of them all, doctor John Petit not only justified the murder of the duke of Orleans, but likewise established the doctrine of homicide, which he founded upon the example of those assassinations we read of in the historical books of the holy writ. Thus did this preacher impudently erect into a doctrine what those books only deliver to us as an event, in-

* A street in Paris so called.

stead of acting agreeable to the duties of his calling, by telling men that a murder related in the holy scripture is as truly detestable as if it was found in the annals of savages, or in the times of which I am speaking. This evil doctrine was condemned, as we have seen †, at the council of Constance, and has nevertheless been since revived.

It was at this time that the marechal de Boucicaut suffered Genoa to be lost, which had put itself under the protection of France. The French were all massacred there, as they had been before in Sicily †. The flower of the nobility, who had gone to signalize themselves in Hungary against the Turkish emperor Bajazet, were all cut off in the fatal battle lost by the Christians. But these misfortunes without doors were small in comparison with those which beset the state at home.

Isabella of Bavaria, Charles's queen, had a party in Paris, the duke of Burgundy had his, and the children of the late duke of Orleans had another, which was very considerable. The poor king alone had no party. But what will serve to shew us how considerable the city of Paris was at that time, and what influence it had on the other parts of the kingdom is, that the duke of Burgundy, who to the province of which he bore the title, added all Flanders and Artois, made it the principal object of his ambition to become master of Paris. His faction was called the Burgundians, and that of Orleans

† See chap. lx.

† See chap. xlix.

went by the name of the Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, son to him who had been assassinated in Paris. Whosoever of these two factions had the upper hand, never let slip any opportunity of hanging, murdering, or burning all of the opposite party; so that no person was sure of his life for a day together. They fought in the streets, in the houses, in the fields, and in the very churches.

Here was a very favourable opportunity for England to recover her ancient patrimony in France, as well as those ceded to her by treaties: and Henry V. who was a prince of equal courage and prudence did not suffer it to pass unnoticed, but negotiated and made preparations of war at the same time. He makes a descent into Normandy with an army of near fifty thousand men, takes Harfleur, and advances ¹⁴¹⁵ into the midst of a country torn in pieces by factions, and unable to resist him; but three fourths of his army were carried off by a contagious dysentery. Nevertheless, this great invasion served to unite all parties against the English; even Burgundy himself, though he had already been treating privately with the king of England, sent five hundred men in arms with some cross bow-men to the assistance of his country. All the nobility mounted on horseback, and the commoners marched under their banners: so that the constable d'Albret soon saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men.

The same success which formerly waited on Edward III. now followed Henry V. but the

principal resemblance was in the battle of Agincourt, which was in every respect like
1415 that of Crecy. The English won it almost as soon as it begun. Their tall bows, which were almost the height of a man, and which they made use of with surprising strength and skill, soon determined the victory in their favour; but they had neither cannons nor fustils, which is another corroborating proof that there were none used at the battle of Crecy. Perhaps these bows are much more formidable weapons. I have seen some of them that would carry farther than a fusil; and they may be used with much more dispatch, and last longer. However they are now entirely out of use. It may further be observed, that the gendarmerie of France fought on foot at the battle of Agincourt, and at those of Crecy and Poitiers; whereas, had they been mounted, they would in all probability have formed an invincible corps. There happened on this memorable day a thing most horrible even in war. While the armies were still engaged, some militia of Picardy came behind the English to plunder their camp; upon which Henry ordered his men to kill all the prisoners they had taken. They were accordingly put to the sword; and after this the English took fourteen thousand men, whose lives they spared. Seven princes of France were slain this day, together with the constable. Five princes were taken prisoners, and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left in the field of battle.

It would seem that after so decisive a victory, Henry had nothing to do but to march to Paris, and

and compleat the conquest of a divided, exhausted, and ruined kingdom. But these very ruins were somewhat fortified; for it is a certain fact, that from this battle of Agincourt, which threw all France into mourning, and which cost the English only three persons of any note, the victors reaped no other fruit than glory. Henry was obliged to return to England in order to raise money and fresh troops.

The spirit of giddiness and inconstancy, which had seized the French nation as 1415 well as their king, did what the defeat of Agincourt had not been able to do. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterwards Charles VII. and at that time was only sixteen years of age, endeavoured to save the remains of this great wreck. The queen, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her husband, by which she was entrusted with the reins of government. She was a covetous and ambitious woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry. The treasure of which she had plundered the kingdom and her husband, she had carefully deposited in several places, particularly in the churches. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, who had discovered this money, made use of it for the pressing wants of the public. To this affront which she received from her son, the king added another of a more sensible nature. One evening as he was going to pay a visit to the queen in her own apartment, he met the lord of Bois-bourdon, coming out; he instantly ordered him to be apprehended, put to the torture, and afterwards sewn up in a sack, and thrown into the

the Seine*. The queen was directly sent prisoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being suffered to speak with her husband. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, which placed the crown of France on the king of England's head. The queen implored the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who embraced this opportunity of establishing his own authority on these new disasters of his country.

The duke released the queen from her confinement at Tours, ravaged the country all the way he marched, and at length concluded a league with the king of England. Without this alliance there would have been no revolution. Henry V. at length assembles an army of twenty-five thousand men, and lands a second time in Normandy. From thence he advances towards Paris, while John duke of Burgundy presents himself before the gates of this city, where a poor senseless king remained shut up a prey to every kind of sedition. The duke of Burgundy's faction in one day massacred the constable d'Armagnac, the archbishops of Rheims and Tours, five prelates, the abbot of St. Denis, and forty magistrates. The queen and the duke of Burgundy made their triumphal entry into Paris in the midst of all this blood and slaughter. The dauphin was obliged to fly beyond the Loire, and Henry V. was already

* He was suspected of carrying on a criminal commerce with the queen: but he was not thrown into the river until after he had been racked at the Chatelet, and confessed the crime laid to his charge; if that can be called a confession which is extorted by torments,

master of all Normandy. And now the king's party, as likewise those of the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the dauphin, were all in treaty at the same time with the king of England; treachery and dissimulation were equal on all sides. The young dauphin, who was at that time governed by Tanguy du Chastel, at length contrived that unhappy interview with the duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau. Each of them came attended by ten knights; and Tanguy du Chastel slew the Duke of Burgundy in the presence of the dauphin: thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans revenged by another murder, which was so much the more detestable, as being accompanied by violation of public faith.

One would be almost tempted to believe that this murder was not premeditated, so very badly had they taken their measures for supporting the consequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father, became of course an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen his mother, whom he had incensed, became as implacable as a step-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of these horrid circumstances, proclaimed that God led him by the hand to punish the iniquitous French. Then it was that queen Isabella and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, concluded a peace with Henry at Troyes, which proved more fatal to France than all the preceding wars had done; and by which they gave Catherine, daughter to Charles VI. in marriage

to the king of England, together with France for her dowry.

It was at the same time agreed that Henry should be acknowledged king, but that he should only bear the title of regent during the remainder of the unhappy life of the king of France, who was now become altogether childish. In fine, it was determined by the contract, that the person styling himself dauphin, should be pursued with the utmost vigour. Queen Isabella conducted her wretched husband and her daughter to Troyes, where the marriage was consummated. Henry now become king of France, made his entry peaceably into Paris, and governed without opposition; while Charles VI. continued shut up with a few domestics in the Hotel de St. Paul, and queen Isabella began already to drink deep of the cup of repentance.

Philip duke of Burgundy appeared before the two kings at the Hotel de St. Paul, when the few remaining grandees of the kingdom were assembled, and solemnly demanded justice for the murder of his father. The procurator general of Burgundy, Nicholas Raulin, and a doctor of the university of Paris, named John Larcher, presented articles of accusation against the dauphin. The first president of Paris, with some few deputies of his body, assisted at this assembly.

The advocate general Marigni, made a speech against the dauphin, not as the presumptive heir, and defender of the crown, but as against a common assassin. Upon this the parliament summoned the dauphin to appear at the marble table, as it is called. This is a large table, which

which was used in the time of St. Lewis, for receiving the fines paid for vassalage, at the tower of the Louvre, and which ever after remained as a kind of mark of jurisdiction. But the dauphin not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy*.

It was a very nice and difficult question to decide whether this court had a power of judging the dauphin, whether the Salic law could be subverted on this occasion, and whether, as no vengeance had been taken for the murder of the duke of Orleans, the death of his murderer could claim revenge. We know that long after this Philip II. of Spain, caused his own son to be murdered †, and that Cosmo I. duke of Florence put one of his sons to death who had murdered the other. This fact is undoubtedly true, and Varillas has been very wrongfully accused of falsity in this relation. The president de Thou plainly proves that he was informed of all the circumstances upon the spot; and in our time Czar Peter the Great condemned one of his sons to death. Dreadful examples! but in which the son's inheritance was not given away to a foreigner.

The dauphin retired into Anjou, where he led the life of an exile. Henry V. king of France and England, returned to London in order to raise fresh supplies and new troops. It

was

* See chap lxxvii.

† So say Pierre Matthieu, and several other French authors: but this fact is denied by Cabrera, Colmenares, Ferreras, and all the Spanish historians, as well as Morosini, author of the *Historia della Citta e repubblica di Venetia*, who inspected the dispatches of the Venetians minister at the court of Madrid.

Don Carlos, the son of Philip II. having attempted more than once to do violence upon himself, and being deprived
of

was not the interest of the people of England, who have a strong passion for liberty, that their king should be master of France, as in this case their country would be in danger of becoming a province to a foreign kingdom; and, after draining itself to establish its prince in Paris, would have seen itself reduced to slavery by the forces of that very country which it had conquered, and which its king had in his hands.

However Henry V. soon returned to Paris with more authority than ever: he had treasures and armies at his command, and was moreover in the prime of his life; from all which it was probable that the crown of France was likely to be transferred for ever to the house of Lancaster. But death cut short these mighty hopes and successes. Henry was seized with a fistula †. In these days of greater knowledge he might possibly have been cured, but the ignorance of the times was the cause of his death; and he expired at the castle of Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. His ¹⁴²² body lay in state at St. Denis, as is practised with the kings of France, after which it was carried to England, and deposited at Westminster among the kings of England.

Soon after, Charles VI. who had been ¹⁴²² suffered out of compassion, to enjoy the empty title of king, ended his wretched days,

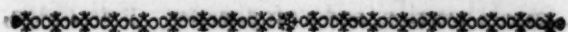
of every instrument which he could employ for the purpose of suicide, ate voraciously of every thing that was set before him; and swallowed great quantities of cold water, which occasioned a dysentery that proved mortal. The same imputation of suicide was brought on the same slender foundation against Peter Czar of Muscovy.

† This is a mistake of father Daniel. The English historians agree, that Henry died of a dysentery.

after

after having passed near thirty years in almost continual fits of madness, the unhappiest of kings, and king of the unhappiest people in Europe.

The duke of Bedford, brother to Henry V. was the only person who attended his funeral. There was not one of the great lords present at the ceremony: some of them had been slain at the battle of Agincourt, the remainder were prisoners in England; and the duke of Burgundy would not yield precedency to the duke of Bedford: but he was soon after obliged to give way in every thing, for Bedford was declared regent of France: and Henry VI. son of Henry V. a minor only nine months old, was proclaimed king at Paris, and at London. The city of Paris even sent deputies to London, to take the oath of allegiance to this infant.



C H A P. LXVIII.

OF FRANCE, in the time of CHARLES VII.

THIS inundation which overspread France from England, was much the same with that which happened to England from the French, in the time of Lewis VIII. but it was of longer duration, and more violent. Charles VII. had his kingdom to recover inch by inch. He had to fight against the duke of Bedford, who was as absolute as Henry V. and against the duke of Burgundy, now become one of the most powerful princes in Europe, by having annexed Hainault, Brabant, and Holland, to his former domains. Besides,
Charles

Charles had as much to fear from his friends as his foes; most of them insulting his misfortunes to such a degree, that the count de Richemont, his constable, and brother to the duke of Brittany, caused two of his favourites to be strangled.

We may judge of the deplorable situation to which Charles was reduced, from the necessity he was under of making the silver mark pass for ninety livres in the places subject to his obedience, instead of a half livre which it was worth in the time of Charlemagne.

He was likewise soon obliged to have recourse to another much stranger expedient, namely, to a miracle. A gentleman upon the frontiers of Lorraine, whose name was Baudricourt, happened to meet with a young servant wench at an inn in the town of Vaucouleurs, whom he thought a fit person to act the character of a female warrior, and a prophetess. Joan d'Arc, (which was the name of this heroine,) and whom the vulgar look upon as a shepherdess, was in fact only a tavern girl. "Of a robust make, as Montrelet says, and who could ride without a saddle, and perform other manly exercises which young maidens are unaccustomed to." She was made to pass for a young shepherdess of eighteen; and yet it is evident from her confession that she was at that time seven and twenty. She had courage and wit sufficient to engage in this delicate enterprize, which afterwards became an heroic one, and suffered herself to be carried before the king at Bourges, where she was examined by matrons, who took care to find her a virgin, and by certain doctors of the university, and some members of the parliament,

liament, who all without hesitation declared her inspired. Whether they were really imposed upon themselves, or that they were crafty enough to give into the project, the vulgar swallowed the bait, and that was sufficient.

The English were at that time besieging Orleans, Charles's last resource, 1422 and were upon the point of making themselves masters of the town, when this amazon in man's dress, directed by able officers, undertakes to throw succours into the town. Previous to her attempt, she harangues the soldiers, as one sent from God, and inspires them with that enthusiastical courage peculiar to all who imagine they behold the deity himself fighting their cause. After this she puts herself at their head, delivers Orleans, beats the English, foretels to Charles that she will see him consecrated at Rheims, and fulfils her promise with sword in hand, and assists at the coronation, holding the standard with which she had so bravely fought.

These rapid victories obtained by a girl, with all the appearances of a miracle, and the king's coronation, which conciliated the public respect to his person, had very near restored the lawful prince, and expelled the foreign pretender, when the instrument of all these wonders, Joan d'Arc, was wounded and taken prisoner in defending Compiègne. 1429

Such a person as the Black Prince would have honoured and respected her courage; but the regent Bedford thought it necessary to detract from it, in order to revive the drooping spirits of the English. She had pretended to perform

a mi-

a miracle, and Bedford pretended to believe her a witch †.

My principal end is always to observe the spirit of the times, since it is that which directs the great events of the world.

The university of Paris presented a complaint against Joan, accusing her of heresy and witchcraft. Therefore this university either believed what the regent would have it believe; or if it did not believe it, it was guilty of most infamous baseness. This heroine, who was worthy of that miracle which she had feigned, was tried at Rouen by Cauchon bishop of Beauvais, by five other French bishops, and one English bishop, assisted by a Dominican monk, vicar to the inquisition, and by the doctors to the university; who declared her "a superstitious prophetess of the devil, a blasphemer against God and his saints, and one who had been guilty of numberless errors against the faith of Christ." As such she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to fast on bread and water. She made a reply to her judges, which, in my opinion, is worthy of eternal memory. Being asked, why she dared to assist at the consecration of Charles as his standard-bearer? "Because, answered she, it is but just, that the person who shared in the toil, should partake likewise of the honour."

† It appears from the duke of Bedford's letter to the king, written after the siege of Orleans was raised, that he actually believed she was an enchantress inspired by the devil. Had he thought otherwise he would not at this juncture have propagated a belief which he must have known would dispirit his army.

Some time after this, being accused of having again put on men's cloaths, which had been left in her way purposely to tempt her, her judges, who certainly had no right to try her, as she was a prisoner of war, declared her a relapsed heretic; and, without further ceremony, condemned to the flames, a person who, for the services she had rendered her king, would have had altars erected to her in those heroic times, when mankind were wont to decree such honours to their deliverers. Charles VII. afterwards restored her memory with honour, which indeed had been sufficiently honoured by her punishment.

Cruelty alone is not sufficient to carry men to such executions; there must likewise be a certain fanaticism, composed of superstition and ignorance, which has been the common malady of almost all ages. Some time before this, the English had condemned a princess of Gloucester† to do penance in St. Paul's church, and a female friend of hers was burnt alive upon pretence of certain magic practices against the king's life. They had likewise burnt the lord Cobham for an heretic: and in Brittany had inflicted the same punishment on the marechal de Retz, who was accused of forcery, and with having butchered young children for the sake of making use of their blood in his pretended incantations.

† This was Eleonora dutchess of Gloucester, the wife of the king's uncle, whom the people distinguished by the epithet of *Good duke Humphry*. She was decoyed into these practices by the emissaries of the cardinal of Winchester, the uncle and implacable enemy of her husband.

In these unhappy times, the communication between the provinces was so interrupted, and the people bordering upon each other were so much strangers, that an enterprising woman, a few years after the death of the maid of Orleans, had the boldness to assume her name in Lorraine, resolutely averring that she had escaped the punishment intended her, and that a phantom had been burnt in her room. But what is more strange than all the rest is, that the people believed this idle story. The impostor was loaded with honours and wealth: and a person of the family of Armoises, publicly espoused her in 1436, thinking to marry a real heroine, who, though meanly born, was at least upon an equality with him by the grandeur of her actions.

During the war, which was rather tedious than decisive, and the source of many miseries, there happened another event which saved the kingdom of France. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, merited this name by at length forgiving the death of his father, and joining with the head of his family against a foreign invader. He even carried this generosity so far as to deliver the duke of Orleans, the son of him who had been assassinated at Paris, from his long confinement in London, by paying his ransom, which is said to have amounted to 300,000 gold crowns, an exaggeration common with the writers of those times. But still this behaviour was a proof of great virtue. There have always been some great souls in the most corrupted times. This prince's virtue however did not prevent him from giving a loose to pleasure, and the love of women,

women, which can never be a vice but when it prompts to bad actions. It is this same Philip, who in 1330 instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, in honour of one of his mistresses. He had fifteen bastards, who were all persons of merit. His court was the most brilliant in Europe: and the cities of Antwerp and Bruges, by their extensive commerce, spread plenty over the land. In fine, France was indebted to him for her peace and grandeur, which ever afterwards continued to increase, notwithstanding her many adversities, and her wars domestic and foreign.

Charles VII. recovered his kingdom in much the same manner as Henry IV. conquered it one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Charles indeed had not that noble courage, that quick and active mind, nor that heroic character, which distinguished Henry IV. but, like him, he was frequently obliged to keep fair with his foes as well as with his friends, to fight skirmishes, to take towns, some by surprise, and some by money, till at length he entered Paris in the same manner as Henry IV. afterwards made his entrance, partly by intrigue and partly by force. They were both declared incapable of wearing the crown, and they both forgave the injuries they had received. They had likewise one weakness common to both, that of neglecting their affairs sometimes to follow the pursuit of their pleasures.

Charles did not make his entry into Paris till the year 1437, and it was till near 1450 that the English were totally driven out of France. They then retained only Calais and Guines: and for ever lost those vast demesnes which
their

their kings had been possessed of by right of blood, and which they could not secure to their posterity, by the three great victories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The divisions in England contributed as much as Charles VII. to the re-union of France; and Henry VI. who had worn the crowns of both kingdoms, and had come to Paris to receive that of France, was dethroned in England by his own relations, restored again, and again dethroned.

Charles, being now in the peaceable possession of France, established such order and regularities in that country as had never been seen there since the decline of the family of Charlemagne. He kept regular companies of 1500 gendarmes. Each of these gendarmes were to serve with six horses, so that every troop was composed of 9000 horsemen. Every captain of an hundred had 1700 livres *per annum*, which comes to about ten thousand livres of our present currency. Each gendarme had 360 livres yearly pay, and each of the five men who accompanied him had four livres of the currency of those times *per month*. He likewise established a body of 45000 archers, who had each the same allowance of four livres *per month*, or about 24 of the present currency. Thus, in time of peace, these troops cost him five millions six hundred thousand livres of our money. Things have changed greatly since that time in Europe. This establishment of archers shews that the use of musquets was not then much known. This instrument of destruction did not come to be commonly used till the time of Lewis XI.

Besides

Besides these troops, who were in constant service, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it is by this exemption, which otherwise was peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen both by name and arms. The possessors of fiefs were dispensed from the ban, which was now no longer called; there being only an arrear-ban †, composed of the mesnus vassals, who still remained subject to be called upon on these occasions.

It has been matter of surprize, that, after so many disasters, France should still have continued possessed of such a number of resources, and so much money. But a country which is rich in natural productions, will be ever so, while the cultivation of it is properly attended to. Civil wars, though they shake the body of the state, do not destroy it; for the murders and ravages which ruin some families, enrich others: and the merchants become better versed in the arts of commerce, from the necessity there is of making use of art to protect themselves from the general storm. Jacques Coeur is a strong example of this. This man had established the greatest trade that any one private person in Europe had yet embarked in. Cosmo of Medicis is the only one who, since his time, ever equalled him in this respect. Jacques Coeur employed three hundred factors in Italy and the Levant. He lent 200,000 gold crowns to the king, without which he would never

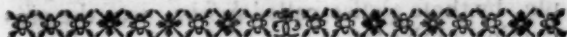
† Ban, and arrear-ban, a proclamation whereby all that held lands of the crown are summoned to serve the king in his wars.

have been able to retake Normandy. His industry was more useful during the peace, than either the valour of Dunois†, or the Maid of Orleans, in time of war. It is perhaps one of the greatest blots upon the memory of Charles VII. that he suffered so useful a member of community to be persecuted. We know not the reason of this: for indeed who can find out the secret springs of the faults and unjust dealings of men?

The king caused him to be thrown into prison, and he was tried by the parliament. Nothing however could be proved against him, only that he had caused a christian slave, who had betrayed and deserted his Turkish master, to be returned to him again; and had sold arms to the sultan of Egypt. For these two actions, one of which was allowable, and the other strictly virtuous, he was condemned to forfeit all his possessions. On this occasion his clerks gave a proof of greater integrity than the courtiers who caused his ruin: almost all of them joined in assisting him in his disgrace. Jacques Coeur afterwards retired to Cyprus, where he continued to carry on business; and, though recalled, never again ventured to revisit his ungrateful country.

† Otherwise called the bastard of Orleans, as being the natural son of Lewis duke of Orleans, second son of Charles V. His mother was Mariette d'Enguieu, the wife of Aubert de Cany, a knight of Picardy. The bastard distinguished himself by his valour and conduct, which in a great measure contributed to the expulsion of the English from France. He was created count of Dunois and Longueville, appointed great chamberlain of France, and surnamed *the Victorious*.

The close of Charles VII.'s reign proved happy enough to France, though very unhappy to this prince himself, whose latter days were embittered by the rebellion of his unnatural son, afterwards Lewis XI.



C H A P. LXIX.

OF MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ARTS and SCIENCES, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries.

WILLING to turn from the repetition of so many miseries and mutual quarrels, the dismal objects of history and the common places of human wickedness; I shall now examine mankind as members of society, enquire into their private lives, and in what manner the arts were cultivated amongst them.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, it appears to me, that they begun in Italy, notwithstanding the dissensions which prevailed every where, to emerge from that brutality which had in a manner overwhelmed Europe, after the decline of the Roman empire. The necessary arts had never been entirely lost. The artificers and merchants, whose humble station had protected them from the ambitious fury of the great, were like ants, who dug themselves peaceable and secure habitations, while the eagles and vultures of the world were tearing one another in pieces.

Even in these ages of ignorance, we meet with many useful inventions, which were the fruits of that mechanical genius wherewith nature endows certain men, independent of the helps of philosophy. Thus, for example, the secret of assisting the impaired sight of old people, by those glasses called *besicles*, was the production of the latter part of the thirteenth century. This noble secret was discovered by Alexander Spina *. The mills which work by the help of wind, are likewise of the same date. La Flamma †, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the first writer in whom we find any mention of them. But this was an art known long before both to the Greeks and Arabians, and we find it spoken of by the Arabian poets of the seventh century. Earthen-ware, which then

* Alexander Spina was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, belonging to the convent of St. Catherine at Pisa. He lived in the thirteenth century, and was so famous for a mechanical turn, that in an antient MS. still preserved in the convent, he is mentioned with this eulogium. "*Quæcunque vidit aut audivit facta, scivit et facere. Ocularia ab aliquo prima facta, et communicare nolente, ipse fecit et communicavit.*" Hence it appears he was not the first inventor of spectacles, tho' he deserved all the honour of the invention. That kind which he made were fixed to straps, occasionally tied behind the head, and are known in France by the name *besicles*.

It is a great question among the learned, whether the antients were acquainted with the use of spectacles. The words *Faber ocularius*, and *oculararius*, are found upon some sepulchral marbles.

† This was Galvanus Flamma or Fiamma, a native of Milan, of which he wrote a history, intituled, *Flos Florum*. He likewise taught philosophy: but his history is in very little reputation, because he adopted all the extravagant fables of the authors from whom it was compiled.

supplied the place of porcelain or china, was invented at Faenza†. The use of glass had been known long before; but that manufacture was scarce, and it was esteemed a kind of luxury to use it. This art was afterwards carried into England by the French in 1180, and was then looked upon as an article of great magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century who had the secret of making cristall glass for mirrors. In Italy there were some few clocks which went by wheels; that at Bologna was reckoned the most famous. That miraculous and useful instrument the compass owed its invention entirely to chance, and mankind had not their views sufficiently dilated at that time to make a proper use of this discovery. The invention of paper, made of linen rags beaten, and boiled together to a consistence, is of the fourteenth century. The historian, Cortusius of Padua, speaks of one Pax, who established the first paper manufactory in that city above a century before the invention of printing. In this manner were the useful arts established by degrees, and chiefly by ignorant and illiterate men.

There were few such cities in all Europe as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence. Almost all the houses in France, Germany, and England, were covered only with

† Faenza, a city of Romagna, in the pope's dominions in Italy, situated on the Amone, famous for its earthenware, and its often shifting masters. It is the see of a bishop, and lies 34 miles east of Bologna.

straw*. They were the same in the cities of lesser note in Italy, such as Alexandria de la Paglia, Nicea de la Paglia, &c.

Notwithstanding the vast tracts of uncultivated lands which were wholly covered with wood, they had not yet learnt to secure themselves from the cold by the help of chimneys or stoves, which are in use now-a-days in all our apartments, and which serve at once for ornament and convenience. A whole family then were wont to seat themselves round an hearth placed in the midst of the room, from whence a long funnel ran up through the top of the roof. La Flamma, a writer of the fourteenth century, complains, like most injudicious authors, that, in his time, frugality and simplicity had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa and Frederic II. when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat meat only thrice a week. Wine was then a rarity. Tapers were not known, and candles were luxurious ornaments. The better sort of inhabitants, according to him, made use of pieces of dried wood, lighted at the fire. They only eat hot meat three times a week; their shirts were of serge, no linen being then worn but by people of great distinction: and the dowry of a daughter of the most considerable citizen did not exceed at most an hundred livres. "Things, adds he, are greatly changed at present. They now wear linen in common; the women dress themselves in silken stuffs, and some of them are even

* There were brick houses in London as far back as the reign of Alfred.

mixed with gold and silver: they have now 2000 livres to their portion, and even adorn their ears with gold pendants." And yet this luxury, of which la Flamma complains so grievously, was far inferior in some respects to what we now look upon as common necessities for a rich and industrious tradesman.

Table linen was very scarce in England, and wine was sold only by the apothecaries as a cordial. The houses of private persons, both at Paris and London, were all built of wood; for women to ride in a cart in the streets of Paris, which were then scarcely paved, and all covered with mud, was looked upon as an article of luxury, and, as such, forbidden by Philip the Fair. Every one knows the regulation made under the reign of Charles VI. "Nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio *." Nevertheless, in the houses of the lords of fiefs, and the principal prelates, there was always as great magnificence as the times could afford. This necessarily spread itself among the possessors of large lands: but the use of silver or gold plate was in a manner wholly unknown in most of the cities. Mussus, who was a native of Lombardy, and wrote in the fourteenth century, mentions silver forks, spoons, and cups, as very extravagant articles.

"The master of a family, says he, who has nine or ten people to maintain, with two horses, is obliged to expend near 300 gold florins *per annum*," which was about 3000 livres of our present money.

* The meaning of the Latin sentence is, That no person shall give more than two dishes with potage.

Money therefore was extremely scarce in most parts of Italy, and still more so in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The people of Florence and Lombardy, who alone carried on the trade with France and England, and the Jews, who were their brokers, had twenty *per cent. per annum*, for the common interest of their money. Excessive usury is an infallible sign of public poverty.

King Charles V. amassed considerable riches by his good oeconomy, and the prudent management of his demesnes (which were then the only revenues of our kings) and by the imposts which had been devised under Philip of Valois; which, though trivial in themselves, caused great murmurings among an indigent people. His minister cardinal de Grange had grown too rich. But all these treasures were dispersed in other countries. The cardinal carried his to Avignon, and the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. dissipated that prince's money in his unfortunate expedition into Italy, and France remained miserably poor till the latter end of the reign of Charles VII.

But it was not thus in the beautiful and trading cities of Italy. There the people lived in affluence and ease. With them alone the sweets of life seemed to have taken up their residence, and riches and liberty inspired their genius, and elevated their courage.

The Italian tongue was not yet formed in the reign of Frederic II. as we may perceive by some verses of that emperor, which are the last remains we have of the Roman tongue freed from the harshness of the German.

Plas

*Plas me el cavalier Frances
E la donna Catalana
E L' ourar Genoes
E la danza Trevisana
E lou cantar Provenzales
Las man e cara d' Angles
E lou donzel de Toscana.*

I am pleas'd with the French cavalier,
And the Catalonian dame,
And the workmanship of Genoa,
And the dancing of Trevisa,
And the poetry of Provence,
The hands and face of an Englishman,
And the damsels of Tuscany.

These remains are more precious than may perhaps be imagined; and infinitely surpass all the rubbish of the middle age, which is so greedily sought after by those of an ignorant and tasteless curiosity, as they prove beyond contradiction, that nature has ever been the same in all the nations of which Frederick speaks. The women of Catalonia are now, as in his time, the handsomest in Spain. The French gentry have the same martial air for which they were then famous. The English are still commonly known for the nobleness and regularity of their features, and the whiteness of their hands. The young women of Tuscany are still more agreeable than in any other country. The Genoese have preserved their industry: and the inhabitants of Provence, their taste for poetry and music. It was in Provence and Languedoc that the Roman language

first received its polish. The Provençals were masters to the Italians; and nothing is better known to the virtuosi in these researches, than the following verses, made on the people called Vaudois, in the year 1100.

*Que non volia maudir, ne jura, ne mentir,
N' occir, ne avoutrar, ne prendre de altrui,
Ne s' avengear deli suo enemi,
Loz dison qu' es Vaudes, & los feson morir.*

When a man will neither curse, nor swear,
nor lie,
Nor slay, nor rob, nor mount his neighbour's
bed,
Nor take fell vengeance of his enemy,
They hold him a Vaudois, and take his life.

This quotation has likewise its use, inasmuch as it is a proof that the reformers of all times have affected a severity of manners.

This jargon unhappily continued to be used, such as it was spoken in Provence and Languedoc, till the Italian language, under the pen of Petrarch, received that force and elegance, which, far from degenerating, still acquired greater perfection. The Italian took its first form towards the end of the thirteenth century, in the reign of good king Roger, father to the unfortunate Joan of Naples. Dante, the Florentine poet, had already adorned the Tuscan tongue by his poem called Comedy; which, though a whimsical performance, is full of many striking and natural beauties. In this work the author raised himself above the bad taste of his times, and his subject; and we may every where

where find in it, passages written in all the purity and elegance of the later times of Ariosto and Tasso ||. We cannot wonder that the author,

|| Petrarch, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso.

These are the four most celebrated writers that modern Italy hath produced. *Francisco Petrarca* was born at Arezzo in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He acquired such reputation by his poetry, that while he led a retired life in the valley of Vaucluse in the neighbourhood of Avignon, he, on the very same day, received letters of invitation from the chancellor of the university of Paris, and the senate of Rome, desiring he would come and receive the crown of poetry at each of these great theatres of learning. He preferred the request of the Romans; and, going to Rome, was crowned in the capitol. It was the singular good fortune of this writer, to be esteemed and courted by all the princes of his time.

Dante Aligheri was born at Florence, and flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He composed a variety of poems, and was greatly admired for the force of his genius, and the purity of his stile.

Ludovico Ariosto, born at Reggio, immortalized himself by his poem intituled *Orlando Furioso*. He likewise wrote some satires and comedies that have a considerable share of merit: but his master-piece, *Orlando*, is preferred all over Italy to every other poem which that language has produced, being recited, and even sung by all ranks of people: Ariosto died in the year 1533.

Torquato Tasso, descended of the illustrious family of the *Torregiani* lords of Bergamo, and several other places, was born at that town in the year 1544. His genius and capacity began to shew themselves even in his tender infancy. He was certainly an excellent scholar, a theologist, philosopher, rhetorician, critick, and in all sorts of poetry, infinitely superior to all his cotemporaries. He was also endued with every virtue of the heart; modest, courteous, brave, and generous. His epic poem intituled *Gierusalemme liberata*, is universally admired, and, by some criticks, even preferred to Virgil's *Aeneis*. Balzac says, that, if Virgil had never appeared, Tasso would have been the first poet;

thor, who was one of the chiefs of the Gibel-line faction, and was severely persecuted by pope Boniface VIII. and Charles of Valois, has in several parts of his poem, given vent to the concern he felt for the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate. Permit me in this place to insert a weak translation of one of the passages in Dante, relating to these dissensions: These monuments of the human mind serve to amuse us after a long and painful attention to the miseries which have distracted the earth.

and that, if Tasso had not appeared, Virgil would been the only poet. Boileau, who was rather a better critick, had not such a great opinion of Tasso, if he spoke his real sentiments in this line :

Et le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.

If the former was too high a compliment, this, we apprehend, is too severe a censure. Certain it is, that, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, all the wits of Italy were divided about the poetical merits of Ariosto and Tasso, and the academy della Crusca decided in favour of the former. It is very remarkable that, although Tasso was carressed by the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal d'Este, Charles IX. of France, and many other persons of the first distinction ; though his works were held in universal admiration ; and he was invited to receive the laurel at Rome ; he laboured under extreme poverty ; insomuch that he wrote a beautiful sonnet, addressed to his cat, desiring that she would lend him her eyes, that he might see in the dark : *non havendo candele la notte per escrivere i suoi versi*, not having a candle by the light of which he could write his verses in the night. Besides the *Jerusalem*, he wrote the poem of *Rinaldo*, some tragedies, and an infinity of other works, and died at Rome in the fifty-first year of his age.

Jadis

*Jadis on vit dans une paix profonde
 De deux Soleils les flambeaux luire au m^{nde},
 Qui sans se nuire éclairant les humaines,
 Du vrai devoir enseignaient les chemins,
 Et nous montraient de l'Aigle Impériale-
 Et de l'agneau les droits & l'intervale.
 Ce tems n'est plus, & nos Cieux ont changé.
 L'un des Soleils de vapeurs surchargé,
 En s'échappant de sa sainte carrière,
 Voulut de l'autre absorber la lumière.
 La règle alors devint confusion ;
 Et l'humble agneau parut un fier lion,
 Qui tout brillant de la pourpre usurpée
 Voulut porter la houlette & l'épée.*

Of old, two suns were seen to blaze
 In peace profound with genial rays ;
 On man's bewilder'd race to shine,
 And point the paths to truth divine ;
 Th' imperial eagle's rights to shew,
 And bring the lamb's just claims to view.
 Those skies serene are now no more :
 One sun surcharg'd with vapours hoar,
 Launch'd from his sphere eccentric gleams,
 And strives to drink the other's beams.
 Wild anarchy her empire rears ;
 A lion fierce the lamb appears,
 In robes usurp'd a tyrant lord
 To wield the crozier and the sword.

To Dante succeeded Petrarch, born in the year 1304, in Arezzo, the country of the famous Guido Aretin ; this poet rendered the Italian tongue more pure, and gave it all the sweetness of which it was susceptible.

tible. In these two poets, and especially in the latter, we meet with a great number of strokes which resemble the beautiful works of the ancients, and have at once all the vigour of antiquity and the freshness of novelty. It may appear rash in me to pretend to imitate this excellent poet, but you will forgive my presumption, for the desire I have to make you acquainted as much as possible with the nature of his stile. Here follows nearly the beginning of his beautiful ode to the Fountain of Vaucluse, which is indeed irregular, and composed by him in blank verse, to avoid the constraint of rhyme, but which nevertheless is more esteemed than those of his pieces which are in rhyme.

*Claire fontaine, onde aimable, onde pure,
Où la beauté qui consume mon cœur ;
Seule beauté qui soit dans la nature,
Des feux du jour évitait la chaleur ;
Arbre heureux dont le feuillage
Agité par les zéphirs
La couvrit de son ombrage,
Qui rapelles mes soupirs,
En rapellant son image,
Ornemens de ces bords & filles du matin,
Vous dont je suis jaloux, vous moins brillantes qu'elle,
Fleurs qu'elle embellissait quand vous touchiez son sein,
Rossignols dont la voix est moins douce & moins
belle,
Air devenu plus pur, adorable séjour
Immortalisé par ses charmes,
Lieux dangereux & chers, où de ses tendres armes
L'amour a blessé tous mes sens ;
Ecoutez mes derniers accens,
Recevez mes dernières larmes.*

Pure

Pure fountain, by whose purling stream,
 That beauty, mistress of my heart,
 Whom nature form'd above the reach of art,
 Avoids at noon the sultry beam ;
 O happy tree, whose foliage made,
 When fann'd by Zephyr's wing,
 For her a cool, refreshing shade,
 Ye scenes that her ador'd idea bring,
 And wake the sigh that struggles while I sing ;
 Ye gorgeous daughters of the dewy morn,
 Who, though less fair than she, these meads
 adorn,
 Sweet flowrets, oft beheld with jealous eye,
 While borrowing fragrance on her breast you
 lie ;
 Ye nightingales whose warbled strain
 Would emulate her song in vain ;
 Ye breezes that more salutary play,
 As o'er her charms with feather'd foot you
 stray ;
 O blest retreat, that ages shall revere !
 O plain so dreaded, yet so dear !
 Where love, with his all-piercing dart,
 First triumph'd o'er my captive heart ;
 Receive these tears, these notes by sorrow sung,
 While death's cold accents tremble on my
 tongue.

These little poems, which are stiled Canzoni,
 are esteemed his master-pieces, his other works
 having procured him much less honour: here
 he has immortalized the Fountain of Vaucluse,
 his mistress Laura, and himself. Had he never
 loved, he would never have been so well known.
 However imperfect the above imitation may be,
 it

it serves to shew the immense superiority the Italians had over other nations, and I thought it much better to give you this slight idea of Petrarch's genius, and of that sweetness and melting elegance which so much distinguish his writings, than to trouble you with a repetition of what so many writers have already related of the honours offered him at Paris, of those conferred on him at Rome, and of his triumph in the capitol in 1341, where he received that famous homage which the admiration of his cotemporaries paid to a genius then unparalleled, but which was afterwards surpassed by that of Ariosto and Tasso. I shall not however pass over unobserved that his family were banished from Tuscany, and their estates confiscated, during the dissensions between the Guelphs and Gibellines; and that the people of Florence deputed Boccace to request him in their name, to come and honour his native country with his presence, and enjoy the restitution of his patrimony. Greece, in her brightest ages, never gave nobler proofs of a taste and esteem for great talents.

This Boccace fixed the Tuscan language, and is still the best model for exactness and purity of style, in prose, as well as for the natural and the narrative. The Italian tongue, thus rendered perfect by these two writers, underwent no farther alteration, whilst all the other people of Europe, even the Greeks themselves, have changed their idiom.

After this there followed an uninterrupted succession of Italian poets, whose works have been all transmitted to posterity. Pulci wrote
after

after Petrarch; Bayardo *, count of Scandiano, succeeded Pulci; and Ariosto surpassed them all by the fruitfulness of his imagination. Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccace celebrated the unfortunate Joan of Naples, whose cultivated mind was sensible of their merit, and who was herself one of their scholars. She was at that time entirely devoted to the polite arts, and forgot in their bosom the crimes which had embittered the moments of her first marriage; and the change which was wrought in her manners by the cultivation of her mind, ought to have saved her from the tragical end which afterwards befel her.

The polite arts, which are as it were linked hand in hand, and generally sink and rise again together, first began in Italy to emerge from barbarism. Cimabue †, without any assistance, became anew the inventor of painting in the thirteenth century. Giotto ‡ drew pictures which

* He wrote the poem called Orlando, upon which the plan of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso was founded: it was modernized by Berni.

† Cimabue was a Florentine, who flourished in the thirteenth century, so much esteemed for his painting, that Charles I. of Naples visited him at his house in the suburbs, which, from the great concourse of noblemen and others that attended him on this occasion, acquired the name of *Il Borgo Allegro*.

‡ He was originally a shepherd-boy, whom Cimabue found by accident in the fields, making designs with charcoal on a brick. He became one of that painter's pupils, and in the sequel acquired great reputation; was patronized by pope Benedict XI. maintained an intimacy with Dante, and has been celebrated by Petrarch. When the pope desired

which are yet beheld with pleasure. There is one piece in particular remaining of this famous painter, and which has since been copied in Mosaic work, and represents the favourite apostle walking upon the waters: it is to be seen over the great door in St. Peter's at Rome. Brunelleschi began to reform the Gothic architecture, and Guido of Arezzo * had long before, namely, about the end of the eleventh century, invented notes for music, by which he rendered that art more easy and generally known.

We are indebted for all these beautiful and new inventions to the Italians alone. They called them all into life again by the sole strength of their genius, before the little science which was left in Constantinople had ebbed back into Italy with the Greek language, after the Ottoman conquests. Florence was at that time a new Athens, and, among the orators who were sent from the Italian cities to compliment pope Boniface VIII. on his exaltation to the papal chair, there were no less

fired to see some designs of the Florentine painters, Giotto sent him a circle traced with his pencil, so beautiful and perfect, that it gave rise to the Italian proverb, *Tu se più tondo che l'O di Giotto*; literally, Thou art rounder than Giotto's circle. But, as *tondo* likewise signifies foolish, this adage is used as a comparison of reproach. The piece mentioned by our author is called *La nave del Giotto*.

* Otherwise Guido Aretinus, was a Benedictine monk, who invented the six notes of music, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, being the initial letters of these words in the hymn of St. John:

<i>Ut queunt laxis,</i>	<i>Famuli tuorum,</i>
<i>Resonare fibris,</i>	<i>Selve polluti,</i>
<i>Mira gestorum,</i>	<i>Labi reatum.</i>

He wrote two treatises on music, and lived in the eleventh century.

than

than eight natives of Florence. By this we may perceive, that we do not owe the revival of the polite arts to those who fled into Italy from Constantinople, since these fugitives could at most but teach the Italians the Greek language.

It may appear astonishing that so many great geniuses should have arisen in Italy in the midst of dissensions and civil wars, and equally destitute of protection and of models. But let it be remembered, that, among the Romans, Lucretius wrote his beautiful poem upon natural history, Virgil his *Bucolics*, and Cicero his books of philosophy, in the midst of all the horrors of civil wars. When once a language begins to take a form, it becomes an instrument which great artists find ready prepared to their hands, and which they employ without concerning themselves about who governs or disturbs the world.

But although this light seems to have shone only in Italy, yet there were not wanting some persons of talents in other countries. St. Bernard and Abelard, who lived in France in the twelfth century, may be considered as men of great genius, but their language was a barbarous jargon, and their Latin was a tribute which they paid to the bad taste of the times. The Latin hymns in rhyme, which were composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are the very quintessence of barbarism. It was not thus that Horace sung the secular games. The scholastic divinity of those times, which was the bastard offspring of the Aristotelian philosophy, badly translated, and as ill understood, did more injury to understanding and the polite studies,

studies, than ever the Huns and Vandals had done.

The polite arts were kept alive in the East, and since the poems of the Persian writer Sady, are still in the mouths of Persians, Turks, and Arabians, they must certainly have had some merit. This writer was cotemporary with Petrarch, and equal to him in reputation. It is certain, that, in general, good taste was far from being prevalent among the Orientals. Their works resemble the titles of their monarchs, full of high sounding epithets. The spirit of slavery and subjection appears to be naturally dastardly, as that of liberty is nervous, and true greatness simple. The Orientals have no delicacy, because their women are excluded from society. They have no order or method, because every one gives a loose to his imagination in that solitude in which they pass the greater part of their lives, and the imagination of itself is always unruly. They have likewise been always strangers to true eloquence, such as that of Cicero and Demosthenes. For whom had an eastern orator to persuade? a set of slaves. And yet they have several bright gleams of scientific light: they paint in speech; and although their figures are frequently gigantic and incoherent, they still partake somewhat of the sublime. You may perhaps not be displeased to see again in this place a passage from Sady, which I formerly translated into blank verse, and which bears a strong resemblance to some passages in the Hebrew poets. It is a description of the power of God, a common-place subject without doubt, but which may serve to give you an idea of the Persian genius.

*Il fait distinctement ce qui ne fut jamais.
 De ce qu'on n'entend point son oreille est remplie.
 Prince, il n'a pas besoin qu'on le serve à genoux.
 Juge, il n'a pas besoin que sa Loi soit écrite.
 De l'Eternel burin de sa prévision
 Il a tracé nos traits dans le sein de nos mères.
 De l'aurore au couchant il porte le Soleil,
 Il sème de rubis les masses des montagnes.
 Il prend deux gouttes d'eau; de l'une il fait un
 homme,
 De l'autre il arrondit la perle au fond des mers.
 L'être au son de sa voix fut tiré du néant.
 Qu'il parle, & dans l'instant l'Univers va rentrer
 Dans les immensités de l'espace & du vuide;
 Qu'il parle, & l'Univers repasse en un clin d'œil
 Des abîmes du rien dans les plaines de l'être.*

He knows distinctly what is yet to come.
 His ear is fill'd with sounds as yet unform'd.
 Sov'reign of all, he asks no bended knee.
 Immortal judge, he needs no written law.
 By the eternal fullness of his foresight,
 As with a ready pencil, he has trac'd
 The infant-features in the mother's womb.
 By him conducted through his bright career,
 Safely the sun journeys from east to west.
 He sows the flinty bosoms of the hills
 With the rich ruby, and the sapphire blue.
 Two drops of water, in his plastic hand,
 Take different forms, as suit his high behest;
 This breathes a man; that, sinking to the deep,
 Rounds in its oozy bed an orient pearl.
 Creation at his bidding rose to light,
 And shall, if he commands, again retire

Back

Back to th' immense vacuity of space;
Or if he speaks, lo! quicker than the word,
Th' obedient universe once more starts forth,
From deepest chaos, to the realms of being.

If the belles lettres were thus cultivated on the banks of the Tygris and Euphrates, it is a certain proof that the other arts which minister to our pleasures were likewise very well known. The superfluities of life follow only after the knowledge of the necessities: but this was still wanting almost throughout Europe. What did they know in Germany, France, England, Spain, and the northern parts of Lombardy? Nothing but barbarous and feudal customs, equally tumultuous and uncertain, duels, tournaments, scholastic divinity, and magic.

They still celebrated in several churches the festival of the asfs, and that of the innocents and fools. An asf was brought before the altar, and the people sung the following anthem to him: "Amen, Amen, Asine; eh, eh, eh, Mr. Asf! eh, eh, eh, Mr. Asf." A company of fools marched at the head of every procession, in plaited gowns, hung round with bells and baubles; and this fashion is still kept up in some towns of the Low Countries, and in Germany. As to our northern nations, all their literature consisted in certain farces, written and exhibited in the vulgar tongue, with the titles of the Foolish Mother, the Prince of Fools, &c.

Nothing was to be heard, but stories of revelation, people possessed by evil spirits, and fascinations: and to such lengths did the prejudices of those times carry men, that Philip III.'s queen

queen being accused of adultery, the king her husband sent to consult a beguine*, to know whether his wife was guilty or innocent. The children of Philip the Fair entered into an association in writing, by which they engaged mutually to defend each other against any one who should attempt to destroy them by magic. There was a decree of parliament, condemning a woman to be burnt for a witch who was accused of having entered into compact with the devil, in favour of Robert of Artois. The disorder of Charles VI. was attributed to magic, and a supposed conjurer was sent for to cure him. The princess of Gloucester in England was condemned to do penance in the porch of St. Paul's church; and a baroness† of the same kingdom, her supposed accomplice, was burnt alive for a witch.

If the most considerable personages of the kingdoms of Europe fell victims to these cruelties, which were the offspring of credulity, we may easily suppose what private persons were subject to. But these were slight evils.

In Germany, France, Spain, and even in Italy, except in the large, trading cities, they were entirely destitute of any form of civil government: the walled towns in Germany and France were all sacked during the civil wars: the Greek empire was over-run by the Turks: Spain

* Beguines, a sort of nuns.

† This baroness was no other than Margery Gurdemain, called by Speed, in his chronicle, a witch of Ey in Suffolk, who was burned in Smithfield. This affair, however, ought not to be imputed to the superstition of the age; but to the malice of the duke of Gloucester's enemies.

Spain was still divided between the Christians and the Mahometan Moors, and each side was frequently torn in pieces by its own intestine commotions. At length, in the reign of Philip of Valois, Edward III. Lewis of Bavaria, and pope Clement VI. a general plague swept away those who had escaped the sword and the miseries of their country.

Immediately preceding these times of the fourteenth century, our Europe was, as we have already seen, depopulated and impoverished by the crusades. If we go back from these crusades, to the times which followed after the death of Charlemagne, we shall find them not less unhappy, and still more ignorant. The comparison of those ages with our own should fill us with a due sense of the happiness we now enjoy, notwithstanding the almost invincible propensity we have to admire and praise the past at the expence of the present.

But we must not believe that all was alike savage. There were several great examples of virtue in all stations, on the throne and in the cloister, among the swordsmen and with the priests. But neither a St. Lewis nor a St. Ferdinand could heal the wounds of human-kind. The long dispute between the emperors and the popes, the obstinate stand made by the Roman liberty against the power of the German Cæsars and that of the Roman pontiffs, the frequent schisms, and at length the great schism of the West, would not permit those popes, elected in the midst of tumults, to exercise those virtues which more happy and peaceable times might have probably inspired them with; and indeed might it not be possible for the general depravity

pravity of manners to extend its influence even to them? Every man is formed by the age he lives in, and few are there who can rise above the manners of the times. The wicked actions which many of the popes were drawn to commit, and the scandalous lives they led upon the authority of general example, are things which can never be buried in oblivion. But of what service is it to set forth their vices and their disasters? To shew how happy Rome has been, since decency and tranquility have reigned within her walls; and what more desirable fruit can we reap from all the vicissitudes we meet with in this general history than the conviction that every nation has always been unhappy till the laws and the legislative power were established by universal consent.

In like manner as some few monarchs and pontiffs, worthy of better times, could not stop the general torrent of disorder; so neither could a few fine geniuses born in the darkness of the northern nations, allure to those climates the arts and sciences.

Charles V. king of France, who made a collection of above nine hundred volumes, at least a century before the Vatican library was founded by Nicholas V. in vain endeavoured to encourage learning in his kingdom. The soil was not yet prepared for bearing those exotic fruits. There has been a collection of some of the wretched productions of those times: this is like collecting a heap of flints from the rubbish of an old house, when we are surrounded by beautiful palaces. Charles was obliged to send to Pisa for an astrologer; and Catherine the daughter of this astrologer, who wrote in French,

French, pretends that Charles expressed himself thus: "While learning is honoured in this kingdom it will continue to flourish." But learning was unknown, and taste yet more so; the French having only the advantage of a more shewy outside than other nations.

When Charles of Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, went into Italy, the inhabitants of Lombardy, and even those of Tuscany, took the fashions of the French. These were rather extravagancies than fashion. The coat was laced behind in the same manner as the women's stays now are, with large hanging-down sleeves, and a riding cloak that trailed upon the ground. The French gentlemen, however, gave a certain grace to this odd kind of masquerade, and justified what Frederic II. had said, *Plaz me el cavalier Francez* *. It would however have been much better for France had they understood more of military discipline; the kingdom would not then have fallen a prey to a foreign power, as it did under the reign of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. But how happened it that the English were so much better versed in martial discipline than their neighbours? probably because, that being frequently obliged to fight at a distance from their own country, they found they stood in greater need of such knowledge; or rather because they have a more cool and deliberate courage.

* See page 31.

C H A P. LXX.

Infranchisements, privileges of towns, general
estates.

FROM the general anarchy of Europe, and the numberless disasters in which it was involved, arose the inestimable blessing of liberty, which has gradually made the imperial and other cities rich and flourishing.

You may already have observed, that in the beginning of the feudal anarchy the cities were almost all peopled with bondmen rather than citizens, as is still the case in Poland, where there are not above three or four cities which have the liberty of holding lands; and the inhabitants all belong to their lord, who has power of life and death over them. It was the same in France and Germany. The emperors began by granting infranchisements to several cities; and as early as the thirteenth century the cities joined together for their common defence against the lords of castles who lived upon plunder.

Lewis the Fat, of France, followed this example in the places within his domains, in order to weaken the lords who were up in arms against him. The lords themselves sold freedoms to the small towns which were in their demesnes, for money to support the honour of chivalry in the holy land.

At length in 1167, pope Alexander III. declared in the name of a council, "That all christians ought to be exempt from servitude" This law is alone sufficient to render his me-

mory dear to the people of all nations; as his endeavours to maintain the liberty of Italy ought to make his name precious to the Italians.

It was in virtue of this law that a long time afterwards king Lewis Hutin declared in his charters, that all the bondmen then remaining in France should be free; "Because, says he, it is the kingdom of the Franks." He made them indeed pay for this freedom; but could such a blessing be bought too dear?

Nevertheless, mankind were reinstated but by degrees, and with great difficulty, in their natural rights. Lewis Hutin could not oblige the lords his vassals to do that for the subjects of their demesnes which he had done for his. The husbandmen, and even the burghers remained for a long time a powerful body of men, wholly attached to tillage, as they still are in many provinces in Germany: and it was not till the reign of Charles VII. that servitude was entirely abolished in France, by the weakning of the power of the lords. The English contributed greatly to this happy change, by bringing over with them that spirit of freedom which is their distinguishing character*.

Even before the time of Lewis Hutin, the kings of France had ennobled some citizens. Philip the Bold, son to St. Lewis, ennobled Raoul, commonly called Raoul the Goldsmith; not from his being an artificer, for then his nobility would have been ridiculous, but as being the keeper of the king's money; for cash-keepers were generally called goldsmiths, as they still

* In that reign the people of England themselves were little better than slaves: the barons only were free.

are in London, where they have retained many of the antient customs of France.

The corporations of towns were first admitted in France into the general assembly of the estates by Philip the Fair, in 1301: these assemblies then held the place of the antient parliaments of the nation, formerly composed of lords and prelates. The third estate gave their advice in the form of a petition, which was presented upon the knee; and the custom is still kept up for the third estate to address the king on one knee in the same manner as the lawyers do at a bed of justice. The first general assembly of the estates was held to oppose the pretensions of pope Boniface VIII. It must be acknowledged that it was a melancholy circumstance for human nature, that there were but two orders in the state, the one composed of the lords of fiefs, who did not make the five thousandth part of the nation; and the other of the clergy, who were still an inferior number, and who from the nature of their holy institution were destined to a superior function, entirely foreign to temporal matters. The body of the nation had been all along reckoned for nothing. This was one of the true causes of the languid state of the kingdom of France, by suppressing of all industry. Had the body of the state in England and Holland been composed only of secular and ecclesiastical barons, those people would never during the war in 1701 have held the balance of Europe in their own hands.

Philip the Fair, who has been reproached for his male practices with respect to the coin, his persecution of the knights templars, and

perhaps a too bitter animosity to pope Boniface VIII. and his memory, did great service to the nation, in calling the third estate to the general assemblies of France.

The house of commons in England began to be formed about this time, and grew into great credit in 1300. Thus the chaos of government began to be cleared up almost every where, by the very misfortunes which the feudal government had every where occasioned. But although the people thus resumed their liberties, and the enjoyment of so many privileges, it was a considerable time before they were able to emerge from the barbarism and brutality to which they had been reduced, and which is the consequence of a long state of slavery. They were now indeed free, and were looked upon as men; but still they became neither more civilized nor more industrious. The bloody wars of Edward III. and Henry V. plunged the people of France into a state worse than slavery; and they did not begin to recover themselves again till the reign of Charles VII. The English people were not much happier after the death of Henry V. Those in Germany were in a better situation during the reigns of the emperors Winceslaus and Sigismund, because the imperial cities had then acquired a degree of credit and power.

C H A P. LXXI.

Of TAXES and COINS.

THE third estate was of no other use in the general assembly of the estates held by Philip of Valois, in 1345, than to give its consent to the first imposition of aids and gabelles: but it is certain that if the estates had been assembled more frequently in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the administration of this same Philip of Valois, which became odious, by the bad state of the coin, and greatly discredited by its misfortunes, the estates in 1355 of themselves appointed commissioners from the three orders to collect the monies they had granted the king. Those who give what they please, and as they please, are certainly sharers in the sovereign authority. It was for this reason that the kings convoked these assemblies as seldom as possible, and only when they could not dispense with it. Thus from the nation being so little accustomed to examine into its wants, its resources, and its strength, the general estates were wanting in that spirit of connection, and the knowledge of business which settled and regular bodies have. Being called together only at long intervals, they were obliged to enquire of each other concerning the laws and customs, instead of proceeding to settle them; and were in a continual state of surprize and uncertainty. The parliaments of England have taken greater prerogatives to themselves, and have established and maintained themselves in the right of be-

ing the natural representatives of the nation. This alone may shew us the difference between the two people: both set out upon the same principles, and yet the form of their government is now entirely different. At that time it was exactly the same. The estates of Arragon, those of Hungary, and the German diets have likewise very great privileges.

The general states of France, or rather of that part of France which fought for the lawful sovereign Charles VII. against the usurper Henry V. generously granted their royal master a general tax in 1426, in the very height of the war, and in a time of great scarcity, when they were apprehensive that the lands must have lain uncultivated for want of men. This tax has since become perpetual. The kings before them were wont to live upon their own demesnes: but Charles VII. had lost almost all his; and had it not been for the brave warriors who sacrificed themselves for him and for their country, and for his constable the count de Richemont, by whom he was wholly directed, he must have been lost himself.

Soon afterwards the husbandmen who had hitherto paid taxes to their lords whose bondmen they were, now paid this tribute only to the king, whose subjects they were; not but that the kings of France had even before the time of St. Lewis raised taxes in the lands belonging to the royal patrimony. We know of the tax of bread and wine paid at first in kind, and afterwards in money. The French term *taille*; (or tax,) came from the custom the collectors had of marking upon a small wooden tally the sums paid by the persons assessed; for
very

very few of the common people knew how to write. The very customs of the towns were not in writing; and this same Charles VII. was the first who ordered them to be enrolled in 1454, when he had restored peace and a police to his kingdom, of which it had been so long deprived, and when so long a series of misfortunes had given rise to a new form of government.

Here then I consider in general the fate of the people rather than the revolutions of kingdoms. Mankind should be the chief object of our attention in history; and here it is that every writer ought to say *homo sum*: but most of our historians have busied themselves rather in descriptions of battles.

There was yet another thing which disturbed the public order and tranquility of Europe, and injured the fortunes of private families; this was the adulteration of the coin. Every lord coined money, and changed at pleasure the nominal value and weight; thus doing himself a lasting prejudice for the sake of a temporary advantage. The necessity of the times had obliged the kings to set this fatal example. I have already remarked that the gold specie of one part of Europe, and especially of France, had been swallowed up in Asia and Africa in the unfortunate projects of the crusades. It was necessary therefore in a time of need to increase the numerical value of the money. In the time of Charles V. after he had reduced his kingdom to obedience, the livre was worth seven numerical livres; under Charlemagne it was of the real weight of one pound. The livre of Charles V. then was in fact but the seventh part of the old

livre; therefore the income of a family which consisted in rent-charge, an infeoffment, or dues payable in silver, was by this means reduced to the seventh part of its original value.

We may judge from a still more striking example of the small quantity of money that was circulating in such a kingdom as France. This same Charles V. declared the children of France entitled to an appanage of twelve thousand livres *per ann.* these twelve thousand livres are worth at present no more than twenty-four thousand livres. How poor a provision for a king's son! the scarcity of specie was equally great in Germany, Spain, and England.

King Edward III. was the first who struck gold coin. Let it be considered that the Romans had no gold coin till six hundred and fifty years after the founding of their republic.

The whole revenues of Henry V. did not amount to more than fifty-six thousand pounds sterling, which is about twelve hundred thousand livres, of the present French currency; yet with this trifling resource did he attempt the conquest of France. Nay, after the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to England, to borrow money of the city of London, and to put every thing in pledge to raise supplies for carrying on the war. And in fact his conquests were made rather with the sword than with money.

In Sweden there was in those times no other money than what was made of iron or copper. There was but a very small quantity of silver in Denmark, and that was brought into the country by the trade carried on with Lubec.

In

In this general scarcity of money, which was severely felt in France after the crusades, king Philip the Fair not only raised the fictitious and ideal price of specie; but he also caused a quantity of bad money to be coined, in which was mixed an over-proportion of alloy. In a word, it was a kind of counterfeit coin; and these proceedings raised seditions among the people, which rendered the nation very unhappy. Philip of Valois went still farther than Philip the Fair; for he made the officers of his mint swear upon the gospels to keep the secret, and enjoined them by an ordinance to impose upon the merchants, "And in such manner that they may not discover that there is any alteration in the weight." These are his own words. But how could he flatter himself that this piece of injustice would remain concealed? and what times were those in which they were forced to have recourse to such artifices! times in which almost all the lords of fiefs since the reign of St. Lewis had followed the same practices, for which Philip the Fair and Philip of Valois were so much blamed. The French lords sold the king their right of coinage; but those in Germany have still preserved theirs: this has sometimes given rise to great abuses, but not so universal nor so fatal as those in France.

C H A P. LXXII.

Of the PARLIAMENT till the Reign of
CHARLES VII.

PHILIP the Fair, who was the cause of so many evils, by adulterating the good coin of St. Lewis, did the state great service in calling to the general assembly of the nation the citizens, who are in fact the body of the nation; nor did he procure it a less advantage by instituting a sovereign court of judicature, to be held at Paris under the name of parliament.

What has been hitherto wrote concerning the origin and nature of the parliament of Paris, affords but very confused ideas of the matter; because the change of old customs into new is very apt to escape the attention. One writer will have it, that the courts of inquests and requests exactly represent the courts held by the antient conquerors of Gaul. Another pretends, that the parliament derives its right of judicature wholly from the ancient peers who were the judges of the nation; and that the parliament is called the court of peers.

Thus much is certain, that there happened a very great change in the French government, under Philip the Fair, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. 1st. The great feudal and aristocratic form of government was gradually undermined in the royal demesnes. 2d. Philip the Fair, almost at the same time erected what we call the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, and Normandy, and the extraordinary courts of Troye as courts of justice. 3d. The parliament of Paris became

became the most considerable on account of its large extent of district. 4th. Philip the Fair fixed its seat at Paris. And 5thly, it was made a perpetual court by Philip the Long, and became the trustee and interpreter of the old and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the great oracle of the nation.

The king's privy council, the general estates, and the parliament, were three very different things. The general estates were really and truly the antient parliament of the whole nation; to which were added the deputies of the commons.

The king's privy council was composed of such great officers of the state as he pleased to admit, and particularly of the peers of the kingdom, who were all princes of the blood. And the court of justice, known by the name of parliament, now fixed at Paris, was at first composed of bishops and knights, assisted by others of the professed and lay clergy, who had a knowledge of civil matters.

The peers had doubtless a right to sit in that court, as being the original judges of the nation: but even supposing them not to have this right, it would be no less a high court of judicature: in the same manner as the imperial chamber in Germany is an high court, although neither the electors nor the other princes of the empire ever assisted at it; and as the council of Castile is still a supreme court, although the grandees of Spain have not the privilege of a seat therein.

This parliament is not the same with the antient assemblies held in the fields in the months of March and May, although it still retains the

same name. The peers had indeed a right to assist at those assemblies; but these peers were not, as in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held their honours from the crown; and when any new peers were to be made, they could only be taken from amongst these princes. Champagne having ceased to be a peerage, when Philip the Fair got it in dowry with his wife, he erected Brittany and Artois into peerages. Now the sovereigns of these states certainly never came to try causes in the parliament of Paris, although many of the bishops did. This new parliament at its first institution met four times a year. The members of this court were frequently changed, and were paid out of the king's treasury for the seats they vacated.

These parliaments were called sovereign courts, and the president was stiled the sovereign of the body, which signifies no more than the head or chief, as may be proved by the very words of an ordinance made by Philip the Fair, viz. "That no master shall presume to absent himself from the court without the permission of his sovereign." I must here likewise observe, that no one was permitted to plead by proxy, but was to appear before the court in person, unless the king's express dispensation first obtained.

If the prelates had preserved their right of assisting at the sittings of this perpetual assembly, it would then have become a perpetual assembly of general estates. The bishops were excluded from this assembly by Philip the Long, in 1320. At first they presided in the parliament, and took place of the chancellor. The first layman
who

who sat as president in this court by order from the king, in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law had only the title of counsellors till the year 1350. After that, when the civilians became presidents, they wore the knights mantle, had the privileges of nobility, and were frequently stiled *chevaliers à loiz*, or knights at law. But the nobles by name and arms always affected to shew a contempt for this pacific body of nobility. The descendants of professors of the law are to this day excluded from a seat in the chapters of Germany. It is a relick of ancient barbarity to annex a contemptuous idea to the most noble function of humanity that of distributing justice.

It was in this perpetual parliament which sat at Paris in St. Lewis's palace, that Charles VI. held, on the twenty-third of December 1420, that famous bed of justice, at which the king of England, Henry V. was present, whom on that occasion Charles stiled his well beloved son Henry V. hereditary regent of the kingdom; and at the same time the king's own son was called Charles, stiling himself the dauphin; and all the accomplices in the murder of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treason, and deprived of all right of inheritance, which was in fact condemning the dauphin without naming him.

But what is still more, it is affirmed that in the registers of parliament, in the year 1420, there is an entry, importing that the dauphin, (afterwards Charles VII.) having been previously summoned three times by sound of trumpet to surrender himself in the month of January, had been condemned for contumacy, and ad-

adjudged to perpetual exile, from which sentence, adds the register, "He appealed to God and his sword." If this register is authentic, there was an interval of almost a year between this sentence and the holding the bed of justice, which afterwards confirmed but too strongly this fatal decree. It is however not at all surprising that they issued such an arret; for Philip duke of Burgundy, son to the murdered duke, was all-powerful in Paris, and the dauphin's mother was become an implacable enemy to her own son; the king had lost his reason, and was in the hand of strangers; and, in short, the dauphin had punished one crime, by another still more horrible; for he had caused his relation, John of Burgundy, to be assassinated in his own presence, after having drawn him thither upon the faith of the most solemn oaths. We should likewise consider what the temper of the times then were. This same Henry V. king of England and regent of France, had been imprisoned at London, while prince of Wales, by the sole authority of a common judge, whom he had struck in open court while in the execution of his office.

This century likewise furnishes us with another shocking instance of justice, carried even to a degree of horror. A ban of Croatia condemned Elizabeth queen regent of Hungary to be drowned for being concerned in the murder of Charles de Durazzo, king of Naples.

The sentence of the parliament against the dauphin was of another kind; it was only an instrument acting under a superior power. They did not proceed against John duke of Burgundy till he assassinated the duke of Orleans,

leans, and then it was only to revenge the murder of a murderer.

In reading the deplorable history of those times, we are to recollect, that after the famous treaty of Troyes, which gave the kingdom of France to Henry V. of England, there were two parliaments in the kingdom assembled at the same time, as again happened near three hundred years afterwards in the time of the league; but during the subversion of the government under Charles VI. there were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two universities of Paris, and each side had its marechals and great officers of state.

I must observe furthermore, that in these times when a peer of the kingdom was to be tried, the king was obliged to preside in person at the trial. Charles VII. in the last year of his reign, did, in compliance with this custom, sit as president of the judges who condemned the duke of Alençon; a custom which afterwards came to be looked upon as derogatory to justice and the royal dignity, since the presence of the sovereign might seem to influence the votes; and that in a criminal affair, that presence which ought only to be the dispenser of grace and favours, might be obliged to become the inflicter of punishments.

Lastly, I shall remark, that, in the trial of a peer, it was necessary, that the whole body of peers should be assembled, as being his natural judges. To these Charles VII. in the affair of the duke of Alençon, added the great officers of the crown. He did still more; for he admitted into this assembly the treasurers of France, and the lay-deputies of the parliament.

Thus

Thus do all things change; and the history of customs, laws, and privileges, is in many countries, and especially in France, only a moving picture.

It is therefore an idle project, and an ungrateful task, to endeavour to refer every thing to antient customs, or to fix that wheel which time is eternally whirling round, with an irresistible motion. To what æra must we go back? To that when the word parliament signified an assembly of the leaders of the Franks, who met together on the first day of March, to settle the division of spoils? Or to that in which all the bishops had a right to sit in a court of justice, known also by the name of parliament? Or to the times when the barons held the commons in a state of slavery? To what age, I say, or what laws, must we go back? What custom must we abide by? A citizen of Rome might, with as great certainty, ask a pope for the same consuls, the same tribunes, the same senate, and the same comitiæ; nay, for the very self-same form of government which prevailed in the antient Roman republic; or a citizen of Athens demand of the sultan the ancient areopagus, and assemblies of the people.

C H A P. LXXIII.

Of the COUNCIL of BASIL, held in the Time
of CHARLES VII.

WHAT the general estates are to kings, such are councils to the popes: but those things which have the nearest resemblance with each other frequently differ the most. In those monarchies where the republican spirit was the most prevalent, the estates never thought themselves superior to their kings; although they may have deposed them in a time of urgent necessity and disorder. The electors who deposed the emperor Winceslaus never looked upon themselves as superior to an emperor in possession of the royal authority. The cortes of Arragon told the king whom they elected, “*Nos que valemus tanto como vos, y que podemos mas que vos* * :” but when the king was crowned, they no longer expressed themselves in that manner, nor pretended to be superior to the person whom they had made master over them †.

* *i. e.* We who are as good as yourself, and can do more than you. See Chap. LII. Vol. II.

† The states as representatives of, and trustees for the people, can never exert more power than is vested in them by their constituents, and this is always limited to the preservation of the present constitution. But in cases of emergency, should it ever become necessary to sacrifice the prince to the preservation of the community, the nation must go back to the first principles of society, and the majority of individuals concur in his deposition.

But

But it is not the same with an assembly of bishops of a number of churches equally independent, as it is with the body of a monarchical state. This body has a sovereign, and the churches have only one chief metropolitan. But matters of religion, and the doctrine and discipline of the church, can never be subject to the decision of a single person, in contradiction to the whole world besides. The councils therefore are superior to the popes, in the same sense as the opinions of a thousand persons ought to be deemed superior to that of a single one. It remains then to know whether these councils have the same right of deposing the head of the church, as the diets of Poland and the electors of the Germanic empire have of deposing their sovereign.

This is one of those questions which is to be decided only by the argument *a fortiori*. If, on the one hand, a simple provincial synod has a power of divesting a common bishop of his dignities; by a much stronger reason, can the assembly of the whole christian world degrade the bishop of Rome. But again, on the other hand, this bishop is a sovereign prince, and did not receive his dignity from a council: how then can the councils pretend to take it from him, especially if his own subjects are satisfied with his administration? It would be in vain for all the bishops of the world to depose from his episcopal function an ecclesiastical elector, with whom the empire, and his own electorate were satisfied: he would still continue to be an elector, and enjoy all his rights as such; just as a king, excommunicated by ecclesiastical censure, would, if master in his kingdom,

kingdom, continue to be the sovereign of that dom.

The council of Constance deposed the sovereign of Rome, because the people of Rome neither would nor could oppose its proceedings. The council of Basil, which pretended ten years afterwards to follow the same example, gave a proof how little example is to be relied upon, and how greatly affairs, which are seemingly alike, may differ; and also, that what may be a great and exemplary boldness at one time, may appear rash and weak at another.

The council of Basil was only a prolongation of several others, proclaimed by pope Martin V. at different times, at Pavia and at Sienna. But as soon as pope Eugenius IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers began, by declaring, that the pope had neither the right of dissolving their assembly, nor yet of removing its seat; and that he was subject to them, under pain of punishment. Pope Eugenius immediately, upon this declaration, ordered the council to be dissolved. There seems to have been more zeal than prudence in this precipitate step taken by the fathers, and a zeal that might have had fatal consequences.

The emperor Sigismund, who was then reigning, was not master of the person of Eugenius, as he had been of that of John XXIII. He therefore kept fair at once with both pope and council. This scandalous business was for a long time confined to negotiations, in which both the whole eastern and western churches were made parties. The Greek empire was no longer in a condition to make head against the Turk, without the assistance of the Latin princes.

ces. It was necessary therefore for the Greek church, if it was desirous of obtaining this weak support, to submit to that of Rome: but it was far from entertaining such a thought; and the more pressing the danger grew, the more obstinate were the Greeks. But the emperor John Paleologus, who was principally affected by this danger, consented out of policy, to that which his clergy refused through obstinacy, and was ready to grant every thing, provided he might but obtain some assistance. He therefore addressed himself, at the same time, to the pope and to the council, who each of them disputed the honour of humbling the Greeks. John sent ambassadors to Basil, where the pope had some partisans of greater abilities than the rest of the fathers. The council had decreed that a sum of money should be sent to the emperor, with a few galleys to bring him over to Italy; and that he should have reception in the city of Basil. The pope's emissaries privately framed another decree, by which it was declared, in the name of the council, that they would receive the emperor in Florence, whither the pope would cause the assembly to be removed: they likewise found means to open the lock of the casket in which the seal of the council was kept, with which they sealed this decree, so opposite to the true one made by the council, to which they signed the names of the fathers. This Italian trick succeeded; and it was plain, that after this the pope would have the advantage in every thing over the council.

This assembly had no chief capable of uniting them, and crushing the pope, as that of Constance had. Neither had it any determi-
nate

nate point in view; but acted with so little prudence, that, in a memorial which the fathers delivered to the Greek ambassadors, they declared, that having already destroyed the heresy of the Hussites, they were now going to destroy the heresy of the Greek church. The pope, on the contrary, was more artful, and managed the negotiation on his side with more address; he breathed nothing but brotherly love and union, and never spoke of the Greeks but in the gentlest terms. Eugenius was a person of great prudence; he had appeased the troubles in Rome, and was become very powerful. He took care to have his galleys ready before those of the council.

The emperor embarked at the pope's expense, taking with him his patriarch, and a few chosen bishops, who were willing to renounce all the tenets of the Greek church for the interest of their country. The pope received them at Ferrara; and the emperor and his bishops, in the midst of their real submission, preserved in appearance the imperial majesty, and the dignity of the Greek church. No one of them kissed the pope's feet; but, after some few altercations about the *filioque processit*, which had for a long time been added by the church of Rome to the antient homily, the unleavened bread, and the doctrine of purgatory, they conformed to all the Romish tenets.

The pope now removed his council to Ferrara in Florence; and here it was that the deputies of the Greek church admitted the doctrine of purgatory. In this council it was determined, "that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the father and the son by the production of *spiration* ;

spiration; that the father communicates the whole of his divine essence to the son, excepting only his fatherhood; and that the productive power is given to the Son from all eternity."

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. The whole Greek church disowned what had been done; but still the pope's victory was no less glorious, and never had any pontiff before him the appearance of enjoying so complete a triumph.

At the the very time time that he was rendering this essential service to the Latins, and putting an end, as far as in him lay, to the schism between the eastern and western churches, he was by the council of Basil deposed from the pontificate, and declared "A rebel, a
1419 simonist, a schismatic, a heretic, and guilty of perjury."

If we judge of this council from this decree, it will appear no better than a company of factious spirits: but if we consider the excellent rules for discipline which it instituted, it will then appear an assembly of the wisest men; and for this reason, that passion had no part in its regulations, but was confined wholly to the deposition of Eugenius. The most august body, when led away by faction, always commits greater faults than a single person. Charles VII.'s council in France adopted the prudent regulations of this council, and rejected that decree which had been dictated by the spirit of party.

These

These were the regulations which served to compose the pragmatic sanction, which has been so long the darling of the people of France, that made by St. Lewis being no longer in force. The customs which they had vainly attempted to renew in France were utterly abolished by the address of the Romans. They were now established by this famous pragmatic sanction. The elections made by the clergy, with the approbation of the king, were confirmed; the custom of annates was declared simony, and reservations and reversions had in execration. But, on the one hand, they never ventured to do all that they might, and, on the other hand, they never did what they ought to have done. This celebrated law, by which the liberties of the Gallican church are secured, allows of a final appeal to the pope, who in that case may depute judges to preside in all ecclesiastical causes, which might easily be compromised by the bishops of the country. This was in some measure acknowledging the pope for master: and at the same time that this pragmatic law confers on him the chief of all prerogatives, it forbids him to make any more than twenty-four cardinals, with just as much reason as the pope would have to limit the number of dukes and peers of France, and grandees of Spain. Thus the whole is a contradiction.

The regulations established by this council also gave rise to the Germanic concordate; but the pragmatic law has been abolished in France, and the Germanic concordate still continues in force, as indeed all the German customs have done. The election of prelates, the investitures

tures of princes, the privileges of towns, rights, rank, and order of precedency, are almost all the same as they originally were. On the contrary, there are none of the customs of Charles VII. now remaining in France.

The council of Basil having in vain deposed a pope, who on account of his worth and abilities continued to be acknowledged by all Europe, afterwards set up in opposition to him a mere phantom. This was Amadeus VIII. duke of Savoy, who was the first of his family who had born the title of duke, and afterwards turned hermit at Ripaille *, from a motive of devotion which Poggio is far from thinking real. Be that as it may, his devotion could not hold out against the temptation of being made pope. Accordingly he was declared supreme pontiff, though a layman; but that which had occasioned a violent schism, and the most bloody wars in the time of Urban VI. now only produced a few ecclesiastical disputes, bulls, censures, mutual excommunications, and violent invectives: for, as the council had called Eugenius simonist, schismatic, heretic, and perjured, Eugenius's secretary returned the abuse, by styling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians; and Amadeus, Cerberus and Antichrist. In fine, in the papacy of Nicholas V. this council dispersed gradually of itself; and this pope-hermit, duke of Savoy, contented himself with a cardinal's hat, and left the church in its usual
 1449 tranquility.

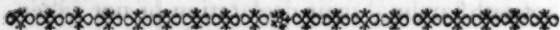
* A little town in Savoy, now famous for its Carthusian monastery, built by this Amadeus, when he laid down the papal dignity.

Upon the whole, this council is a proof how greatly affairs change with the times. The fathers of the council of Constance condemned John Hus and Jerome of Prague to the stake, notwithstanding their declaration of not adhering to the doctrine of Wickliff, and the clear explanation they gave of the real presence, merely for persisting in the sentiments of Wickliff relating to the church hierarchy and discipline.

The Hussites, in the time of the council of Basil, went much greater lengths than the founders of their sect had done; Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, the famous general, and successor of John Ziska, came to hold a disputation at this council, at the head of 200 gentlemen of his party. He maintained, among other things, that "monks were an invention of the devil," and thus he offered to prove it, "Can you say, said he, that they were instituted by Jesus Christ?" We cannot, answered Cardinal Julian: "Well then, (replied Procopius) it is clear it must have been by the devil." An argument truly worthy of a Bohemian captain in those days. Æneas Silvius, who was witness to this scene, says, that they only answered Procopius by a general laugh; the council of Constance answered John Hus and Jerome of Prague by a sentence of death.

We have seen how low the Greek emperors had fallen, during this council. They must have been approaching very near to ruin, when they went like beggars to Rome to sue for a feeble support, and sacrificed their religion to obtain it. Accordingly, a few years afterwards, they were wholly subdued by the Turks,

who took Constantinople. We shall now enquire into the causes and consequences of this revolution.



C H A P. LXXIV.

The Fall of the GREEK EMPIRE.

THE crusades in depopulating the West opened the breach by which the Turks at length entered into Constantinople; for the chiefs of these expeditions, by usurping the empire of the East, weakened it, and when the Greeks afterwards recovered it from them, it was in a mangled and impoverished condition.

We must not forget that the Greeks recovered their empire in the year 1261; and that Michael Paleologus took it from the Latin usurpers, to deprive his pupil John Lascaris of the crown. We are likewise to recollect, that in those days Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, invaded Naples and Sicily; and that, had it not been for the affair of the Sicilian Vespers, he would have disputed with the tyrant Paleologus the possession of Constantinople, destined to be a prey to usurpers.

This Michael Paleologus kept fair with the popes, in hopes to avert the storm which threatened him. He flattered them with the submission of the Greek church; but his low politics were not sufficient to counterbalance the spirit of party and superstition which prevailed in his country, and he made himself so odious by his manner of proceeding, that his own son Andronicus,

dronicus, an unhappily bigotted schismatic, either durst not, or would not grant him the rites of Christian burial. 1283

The unhappy Greeks, though pressed on all sides by the Turks and Latins, were taken up with disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ; one half of the empire pretending that the light upon mount Tabor had been from all eternity, and the other half that it had been produced by God, only for the purpose of the transfiguration. In the mean time the Turks were strengthening themselves in Asia Minor, from whence they soon over-ran Thrace.

Ottoman, from whom all the Osmanlis emperors descended, had fixed the seat of his empire at Byrsa, in Bythinia. Orcan his son advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis, and the emperor John Cantacufenes was glad to give him his daughter in marriage. The nuptials were celebrated at Scutari, over against Constantinople; soon after which Cantacufenes, finding himself unable to keep the empire which another disputed with him, retired into a monastery. An emperor, father-in-law to a Turkish sultan, and himself a monk, gave a strong presage of the fall of the empire.

The Turks wanted to pass into Europe, but were prevented for want of shipping. But so despicable was the condition of the empire at that time, that the Genoese, for paying a small fine, were suffered to have possession of Galata, which is looked upon as one of the suburbs of Constantinople, and is only separated from it by a canal which forms the port. It is said sultan Amurath, son to this Orcan, engaged the Genoese to transport his soldiers to the other

side of the streight. The bargain was concluded; and thus, it is said, did the Genoese, for a few thousand gold besants, betray the empire into the hands of the Infidels; others say, that Amurath only made use of Genoese ships: however, he passed the streight with his army, and advanced to Adrianopolis, where he fixed his quarters, and threatened all Christendom with an invasion. The emperor, John Paleologus, hastened to Rome, where he kissed the feet of pope Urban V. acknowledged his primacy, and humbled himself in the most abject manner, for the sake of obtaining, through his mediation, those succours which the situation of Europe, and the fatal examples of the crusades, would no longer admit of granting: therefore, after having in vain stooped to the pope, he returned to crouch beneath Amurath. He made a treaty with this sultan, not as a king with a king, but as a slave with his master, and at once served as a lieutenant and hostage to the Turkish conqueror. And, after Amurath and this Paleologus had each of them put out the eyes of his eldest son, of whom they were alike jealous, Paleologus gave his second son to the sultan; and this son, whose name was Manuel, served in the army of Amurath against the Christians.

Sultan Amurath was the first who gave to the Janissary militia*, which had been instituted before,

* It was in the year 1362, in the reign of this Amurath, alias Morâd-Can I. that the vizier appointed certain officers at the straits of Kallipolis to seize every fifth captive that should be taken by the sultan's army, in order to constitute a body

before, that form under which it at present subsists. Being assassinated as he was pursuing his victories, he was succeeded by his son Bajazet Ilderim, or Bajazet the Thunderbolt. The infamy and humiliation of the Greek emperors were now become complete. An-¹³⁸⁹dronicus, the unhappy son of John Paleologus, whom his father had deprived of his sight, fled to Bajazet, and implored his protection against his father, and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him four thousand horse; and the Genoese, who were still masters of Galata, furnished him with men and money. Andronicus, thus assisted by the Turks and Genoese, made himself master of Constantinople, and shut his father up in prison.

The father at the end of two years resumed the throne, and built a citadel near Galata, in order to stop the progress of Bajazet, who already began to project the siege of Constantinople. Bajazet upon this commanded him to demolish the citadel, and admit a Turkish cadi into the city, as judge of the Turkish merchants who were settled there. This order the

a body of troops. These being accordingly selected to a considerable number, were sent to Sheykh Hagi Bektaşh, a Turk, celebrated for his piety and holy life, desiring he would give them a banner and a name, and pray for their success. For their banner, he bestowed upon them the sleeve of his gown, denominated them *Tengicberi*, which signifies New Soldiers; and prayed that their countenances might be ever bright, their hands victorious, and their swords keen; that their spears might always hang over the heads of their enemy; and that wheresoever they went, they might return with white faces, *i. e.* good fortune. Their number is forty thousand; and they take rank of all the other Turkish soldiery.

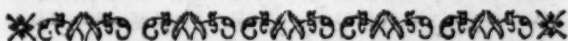
emperor complied with. In the mean time Bajazet leaving Constantinople behind him, as a sure prey upon which he could fall again at pleasure, advanced into the midst of Hungary; there he gained a complete victory over the Christian army, and those brave French commanded by Sigismond emperor of the West. The French, before the battle, put all their Turkish prisoners to the sword; we are not therefore to wonder that Bajazet, after his victory, ordered all the French prisoners he had taken to be likewise put to death, they themselves having set him this cruel example. He reserved only five and twenty knights from the general slaughter, among whom was Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, whom Bajazet thus bespoke while he was receiving his ransom. "I might oblige thee to swear never more to bear arms against me, but I equally despise thy oaths and thy arms."

After this defeat, Manuel, who was become emperor † of the city of Constantinople, went to the several courts of Europe to petition for assistance, as his father had formerly done. He came to France; but he could not have applied in a less favourable conjuncture for assistance from that court: it was during the phrenzy of Charles VI. when the kingdom was involved in numberless disorders. Manuel remained two whole years at Paris, while the capital of the Christians in the East was blocked

† He had ascended the imperial throne with the consent of his brother Andronicus, who renounced the purple by way of penance, for having rebelled against his father.

up by the Turks, who at length laid siege to it in form, and its ruin seemed inevitable; but it was put off for some time by one of those great events which fill the world with confusion.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, of which we have already seen the origin*, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China, and as far as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, one of the princes of these Tartars, relieved Constantinople for a time, by turning his arms against Bajazet.



C H A P. LXXV.

OF TAMERLANE.

TIMOUR, whom I shall call Tamerlane, in conformity to the general custom, was, according to the best historians, descended from Gengis-Can by the female side. He was born in the year 1357, in the city of Cash, in the territories of the ancient Sogdiana, whither the Greeks formerly penetrated under Alexander the Great, and settled some colonies. It is at present inhabited by the Usbec Tartars. It begins upon the borders of the Gihon or Oxus; which river has its source in Lesser Thibet, about seven hundred leagues from the source of the Tygris and Euphrates. This is the same river Gihon which we find mentioned in the book of Genesis.

* See Chap. xlviii. Vol. II.

At the mention of the city of Cash we are ready to figure to ourselves a desert country. It lies however in the same climate with Naples and Provence, and in a word, is a delightful country.

At the name of Tamerlane we are again apt to form an idea of a barbarian, little removed from a brute: but let it be remembered, as we have before observed, that there never was a great conqueror among princes, nor in private life any person remarkably fortunate, without that kind of merit which always meets with success for its reward. Now Tamerlane must undoubtedly have had the greater share of the merit peculiar to ambition, who, born without any dominions of his own, subdued more countries than Alexander, and almost as many as Gengis-Can. His first conquest was the city of Balk, the capital of Corassan, on the borders of Persia. After that he subdued the province of Candahar, and reduced all ancient Persia; then returning back again, he conquered the people of Transoxana, and next made himself master of Bagdat. He went to India, which he also subdued, and took possession of Deli, which is its capital. We find, that all those who have made themselves masters of Persia, have in like manner conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ocus reduced it after many others; and after him Alexander, Gengis-Can, and Tamerlane, found it an easy conquest. Shah Nadir in our time only shewed himself there, gave it laws, and brought off immense treasures.

Tamerlane, after having conquered India, returned back and fell upon Syria, whose capital city, Damascus, he took. He then hastened back

back to Bagdat, which he had lately conquered, and which now attempted to throw off his yoke: he reduced it, and gave it up to plunder and the sword. It is said, that on this occasion above eight hundred thousand inhabitants were put to death. The city was razed to the foundations. In these countries cities were easily destroyed, and as easily rebuilt, the houses being, as we have elsewhere remarked, built only of bricks dried in the sun*. In the midst of this series of victories, it was, that the Greek emperor, after having in vain solicited succours from the Christians, addressed himself at length to the Tartar. Five Mahometan princes, whom Bajazet had driven out of their kingdoms on the borders of the Pontus Euxinus, came at the same time to implore his assistance. Thus invited by Mussulmans and Christians, he marched into Asia Minor.

There is one circumstance which may give us an advantageous idea of Tamerlane's character, which is, that we find him, through the whole course of this war, strictly observant of the laws of nations. Before he commenced hostilities, he sent ambassadors to Bajazet, requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to the Mussulman princes, whom he had deprived of their kingdoms. Bajazet received these proposals with the utmost rage and contempt; upon which Tamerlane declared war against him, and continued his march. Bajazet immediately raised the siege of Constantinople; and between Cæsarea and Ancira was fought that great battle, in 1401

* See Vol. I. towards the beginning.

which all the forces of the world seemed met together †. Tamerlane's troops must doubtless have been extremely well disciplined; for, after a most obstinate resistance, they conquered those which had defeated the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and many other warlike nations. We may be almost certain, that on this occasion Tamerlane, who till then had always fought with the bow and the scimeter, made use of cannon against the Ottomans; and that it was him who sent those pieces of ordnance into the Mogul country, which are to be seen there to this day, and on which there are graven certain unintelligible characters. The Turks, on their side, not only made use of cannon, but also of the ancient wild-fire. This double advantage would have infallibly given them the victory over Tamerlane, had he not made use of artillery.

Bajazet, in this battle, saw his son Mustapha slain, fighting by his side; and he himself fell captive into the hands of the conqueror, with another of his sons, named Musa, or Moses.

It may not be displeasing to know the consequences of this memorable battle, between two

† Schilperger, who was in the battle, says the army of Tamerlane amounted to one million six hundred thousand men; and that the number of Bajazet's did not exceed four hundred thousand. Sharifo'dden, in his history of Timur, says, that when Bajazet was brought to his tent in chains, he received him with great humanity, caused him to sit down, and complained in mild terms of his obstinacy. The prisoner having owned his offence, and asked pardon, Tamerlane gave him a splendid vest in token of reconciliation, and ever after treated him with respect. It does not appear in any historian that Tamerlane used artillery in this battle.

nations which seemed to dispute for the mastery of Europe and Asia, and two mighty conquerors, whose names are still celebrated by posterity; a battle likewise which, for a time, preserved the Greek empire from ruin, and might have contributed to the overthrow of the Turkish power.

The Turkish annals tell us, that Tamerlane shut Bajazet up in an iron cage; but we meet with nothing like this in any of the Persian or Arabian authors who have written the life of Tamerlane. Is this then a story calculated to render the memory of Tamerlane odious? or rather, may we not suppose that the Turkish writers have copied from the Greek historians? The Arabian authors pretend that Tamerlane made Bajazet's queen wait on him at table half-naked; and this has given rise to the received fable, that the Turkish sultans have never married since this insult offered to the wife of their predecessor; a fable which is sufficiently contradicted by the marriage of Amurath II. whom we shall hereafter see espoused to the daughter of a despot of Servia, and by that of Mahomet II. with the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

It is difficult to reconcile this story of the iron cage and the brutal insult offered to Bajazet's wife, with that generosity which the Turks ascribe to Tamerlane, who tell us, that when this conqueror had entered into Bursa or Prusa, the capital of the Turkish dominions in Asia, he wrote a letter to Bajazet's son Solymán, which would have done honour even to Alexander himself. In this letter Tamerlane thus expresses himself: "I am desirous to forget

that I have been the enemy of Bajazet, and will be a father to his children, provided they will wait the effects of my clemency. I am contented with the conquests I have already gained, and am not to be tempted by the hopes of new favours from the hand of fickle fortune."

Supposing such a letter to have been really written, it was certainly no more than an artifice. The Turks say farther, that Solyman, not hearkning to this generous proposal of Tamerlane, that prince declared Musa, the other son of Bajazet, sultan in Bursa, and that on this occasion he said to him, "Receive the inheritance of thy father; a royal mind knows how to give as well as to conquer kingdoms."

The Oriental historians, as well as ours, frequently put words into the mouths of illustrious personages, which were never spoke by them. This wondrous magnanimity towards the son does but ill agree with the barbarous treatment he is accused of towards the father. All that we can gather of certain, or that merits our attention, is, that this great victory of Tamerlane did not deprive the Turks of a single city: this Musa, whom he made sultan, and whom he protected in opposition to his two brothers, Solyman and Mahomet I. could not, even with his assistance, make head against them; and in the thirteen years civil war which ensued between the children of Bajazet, Tamerlane does not seem to have gained any great advantage, which, together with the bad success of this new sultan, clearly shews that the Turks were a truly warlike people, who, tho' they might be conquered, were not to be enslaved; and that the Tartar, finding that he
could

could not easily extend his conquests, nor form a settlement in Asia Minor, turned his arms elsewhere.

His pretended magnanimity towards Bajazet's sons, was certainly not the effect of his moderation; for we find him soon afterwards ravaging all Syria, which belonged to the Egyptian Mamelucs. He then repassed the Euphrates, and returned to the city of Samarcand, which he considered as the capital of his vast empire. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Gengis-Can; for, altho' this latter made himself master of a part of China and Corea, Tamerlane was for some time in possession of Syria and a part of Asia Minor, whither Gengis had never been able to penetrate. He was likewise master of almost all Indostan; whereas Gengis had subdued only the northern provinces of that vast empire. While he remained at Samarcand, he meditated the conquest of China, altho' far from being firmly established in the immense dominions he already possessed, and at an age when his death could not be far distant.

It was in this city that he, like Gengis-Can, received the homage of several princes of Asia, and ambassadors from many sovereigns, particularly from the Greek emperor Manuel, and even from Henry III. king of Castile. On this occasion he gave one of those feasts which resembled the magnificent entertainments given of old by the first kings of Persia. All the different orders of the state, and the several artificers, passed in review before him, each carrying the badge of their profession. He married all his grand-sons and
grand-

grand-daughters in the same day: at length he
 1406 died in an extreme old age, after a reign
 of thirty-six years, happier with respect
 to his length of days, and having lived to see his
 grand-children happy, than Alexander, to whom
 the Orientals are so fond of comparing him;
 but otherwise far inferior to the Macedonian,
 being born in a barbarous nation, and hav-
 ing like Gengis-Can destroyed a multitude
 of cities without having built one; whereas
 Alexander, during the course of a very short life,
 and in the midst of his rapid conquests built
 Alexandria and Scanderoon, and rebuilt this
 very city of Samarcand, which afterwards be-
 came the seat of Tamerlane's empire, as like-
 wise a number of other cities in India: he also
 established several colonies of Greeks beyond the
 Oxus, sent the astronomical observations of the
 Babylonians into Greece, and entirely changed
 the commerce of Asia, Europe, and Africa,
 making Alexandria the magazine of the uni-
 verse; so far then, in my opinion, Alexander
 surpasses Tamerlane, Gengis, and all the con-
 querors who have been put in competition
 with him.

I do not think that Tamerlane was of a more
 impetuous disposition than Alexander. If I may
 be permitted to enliven a little the history of
 these dreadful events, and to mix the little with
 the great, I shall relate a story which is told
 by a Persian writer cotemporary with this prince.
 He says that a famous Persian poet named Ha-
 medi Kermani, being in the same bath with him
 and several of his courtiers, and diverting them-
 selves at a game which consisted in setting a
 certain value upon every one in the company,
 I should

I should value you at thirty aspers, said he to the great Can. Why, the napkin that I wipe myself with, replied the prince, is worth that. "Yes, returned Hamedi, I reckon the napkin likewise." Perhaps a prince who would suffer these innocent freedoms could not be thought to have a very cruel disposition; but great conquerors frequently divert themselves with the inferior part of mankind, and destroy others.

Tamerlane was neither a Mussulman† nor yet of the sect of Lama, but like the learned in China, acknowledged only one God, in which he gave a proof of that good understanding which more civilized nations have been wanting in. We meet with no marks of superstition either in himself or his followers. He alike tolerated the Mussulmen, the Lamians, and the other idolatrous sects which are spread over India. It is even said, that as he passed by Mount Lebanon, he assisted at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks, who inhabited those mountains. His greatest foible was an attachment to judicial astrology, an error common to all men in those times, and from which we ourselves are but lately freed. He was not learned himself, but he took care to have his grandsons trained up in the knowledge of the sciences. The famous Oulougbe,

† Sharifo'dden expressly says, that when Timur dismissed the ambassadors of Bajazet, who brought him a very insolent message, he expressed his concern that he was constrained to invade the dominions of the Turk, while his forces were employed against the Infidels; and that he afterwards applauded Bajazet for having turned his arms against the enemies of the prophet.

who succeeded him in his dominions beyond the Oxus, founded in the city of Samarcand the first academy of sciences: he caused the measure of the earth to be taken, and helped to compose the astronomical tables which bore his name, as king Alphonso of Castile had done near a century before. At present the grandeur of Samarcand is fallen with the sciences; and this country, now occupied by the Usbec Tartars, is sunk again into barbarism, to become perhaps more flourishing in future times.

The posterity of Tamerlane still continue to reign in Indostan; which is now called Mogul, a name it has retained from the Mogul Tartars, the followers of Gengis-Can, who preserved their conquests in that country till the time of Tamerlane. Another branch of his race reigned in Persia till they were driven out by another dynasty of Tartarian princes of the faction of the White Sheep in 1468.

And now, if we reflect that the Turks were also of Tartarian origin, and call to remembrance that Attila was descended from the same people, this will all together confirm what has been already observed †, that the Tartars have made the conquest of almost the whole globe. The reason we have already seen. They had nothing to lose, and were the most robust and hardy of all other nations. But since the Oriental Tartars, after having made a second time the conquest of China in the last century, have formed only one empire of China and eastern Tartary; since the Russian empire is become more extensive and more civilized; and since

† See Chap. xlviii. vol. 2.

the earth has been covered with ramparts, lined with artillery, we are no longer in dread of these prodigious emigrations. The civilized nations are secure from the irruptions of these Barbarians. All Tartary excepting China is now only the receptacle of a number of miserable tribes, who would esteem themselves happy to be conquered in their turn, was it not still more desirous to be free than to be civilized.



C H A P. LXXVI.

Continuation of the History of the TURKS and GREEKS till the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantinople was once out of danger by the victory which Tamerlane gained over Bajazet; but the successors of this sultan soon recovered their empire. The chief of Tamerlane's conquests were in Persia, Syria, India, Armenia, and part of Russia. The Turks quickly recovered Asia Minor, and kept all they had conquered in Europe. In those times there must certainly have been a more intimate correspondence, or at least not so great an aversion between the Mahometans and the Christians as there is at present. John Paleologus made no difficulty to give his daughter in marriage to sultan Orcan; and Amurath II. grandson to Bajazet, and son to Mahomet I. very readily espoused Irene, daughter to a despot of Servia,

Amu-

Amurath II. was one of those Turkish princes who contributed to raise the grandeur of the Ottoman family; but he was far from being the dupe to that glare and pomp which waited upon the success of his arms. His sole view was to secure a quiet retreat. It was somewhat singular to see a Turkish monarch so much the philosopher as to lay down his crown; yet this he did twice, and as often was in a manner obliged to resume it at the repeated entreaties of his bashaws and Janissaries.

John Paleologus made a journey to Rome to meet the council which pope Eugenius IV. had assembled at Florence †. There he held a disputation upon the procession of the Holy Ghost; while the Venetians, who were already masters of one part of Greece, were purchasing Thessalonica, and the Christians and the Mahometans were dividing his empire between them. In the mean time Amurath made himself master of Thessalonica, almost as soon as the Venetians had purchased it. The Venetians imagined they had sufficiently secured this country, and indeed provided for the defence of all Greece, by a wall eight hundred paces in length, in imitation of that built by the antient Romans in the north of England. This might have been a sufficient defence against the incursions of a savage and undisciplined people, but availed little against the victorious arms of the Turkish militia. In short they destroyed this wall, and pushed their invasion on all sides, into Greece, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

† See Chap. lxxiii. in this Vol.

The Hungarians had raised to their throne young Ladislaus IV. king of Poland. With this prince, Amurath II. after having prosecuted the war for some years in Hungary, Thrace, and all the adjacent countries, with various success, concluded the most solemn treaty of peace that had ever been made between the 1444 Christians and Mahometans. Amurath and Ladislaus took an oath to each other, the one on the alcoran, and the other on the Gospels, by which the Turk on his side promised to push his conquests no farther, and even restored part of what he had taken. By this treaty the limits of the Ottoman possessions were settled as well as those of the Hungarians and Venetians.

But cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his persecutions of the Hussites, for having been president of the council of Basil at its first sitting, and for the crusade which he preached against the Turks, proved on this occasion by his blind zeal the cause of the greatest disgrace and misfortunes to the Christians.

The treaty of peace was scarcely ratified when this cardinal endeavoured to break it. He flattered himself with being able to engage the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet; and that the Greeks, roused from their long lethargy, would make one last effort for the preservation of their liberties. The opportunity was certainly favourable; as it was at this very time that Amurath, relying upon the faith of this treaty, had devoted himself to retirement, and had resigned the government to his son Mahomet, a young and unexperienced prince.

Some

Some pretext however was wanting for the violation of this treaty on the side of the Christians. Amurath had observed all the conditions of the peace with an exactness which left those who infringed it without an excuse. The legate therefore had no other resource left but to persuade Ladislaus, the Hungarians, and Polish chiefs that it was lawful to violate their oath. For this purpose he harangued and wrote, and assured them that the peace which they had sworn upon the Gospel was of no effect, as having been done contrary to the inclination of the pope. In fact, Eugenius IV. the then pope, wrote himself to Ladislaus, commanding him in express terms, "To break a peace which could not lawfully be made without the knowledge of the holy see." We have already seen that they had introduced the maxim, "That no faith was to be kept with heretics." It was therefore concluded that no faith was to be kept with Mahometans.

In just the same manner did antient Rome break her truce with Carthage in the last Punic war. But there was a considerable difference between the two events. The infidelity of the Roman senate was the oppressive act of a conqueror; that of the Christians the effort of an oppressed people, to throw off the yoke of usurpers. In fine, Julian prevailed; and all the chiefs suffered themselves to be carried away by the torrent, especially John Corvinus Huniades, the famous Hungarian general, who so frequently engaged Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladislaus, seduced by false hopes, and a manner of thinking which success alone can justify, invaded the sultan's territories. The janissaries
upon

upon this went in a body to beseech Amurath to quit his retirement, and put himself at their head, to which he consented; and the two armies met near the Pontus Euxinus, in that country which is now known by the name of Bulgaria, but was then called Mæsia. The battle was fought near the city of Varno. Amurath wore in his bosom the ¹⁴⁴⁴ treaty of peace which he had concluded with the Christians, and which they had so lately infringed; and holding it up in the midst of the croud, at a time that he found his troops began to give way, he called aloud upon God, beseeching him to punish the perjured Christians, and revenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. This is what has given rise to the fabulous report, that the peace was sworn upon the eucharist, and the host deposited in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the day of battle. Perjury for this time met with the punishment it deserved. The Christians were defeated after an obstinate resistance. King Ladislaus, after receiving a number of wounds, had his head struck off by a janissary, who carried it in triumph through the ranks of the Turkish army; at this fatal sight the rout of the Christians became general.

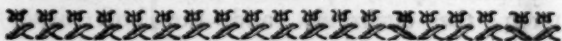
Amurath, after his victory, caused the body of Ladislaus to be buried in the field of battle, with all military honours. It is even said, that he caused a pillar to be erected on his grave; with an inscription, which was so far from insulting his memory, that it extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortunes.

Some

Some writers say that Cardinal Julian, who was present at this battle, endeavouring to cross a river in his flight, was drowned by the weight of gold which he carried about him. Others again say that he was slain by the Hungarians. It is certain that he perished on that day.

But, what is most remarkable is, that Amurath, after having gained this signal victory, betook himself again to solitude; and a second time abdicated the crown, which he was afterwards obliged to resume, to go forth again to battle, and to conquer.

At length he died in Adrianopolis, 1451 leaving the empire to his son Mahomet II. who strove rather to imitate his father's courage than his philosophy.



CHAP. LXXVII.

OF SCANDERBEG.

ANOTHER warrior of no less fame, whom I know not whether to call an Osmianist or Christian, checks the progress of Amurath's arms, and for a long time became a rampart for the christians against the victories of Mahomet II. The person I mean is Scanderbeg, who was born in Albania, a province of Epirus, a country illustrious in the times we call heroic, and in those truly heroic ages of the Romans. His true name was John Castriot. He was the son of a despot or petty king of that country, that is to say, a vassal prince; for this is the meaning of the word despot;

despot; and it is surprising that the term despotic * should have been applied to great sovereigns who had rendered themselves absolute.

After the death of old Castriot, and several years before the battle of Varna already mentioned, sultan Amurath made himself master of Albania, while this John Castriot, who was the only survivor of four brothers, was yet a child. Amurath had him carefully brought up. The Turkish annals do not make the least mention of the three other princes having been put to death by Amurath; nor does it at all appear that such barbarity could agree with the character of a sultan who had twice resigned his crown; and it is as little probable that Amurath should have shewn such tenderness and confidence for a person from whom he could expect no return but an implacable hatred. He loaded him with favours, and would always have him fight by his side. The young Castriot distinguished himself so greatly in several engagements, that the sultan and the Janissaries gave him the name of Scanderbeg, which signifies Lord Alexander.

At length, friendship getting the better of policy, Amurath entrusted him with the command of a small army against the despot of Servia, who had sided with the Christians, and declared war against the sultan his son-in-law. Scanderbeg, who was at that time barely twenty years of age, conceived the bold design of

* Despot and despotic are both Greek words. Δεσπότης signifies *dominus*, or lord. Δεσποτικός signifies *imperiosus*, imperious, so that it is not at all strange that they should be used in different acceptations.

throwing

throwing off subjection, and reigning for himself.

He knew that the secretary, who had the custody of the sultan's signet, was to pass near his camp. He caused him to be seized, loaded him with chains, and compelled him to write, and put the sultan's seal to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Epirus, to deliver the town and citadel to Scanderbeg.

After having dispatched this order, he assassinated the secretary and all those of his train.

1443 He then marched with all diligence to Croia, which the governor, without hesitation, delivered up to him. The same night he caused a body of Albanians, with whom he had held a private correspondence, to advance, who, entering the city, put the governor and his garrison to the sword, and afterwards assisted Scanderbeg in reducing all Albania. The Albanians are reckoned the best soldiers of those countries; and Scanderbeg knew so well how to manage them, and to take advantage of the situation of that craggy and mountainous country, that, with an handful of troops, he effectually opposed the numerous armies of the Turks.

The Mussulmen look upon him as a perfidious wretch: but, after all, he only deceived his enemies. He recovered the possession of his father's crown, and deserved to wear it for his heroic courage †.

† His courage will not atone for his breach of trust, perfidy, and cruelty.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

Of the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE by the
T U R K S.

HAD the Greek emperors acted like Scanderbeg, the empire of the East might still have been preserved. But the same spirit of cruelty, weakness, discord, and superstition, which had shaken it for such a length of time, now hastened its final overthrow.

There were no less than three empires of the East, so called, when in reality there was but one. The city of Constantinople, which was in the hands of the Greeks; Adrianopole, the asylum of the Lascaris family, till taken by Amurath I. in 1362, and which has ever since belonged to the sultans; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, called Trebifond, which served for a retreat to the Comneni, was the third reputed empire.

This dismembering of the empire was, as we have already observed, the only considerable effect produced by the crusades. Ravaged as it had been by the Franks, and retaken again by its former masters, only to undergo new desolation, it is surprising that it subsisted so long. There were two parties in Constantinople, bitter enemies to each other, on the score of religion, as was nearly the case in Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Vespasian and Titus. One of these factions was for the emperors, who, through the vain hopes of succours from the Latins, had consented to subject the Greek church to that of Rome. The

other was composed of the priests and the people, who, having fresh in their memories the invasion of the crusaders, utterly abhorred the thoughts of an union of the two churches. While these two factions were taken up with their mutual bickerings, and controversial disputes, the Turks appeared at their gates.

John VII. surnamed Paleologus, reigned in Constantinople twenty-seven years; and at his death, which happened in 1449, he left the empire in so weak a condition, that one of his sons, called Constantine, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the imperial dignity from the Turkish sultan Amurath II. as from his lord paramount. A brother of this Constantine had Lacedemonia, another Corinth, and a third all that part of Peloponnesus which did not belong to the Venetians.

Such was the situation of the Greeks, 1451 when Mahomet Bouyouck, or the Great, succeeded sultan Amurath, his father, for the second time. The monkish writers have described this prince as a senseless barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his supposed mistress Irene to appease a sedition of the Janissaries; and at another, ordered fourteen of his pages to have their bellies ript open, in order to discover which of them had eaten a melon that was missing. We still find some of these absurd stories in our biographical dictionaries, which have for a long time been little better than alphabetical registers of falsehoods.

All the Turkish annals inform us that Mahomet was one of the best educated princes of his time; what we have already observed concerning his father Amurath, sufficiently proves that

that he was not likely to neglect the education of a son who was to succeed him in the kingdom. Nor has it ever been denied that Mahomet behaved with all filial respect and duty, and without hearkening to the dictates of ambition, in chearfully yielding the throne to his father Amurath, when desirous of resuming it. He twice returned to the degree of subject from that of king, without shewing the least signs of discontent. This is an action unparalleled in history; and so much the more extraordinary, as Mahomet to an ambitious spirit added a fiery and impetuous disposition.

He spoke the Greek, Arabian, and Persian languages, understood Latin, and designing, and knew as much of geography and mathematics as could be known in those times. He was fond of painting; and every lover of the liberal arts knows that he sent for the famous Gentili Bellino from Venice, and rewarded him, as Alexander heretofore did Apelles, not only with a pecuniary gratification, but with the indulgence of his private friendship: he presented him with a golden crown and chain, and three thousand gold ducats; and sent him home loaded with honours. And here I cannot help classing among the rank of improbable tales, that of the slave whose head Mahomet is said to have cut off, to shew Bellino the action of the skin and muscles in a neck separated from the trunk. These cruelties, though exercised by us upon animals, to answer certain purposes, are never practised by mankind upon one another, unless in the heat of fury and revenge, or agreeable

to the law of arms †. Mahomet II. was frequently guilty of cruel and savage actions, like all other conquerors who have ravaged the earth; but why impute cruelties of so improbable a nature to him? Or wherefore take delight in multiplying horrid relations?

He was twenty-two years of age when he ascended the throne of the sultans, and immediately formed the design of placing himself on that of Constantinople, while this wretched city was running into religious factions about using leavened or unleavened bread, or praying in Greek or in Latin.

Mahomet II. began by blocking up 1453 the city on the side of Europe and Asia. At length, in the beginning of April, he covered the whole adjacent country with his troops, which the exaggerated relations of the writers of those times have made to amount to 300,000, and entered the streight of Propontis with 300 galleys and 200 other smaller vessels.

One of the most extraordinary and best attested facts is, the use which Mahomet made of a part of these vessels. As they could not enter the harbour of Constantinople, by reason of the great chains and booms which the enemy had laid across it, and which from their advantageous situation, they were able to defend against all attempts; he, in one night's time covered a space of near two leagues upon the shore with deal planks, besmeared with

† We cannot readily conceive our author's meaning in this place: surely the law of arms cannot in any nation authorize the wanton exercise of cruelties or barbarity.

grease and tallow, and made in the form of a ship's cradle; and with the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up eighty galleys, and seventy of the smaller vessels, out of the water, upon these planks, from whence he launched them all into the harbour; and this amazing work was completed in the space of one night, so that the next morning the besieged were surprised with the sight of a large fleet of ships riding in the midst of their port. The same day he caused a bridge of boats to be built across the harbour in their sight, upon which he raised a battery of cannon.

Assuredly Constantinople must have been very deficient in artillery, or the artillery must have been very badly served. Else what prevented the besieged from beating this bridge of boats to pieces with their cannon? And it is rather doubtful what is said of Mahomet's making use of cannon that carried balls of two hundred pounds weight. The conquered always exaggerate matters. It is plain that one of these balls would require near an hundred weight of powder to throw it to any distance. Now such a quantity of powder could never be fired all at once, and the ball would be discharged from the cannon before the fifteenth part of the powder could take fire †, consequently it would have very little effect. Perhaps the Turks might,

† This is not true in fact: if it were, the same would happen in a charge of one pound, as well as in one of a hundred, because the proportion of resistance is the same in both; and we see every day shells of five times that weight discharged from mortars with the full effect of the powder.

through ignorance, have made use of such cannon, and through a like ignorance, the Greeks might be terrified at the appearance of them.

In the beginning of May the Turks began to make several assaults upon that city, which thought itself the capital of the world. Constantinople was then very weakly fortified, and not better defended. The emperor, in conjunction with a cardinal of Rome, named Isidore, performed his devotions according to the Romish ritual, which at once exasperated and discouraged his Greek subjects, who would not so much as enter the churches which he frequented, declaring, "They had rather see a Turkish turbant in their churches than a cardinal's hat."

In former times almost all the princes of Christendom, under pretence of an holy war, had joined together to invade this metropolis and bulwark of the Christian world, and now that it was attacked by the enemies to the faith, not one stirred in its defence.

The emperor Frederick III. was neither sufficiently enterprising nor powerful to attempt any thing for its relief. Poland was under too bad an administration. France was but just recovered from the miserable state to which she had been reduced by her wars at home, and those she had been engaged in against the English. England began to be divided and weak. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a powerful prince, but he had too much understanding to revive the crusades alone, and was too old to bear a share in such enterprises. The Italian princes were engaged in war with each other. The kingdoms of Arragon and
Castile

Castile were not yet united, and a great part of Spain was still in the possession of the Moors.

In short, there were but two sovereigns in Europe capable of encountering Mahomet II. These were John Huniades prince of Transilvania, who could hardly defend his own territories; and the famous Scanderbeg, who had enough to do to keep possession of the mountains of Epirus, like Pelagius Tudomer, heretofore in those of Asturias, when the Moors over-run Spain*. Four Genoese ships, of which one belonged to the emperor Frederick III. were almost all the succours the Christian world could at that time afford Constantinople. This unfortunate city was commanded by a foreigner, whose name was Justiniani, a native of Genoa. An edifice reduced to such props must infallibly fall to ruin. The ancient Greeks never had a Persian for a chief, nor was the Roman republic ever headed by a Gaul. Constantinople therefore must necessarily be taken, and it was so; but in a manner entirely different from that we find related in all our authors, who have copied after Ducas, and Calcondilus.

The Turkish annals, collected and digested by the late prince Demetrius Cantemir at Constantinople, inform us, that, after having sustained a siege of seven weeks, the emperor Constantine was at length obliged to capitulate; and that he sent Greek deputies to receive the laws the conqueror should please to impose upon them. Several articles were agreed

* See Chap. xviii. Vol. I.

upon at this meeting: but, as the Greek envoys were returning back to the city, Mahomet, who had something farther to say to them, dispatched a body of men to bring them back to his camp. The besieged, who from the walls beheld a large troop of armed Turks in full pursuit, as they thought, of their deputies, imprudently fired upon them. This party was instantly joined by a much greater number. The envoys got into the city by one of the posterns, and the Turks entered pell-mell with them, and soon made themselves masters of the upper town, which is separated from the lower. The emperor Constantine was killed in the crowd; and Mahomet thereupon turned the imperial palace into a palace for himself, and made the cathedral church of St. Sophia a Turkish mosque.

Being thus master, by right of conquest, of one half of Constantinople, he had the humanity or policy to offer the same terms of capitulation to that part which still held out as he had proposed to grant to the whole city; and religiously observed his agreement. This fact is so true, that all the Christian churches of the lower town remained till the reign of his grandson Selim, who ordered several of them to be demolished. The Turks called them the mosques of *Islevi*, *Islevi* being the Turkish name for Jesus. The church of the Greek patriarch is still remaining in Constantinople, on the canal of the Black Sea: and the Ottoman Emperors have permitted an academy to be founded in that quarter of the city where the modern Greeks teach the ancient language, now almost entirely disused, the Aristotelian philosophy,

philosophy, divinity, and physick : and in this school were educated Constantine Ducas, Mauro Cordato, and Demetrius Cantemir, afterwards made princes of Transilvania by the Turks. I must acknowledge that Demetrius Cantemir abounds with a great number of old fabulous stories ; but he could not be deceived in relation to the modern monuments which were before his eyes, nor the academy in which he himself was brought up.

The Christians are still indulged with a church and one street in the city to themselves, in consideration of a Greek architect named Christobulus, whom Mahomet II. employed to build a new mosque upon the ruins of the holy apostles, an ancient edifice built by the empress Theodora, wife to the emperor Justinian. This architect succeeded so well that his building proved little inferior in beauty to the famous mosque of St. Sophia. He was also employed by the sultan's orders in building eight public schools, and the same number of hospitals, all belonging to this mosque ; and, as a reward for his services, the sultan granted him the street just mentioned, which still remains in the possession of his family. It may not perhaps appear a fact worthy a place in history, that an architect was rewarded with the grant of a street ; but it is of some importance to know that the Turks do not always behave in that cruel and brutal manner to Christians which we are apt to imagine they do. Whole nations have been misled by the errors of historians : a number of Oriental writers have asserted that the Turks adored Venus, and denied the providence of a God. Grotius him-

self tells us after others, that Mahomet, the great false prophet of the Turks, had trained up a pigeon to fly to his ear, and made the people believe that it was the spirit of God who came to instruct him under that form: And we find as many ridiculous stories related concerning the great conqueror Mahomet II.

One evident proof that Mahomet was a prince of more knowledge and policy than he is usually supposed to have been, and notwithstanding all that cardinal Isidore and others may say to the contrary, is, that he allowed the conquered Christians the liberty of chusing their own patriarch; he even performed the ceremony of installation himself, with the usual solemnities, and invested him with the crozier and ring, which the emperors of the West had not dared to do for a long time, and departed in no one point from the accustomed ceremony, unless it was in conducting the patriarch elect, Gennadius, to the gate of his palace, who told the sultan on this occasion, "That he was confounded at receiving an honour which no one of the Christian emperors had ever bestowed upon his predecessors." Since that time the Ottoman emperors have always made one patriarch, who is called the oecumenical patriarch, and the pope another, who is called the Latin patriarch. Each of these patriarchs is taxed by the divan in a certain sum, which he pays as a ransom for his flock. The two churches, tho' groaning alike under the yoke of bondage, are still at irreconcilable enmity with each other; and the sultans are frequently obliged to interpose their authority, in order to put an end to their

their disputes; thus becoming the moderators, as well as conquerors of the Christians.

But the Turkish victors have not acted with regard to the Greeks as they did in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Arabians, whose language, religion, and customs they adopted, after having conquered them. When the Turks subdued the Arabians, they were at that time utterly barbarous; but when they made the conquest of the Greek empire, the constitution of their government had been long formed. Besides, they had a veneration for the Arabians, but they despised the Greeks, and never had any other intercourse with them than that of masters with their slaves, and still preserved the same customs and laws as at the time of their conquest. The body of Yenghi-Cheris*, or Janissaries, was kept up in full vigour, to the number of forty-five thousand. The soldiers of no nation whatever have such ample allowance as these Janissaries: each oda, or captain, has always a purveyor who supplies his troops with mutton, rice, butter, pulse, and bread in great plenty.

The Turkish sultans have continued in Europe the ancient customs they practised in Asia, that of rewarding their soldiers with fiefs for life, and some of them hereditary. They did not derive this custom from the Arabian caliphs, whom they conquered; the Arabian government being founded upon different principles. But it was always the custom of the western Tartars to divide the lands of the conquered, and this institution they established in Europe

* See note on page 76, 77.

as early as the fifth century, an institution which necessarily attaches the conquerors to a country which is become their inheritance; and those nations who mixed with them, such as the Lombards, the Franks, and the Ottomans, followed the same plan. Tamerlane carried this custom with him into the Indies, where we still find several very powerful lords of fiefs, under the titles of Omras, Rajas, and Nabobs. But the Ottomans gave only small portions of lands to their soldiery, and their zaimats and timariots are rather farms than lordships. This is a truly warlike institution; for if a zaim dies in the field, his children share his fief between them; but if he dies at home, the beglerbeg, that is the captain-general of the province, has a right of disposing of this military benefice. And these zaims and timars, like our ancient Franks, claim no privileges of title, jurisdiction, or nobility, but only according to the number of soldiers they furnish or bring into the field.

From the same military school they take all their *cadi's* and *molla's*, who are the common judges, as likewise the two *cadi-leskers* of Europe and Asia, who are judges of the provinces and armies, and who, under the *musti*, have the care of the religion and laws. The *musti* and the *cadi-leskers* have always been alike subject to the *divan*. The *dervises*, a kind of mendicant monks among the Turks, though grown more numerous of late, still preserve their ancient form. The custom of building *caravanferas* for the convenience of travellers, and schools and hospitals near all the mosques, still subsists. In a word, the Turks are in all

all things the same people they were, not only when they took Constantinople, but at their first coming into Europe.



C H A P. LXXIX.

The PROGRESS of the TURKS.

DURING a reign of thirty-one years, Mahomet II. proceeded from conquest to conquest, without any of the princes of Europe joining in league against him, for we cannot give the name of league to the short alliance entered into between John Huniades, prince of Transilvania, the king of Hungary, and a despot of Black Russia. This famous warrior Huniades gave proofs, that had he been better supported, the Christians would never have lost all those territories which the Turks are now possessed of in Europe. Three years after the taking of Constantinople, he obliged Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade.

At the same time also the Persians fell upon the Turks, and turned back that torrent which threatened to overflow all Christendom. Ussum Can, surnamed the White Ram, a descendant of Tamerlane, and governor of Armenia, had lately subdued Persia; he now entered into alliance with the Christians, and this first gave them the hint of uniting together against the common enemy: he married the daughter of David Comnenus, emperor of Trebisonde. It was held unlawful for Christians to marry their godmother or their cousin; but we see that in Greece,

Greece, Spain, and Asia, they made no scruple of marrying with those of a contrary faith.

The Tartar Ussum-Can now become son-in-law to the Christian Emperor Comnenus, attacked Mahomet near the Euphrates. This so favourable opportunity for the Christians was again neglected, and they suffered Mahomet, after various successes, to make peace with the Persian, and afterwards to become master of Trebifond, with a part of Cappadocia annexed to it; to turn his arms upon Greece, and take Negropont; then to march back towards the Black Sea and seize upon Cassa, the ancient Theodosia, rebuilt by the Genoese; and afterwards to reduce Scutari, Zant, Cephalonia, and even to push his conquests as far as Trieste in the port of Venice, till at length he fixed the seat of the Mahometan power in the midst of Calabria, from whence he threatened all Italy, and where his lieutenants remained till some time after his death. Rhodes indeed escaped his arms, but the not taking this small island did not make him less formidable to the rest of the West.

He had for a long time conquered Epirus, after the death of Scanderbeg. The Venetians had the courage to oppose his arms, for at this time their power was in its zenith; they had pretty extensive territories upon Terra Firma, their fleets braved those of Mahomet, and they even made themselves masters of Athens; but at length this republic, for want of being properly assisted, was obliged to give way, restore Athens, and purchase by annual tribute the liberty of trading in the Black Sea, hoping to recover her losses by that commerce which had laid the first
foun-

foundation of her grandeur; but we shall see that not long after she sustained more injury from pope Julius II. and almost every one of the Christian princes, than she had done by all the power of the Ottoman arms.

In the mean time Mahomet II. turned his victorious arms against the Mammeluc sultans of Egypt, while his lieutenants were employed in Naples: at length he flattered himself with making the conquest of Rome, as he had done that of Constantinople; and being told one day of the ceremony with which the doge of Venice once a-year espouses the Adriatic Ocean, he made answer, that "He would quickly send him to the bottom of that sea, to consummate his nuptials." However, a violent fit of the cholic delivered the world from him at the age of fifty-one. But the Ottomans have nevertheless remained in possession of a far more beautiful country in Europe than even the whole of Italy, and the birth-place of Leonidas, Miltiades, Alexander, Sophocles, and Plato sunk beneath a barbarous yoke. From that time the Greek language became corrupted, and there remained hardly any traces of the arts; for notwithstanding there was a Greek academy at Constantinople, it was certainly very different from that of Athens, and not the six thousand monks which the Ottoman sultans permit to live upon mount Athos, have yet been able to revive the liberal arts in this empire. Formerly this very city of Constantinople was under the protection of Athens, and the province of Chalcidonia was tributary to it; and the king of Thrace sued for the honour of being admitted

1481

as

as one of its citizens. At present the descendants of the old Tartars are masters of these beautiful regions, and the name of Greece is become in a manner extinct. Nevertheless, we shall always hold the little city of Athens in higher veneration than the Turkish power, was it to spread over the whole earth.

The Greeks remained in a state of oppression, but not of slavery; they were left the exercise of their religion and laws, and the Turks behaved to them as the Arabians had done to the people of Spain. The Greek families still continue to live peaceably in their native country, though in obscurity and contempt; they pay but a slight tribute, and employ themselves in trade and agriculture; their towns and villages still continue to have their Protogeros, who decides their differences, and their patriarch is supported in an honourable manner by them. He must certainly have a considerable revenue, since upon his installation he is obliged to pay four thousand ducats into the sultan's treasury, and the like sum to the officers of the Porte.

The greatest mark of subjection the Greeks labour under, is, that of being obliged to furnish the sultans with a number of children to serve in their seraglios, or in their Janissary militia. Every father of a family is obliged to give one of his sons, or purchase his freedom with a fine. There are still certain Christian provinces in Europe, where it is become an established custom to set apart one of their children from the birth, to carry arms. The children given to the Turkish sultans are brought up in the seraglio, where they frequently make very great fortunes. Nor is their condition
among

among the Janissaries to be despised. It is a strong proof of the force of education, and the extraordinary changes in this world, that most of these haughty enemies to the Christian name, were born of oppressed Christians; and a still more lively proof of that invincible fatality by which the Supreme Being links together all the events of the universe, is, that the emperor Constantine should have built Constantinople for the Turks, as Romulus had so many ages before laid the foundation of the capitol for the heads of the Christian church.

And here I think myself obliged to refute one false notion, namely, that the Turkish government is of that absurd form called despotic; that the people are all slaves to their sultans; that they have no property of their own, but are in their lives and fortunes wholly at the mercy of their masters. Such an administration must necessarily destroy itself. It would be very extraordinary that the conquered Greeks should not be slaves, and that their conquerors should. Some travellers have supposed that a sultan was lord of all the lands in his empire, because he disposed of certain timariots (or estates for life) as the kings of France formerly bestowed military fiefs; but these gentlemen should consider, that there are laws of inheritance in Turkey as well as in all other countries*.

It is true, that all the moveable effects belonging to a pacha at the time of his demise, fall to the sultan, who usually gives a part of them to his family; but it was an established custom in Europe at the time when fiefs were

* We wish the author had explained these laws.

Y14 The Progress of the TURKS.

not hereditary, and long after, for bishops to inherit the moveables of the inferior clergy; and the popes claimed the same right on the estates of cardinals, and all others possessed of church livings, who died within the residence of the chief pontiff.

The Turks are not only all of them free †, but they have not even the distinction of nobility amongst them, and are strangers to any other superiority than that of employs in the state.

They are in their manners at once fierce, haughty, and effeminate; their ferocity they derive from their ancestors the Scythians, and their effeminacy from Greece and Asia. Their pride is beyond all bounds. They are conquerors and they are ignorant; this makes them despise all other nations.

The form of the Ottoman government is not like that of France and Spain, monarchical and gently authoritative; it still less resembles that of Germany, which in length of time is become a republic of princes and cities, under one supreme head called an emperor. It has nothing of the Polish form of administration, where the peasants are all slaves, and the nobles kings. Lastly, it is as different from that of England in its constitution as in its climate.

And yet we are not to imagine that it is altogether an arbitrary government, where the law permits a single person to sacrifice the lives of thousands to his caprice, like so many beasts kept in a park for his diversion.

† In what sense can a man be said to be free, whose life and property lie at the mercy of a rapacious bashaw and a despotic sovereign?

We are apt, through prejudice, to believe that a chiaoux may go with a staff in his hand, and demand, in the name of the sultan, of the master of a family, all the money he has by him, and his daughters, for the use of his master. There are doubtless several horrible abuses in the Turkish administration; but in general these abuses are much less fatal to the people than to those who have a share in the government; for these chiefly feel the weight of the despotic authority. The private sentence of a divan is sufficient to strike off the heads of the greatest officers of state upon the most trifling suspicions, their being no supreme court established in this country to enforce a respect for the laws and the person of the anointed sovereign; no barrier opposed in the constitution of the state to the injustice or male-administration of a vizier; therefore few resources for the subject when oppressed, or the monarch when resisted; and this prince, who passes for the most powerful in the world, is of all others the least firmly settled on his throne; the revolution of a single day is frequently sufficient to snatch the crown from him; and in this the Turks have imitated the manners of the Greek empire which they conquered, only they have more respect for the Ottoman family than the Greeks had for that of their emperors; they depose, they murder their sultan, but it is always in favour of the nearest relation: the Greek empire, on the contrary, has passed by assassinations into twenty different families.

The fear of being deposed is a stronger curb upon the Turkish sultan, than all the laws of the alcoran; and, though absolute master in
his

his own seraglio, and of the lives of all his officers by means of the mufti's fetfa, he cannot alter the customs of the empire, he cannot encrease the taxes, nor can he touch the public money *; he has his private treasury entirely distinct and apart from the public one.

The condition of sultan is, in general, the most indolent upon earth, as that of grand-vizier is the most laborious. This minister is obliged to act at the same time as constable, chancellor, and chief-president, and the reward for all his labours is frequently exile or the bowstring.

The office of bashaw is altogether as dangerous, and many of them are known to have ended their days by a violent death. But all this only proves that the people in Turkey had contracted a habit of cruelty and fierceness, the same as prevailed for a considerable time among the Christians themselves throughout Europe, when so many heads were lost upon the scaffold, when La Brosse, the favourite of St. Lewis, was hanged; when the prime minister, Laguette, died upon the rack in the reign of Charles the Fair; when Charles de la Cerda, constable of France, was put to death by king John without form of trial; when Angueran de Marigni was hanged upon the same gallows, which he himself had ordered to be erected at Montfaucon; and the dead body of the prime minister, Montaigu,

* Is not this childish cavilling? Who are the persons that raise taxes, touch the money, &c.? who but his divan, his vizier, and his testerdar, miserable slaves that depend upon the breath of his nostrils; slaves whom he every day orders to be strangled, according to his convenience or caprice; and no subject dares to murmur at their fate.

was carried and hung upon the same gibbet; in a word, when the grand master of the knights templars expired in the midst of the flames, and numberless cruelties of the same kind were common in monarchial governments. We should greatly deceive ourselves then if we were to suppose that these barbarities were the effects of absolute power. There never was any one of the Christian potentates despotic, nor is the grand signor so. Several sultans, as Mahomet II. Selim, and Solyman, have indeed made the laws give way to their wills. But how few conquerors meet with contradiction from their subjects. In a word, our historians have grossly imposed upon us in representing the Ottoman empire as a government whose essence is despotism †.

The count de Marfigli, who knows more of the matter than any of them, expresses himself thus: "In almost all our histories we find the authority exercised by sultans, represented as highly despotic; but how distant is this from the truth †!" The Janissary militia, adds he, which they call *Capiculi*, and which always resides in Constantinople, has by its laws the

† If any government can be essentially despotic it must be that of Turkey, where the sovereign is restricted by no engagement: where the *Vox Tyranni* is the *suprema lex*; where there is neither family, distinction, order, nor institution, to question or curb the prerogative; where every subject is trained up to the most abject submission; and even the bashaw taught to kiss the bowstring by which he is strangled, without presuming to enquire into the nature of his offence.

‡ *In tutte le nostre storie sentiamo esaltar la sovranità, che così despoticamente praticasi dal sultano; ma quanto si scostano elle del vero!*

power

power of imprisoning the sultan, and even of putting him to death, and appointing a successor in his room *. A little further he says that the grand seignor is frequently obliged to consult the political and military part of the state before he can make war or peace.

Neither are the bashaws so absolute in their provinces as we in general believe, but depend upon their divan. The chief citizens have a right to complain of their conduct, and present their remonstrances to the great divan of Constantinople. In fine, Marfigli concludes by giving the Turkish government the title of a democracy. It is such in fact, and much resembling that of Tunis and Algiers †. These mighty

* We would ask from whence they derive this privilege; for we have already seen how this body was instituted in the reign of Amurath? did he at that period give them a power to imprison and dethrone himself? the supposition is absurd. The liberty which the Janissaries have taken more than once to dethrone and murder their prince, is no more founded on law, than is the action of a ruffian who robs and murders his master. They do it at the hazard of being sacrificed by the next sultan; and the streets of Constantinople have been often filled with the carcases of those insolent soldiers, who have been privately strangled in the night by order of the grand seignor.

† The resemblance here we cannot at all perceive, except that the government of Algier is Turkish. The succession at Constantinople is hereditary, and was never known to deviate from one family. The deyship of Algier is elective from the number of ten thousand. If the grand seignor has the precaution to murder all the males of his family, a piece of policy often practised at the Ottoman court, he runs no risk at all of being deposed, because there would not be a person in Turkey to fill up his room; and the empire would of course be involved in anarchy and ruin. If a dey of Algiers is murdered, there are nine thousand nine hundred

mighty sultans then, whom the common people dare not look upon, and whose persons are not to be approached but with a submission which seems to border upon adoration; these sultans, I say, have only the exterior of despotism, and are really absolute no longer than they can safely exercise that fury of arbitrary power which seems born with all men. Lewis XI. Henry VIII. and Sextus V. were as despotic princes as any sultan whatever.

If we were to go on to examine in the same manner into the secrets of the sovereign authority in the other kingdoms of Asia, which are still in a manner unknown to us, we should find much less despotism in the world than we in general imagine. Even in Europe, we have seen princes the vassals of other princes not absolute, assume a greater degree of arbitrary power in their own dominions than was ever exercised by the emperors of Persia or India: and yet it would be very erroneous to suppose, that the dominions of such princes were by their constitution essentially despotic.

All the histories of modern nations, excepting perhaps those of England and Germany, have given us false notions of things; because they have rarely distinguished between times and persons, abuses and laws, accidental events and established customs.

We should again be deceived, if we were to look upon the Turkish government as an uniform administration, and that, every day the

hundred and ninety nine candidates for his office, and each of these is capable of being chosen. The grand seignor is a despotic emperor; the dey of Algiers a limited magistrate.

ful-

sultan can, from his seraglio by his courtiers, dispatch the same orders to all the different provinces in his dominions. This vast empire, which has been formed at different times, and by successive victories, and which we shall find continually encreasing till the eighteenth century, is composed of a thousand different nations, all of them different in language, religion, and customs. They are Greeks from the antient Ionia, the coasts of Asia Minor and Achaia; inhabitants of the ancient Colchis, and of the Taurica Chersonesus; they are Getæ become Christians, known by the names of Walachians and Moldavians; they are Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, and Jews; lastly, they are Egyptians, and the descendants from the people of ancient Carthage, whom we shall presently see swallowed up by the Ottoman power. And all these different nations have been conquered and kept in subjection by the Turkish militia alone. They are all governed differently; some have princes set over them, who are nominated by the porte; such as Walachia, Moldavia, and Crimea. The Greeks live under a municipal government, dependant upon a bashaw. The number of the conquered is immense, if compared with that of the victors; for there are but very few natural born Turks: none of these follow agriculture, and a very inconsiderable number apply themselves to the arts. It may be said of them, as Virgil heretofore said of the Romans, "Their art is to conquer and command." The chief difference between the Turkish and the antient Roman conquerors is, that Rome incorporated all the nations she conquered, whereas the Turks al-

ways keep themselves separate from those they have subdued, and in the midst of whom they live.

There remained indeed three hundred thousand Greeks in Constantinople, after that city was taken; but these were only artificers or tradesmen who worked for their new masters, a people wholly under subjection in their own capital, and not permitted even to dress like the Turks.

To this observation let me add another, namely, that this vast tract of country, from the Archipelago to the Euphrates was conquered by one single power; whereas, the united powers of twenty potentates in the crusades, with more than twenty times the number of forces, were not able, after the labours of two whole centuries, to establish one lasting state in these same countries.

Ricault, who resided a considerable time in Turkey, attributes the lasting power of the Ottoman empire, "To something supernatural." He cannot otherwise conceive that this government, which depends so frequently upon the caprice of the Janissaries, could have supported itself against the turbulency of its own soldiers and the attacks of its enemies. But to this we may reply, that the Roman empire supported itself five hundred years in Rome, and near fourteen centuries in the Levant, in the midst of seditions and tumults; and though the imperial succession has been frequently changed, the throne has still remained the same. Now the Turks have a veneration for the Ottoman race, which is to them a fundamental law that

they can never think of violating: the government has been frequently wrested out of the hands of the sultan; but, as we have already remarked, it never passes into a strange family. The constitution itself then has nothing to fear, though the monarch and his viziers are frequently made to tremble.

Hitherto this empire has defied all foreign invasions. The Persians have rarely penetrated into the Turkish frontiers: on the contrary, we shall see sultan Amurath IV. taking Bagdat from the Persians by assault, in 1638, remaining still master of Mesopotamia, and at the same time assisting the grand mogul with one army against the Persians, and at the same time threatening Venice with another. The Germans never yet shewed themselves at the gates of Constantinople, as the Turks have at those of Vienna: and it is only since the reign of Peter the Great that the Russians became formidable to Turkey. In fine, force and cruelty first established the Ottoman empire, and the divisions of Christians have helped to support it. There is nothing in all this but what is natural. We shall see how this empire augmented its power, and persevered for a long time in its ferocity of manners, which at length begin to grow somewhat milder.

CHAP. LXXX.

Of LEWIS XI. king of FRANCE.

WHEN the authority of Charles VII. began to be established in France by the expulsion of the English, the annexing of a number of provinces to the crown, and the perpetual subsidies granted him, the feudal government was soon extinguished in that kingdom.

From the contrary reason the feudal order was strengthened in Germany, the emperors being elective, and as such destitute of either provinces or supplies. Italy was still divided into independent republics and principalities; absolute power was wholly unknown in Spain, and in the North; and England, in the midst of her divisions, began to lay the foundation of that extraordinary government, which through the most violent and bloody oppositions, has in a course of ages produced that happy mixture of liberty and royalty which is the admiration of all nations.

There were at this time in France only the two great fiefs of Burgundy and Brittany; but these by their great power were entirely independent; and, notwithstanding the feudal laws, they were never considered by the other powers of Europe as making any part of the kingdom of France: and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, expressly stipulated with Charles VII. at the time that he forgave him the murder of his father, duke John, that he was not to do him homage for his dukedom.

The princes of the blood in France had appenages in peerage, but subject to the jurisdiction of the high court of parliament. The lords, though still possessed of great privileges in their own territories, had not as formerly any power in the state; and there was only the count of Foix on the other side the Loire who had the title of "Prince by the grace of God," with a privilege of coining money; but the lords of fiefs, and the corporations of large cities had immense privileges.

Lewis XI. son to Charles VII. became the first absolute king in Europe, after the decline of the Charlemagne family; and he did not arrive at the peaceable enjoyment of this power, till after many violent struggles. His life is one great contrast, and it is certainly meant to humble and confound virtue that he has been cried up for a great king: he whom all historians paint as a most unnatural son, a barbarous brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbour! he embittered the last years of his father's life; nay he was the cause of his death; for every one knows that the unhappy Charles VII. died thro' fear that his son should put him to death: that is to say, he chose to abstain from all food, rather than run the risk of swallowing the poison that he apprehended his son intended for him. Such an apprehension in a parent is alone sufficient to prove that he deemed his son capable of the crime.

Upon a careful review of the whole conduct of Lewis XI. may we not represent him to ourselves as a man who frequently strove to disguise insolence by low artifice, and uphold treachery by cruelty? How came it to pass else, that

that in the very beginning of his reign, so many of the great noblemen who had been in his father's interest, and especially the famous count de Dunois, whose sword had so often kept the crown on his head, combined against him in the "League for the public good?" They did not take advantage of the weakness of the royal authority, as had so frequently been done before: but Lewis had abused his power. It is plain that the father, made wise by his faults and his misfortunes, governed very well; and that his son, intoxicated with power, began his government very badly.

This league put him in danger of his crown and life. The battle of Montlery decided little or nothing in his favour; 1465 and he had no other way left to break the league than by granting each of the confederates what he pleased to demand: so that his very dexterity in this affair was a proof of his weakness.

Without the least reason he made himself an irreconcilable enemy in Charles duke of Burgundy, son to Philip the Good, at that time master of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Flanders, Artois, many towns on the Somme, and Holland, by stirring up the people of Liege to an act of perfidy against the duke, and afterwards to take up arms against him. At the same time he put himself into his hands at Peronne, thinking by that behaviour to deceive him the more effectually. Could there be worse policy! He was defeated, and saw himself a prisoner 1468 in the castle of Peronne, and obliged to march after his vassal against these very people whom

whom he had stirred up to revolt. Could there be a greater humiliation !

He feared his brother the duke of Berri, and this prince was poisoned by a Benedictine monk, his confessor, whose name was Favre Vefois. This is not one of those doubtful acts taken upon trust by the malice or envy of mankind.

¹⁴⁷² The duke of Berri was at supper with the lady of Montforau, his mistress, and this confessor ; the latter ordered a fish of an extraordinary size to be served up at table. The lady expired immediately upon eating of it, and the prince died some time after in the most excruciating convulsions.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, determined to revenge the death of the duke, to whom he had been particularly attached, conveyed the murderer into Brittany, where being out of Lewis's power, he was fairly tried ; but on the day that he was to receive his sentence he was found dead in his bed. Lewis, to quiet the public clamour, ordered the papers relating to the tryal to be sent him, and appointed commissioners to examine into the truth of the accusation. After several deliberations, they resolved upon nothing, and the king loaded them with favours. It was not in the least doubted in Europe that Lewis was guilty of this murder, who when dauphin had put his own father Charles VII. in fear of his life. History ought not to accuse him of this crime without proof ; but it may lament that he gave reason for the suspicion, and ought especially to remark, that every prince who is guilty of an avowed crime, is likewise guilty of all the rash judgments which may be made of his actions.

Such

Such was the conduct of Lewis XI. with respect to his vassals and his relations. Let us now see what it was to his neighbours. Edward IV. king of England, makes a descent in France, in hopes to recover some part of his predecessors conquests. Lewis was in a condition to give him battle, but he chose rather to become his tributary. He ¹⁴⁷⁵ gained over some of the chief officers in the English army, and made presents of wine to all the common soldiers. In fine, he purchased the retreat of this army by his liberalities. Would it not have been more worthy a king of France to have employed this money in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, than in bribing an enemy whom he feared, and whom he ought not to have feared?

Noble minds boldly chuse their favourites from persons of illustrious birth, and their ministers from those of approved capacity; but Lewis's confidants and minister, were born among the dregs of the people, and their sentiments were still meaner than their birth.

Few tyrants ever put a greater number of citizens to death by the hands of the executioner, or under more studied torments than this prince: the chronicles of those times reckon no less than four thousand public and private executions in the course of his reign; and the only monuments he has left behind him are the dungeons, iron cages, and instruments of torture with which he harassed his wretched subjects, and which posterity looks upon with terror.

It is surprising that father Daniel hardly mentions the punishment inflicted on James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the known des-

1477 cendant of king Clovis. The circumstances and manner of his death, the distribution of his estate, and the confinement of his young children during the life-time of Lewis XI. are melancholy and interesting objects of curiosity.

We do not exactly know the nature of this prince's crime: he was tried by commissioners, which gives room to imagine that he was not really culpable. Some historians idly impute to him the design of seizing the king's person and killing the dauphin. But such an accusation is hardly to be credited; for how could a petty prince, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Pyrenees, think of seizing Lewis XI. in a time of profound peace, and when that monarch was at the zenith of his power, and in full exercise of absolute authority in his kingdom! The notion of killing the dauphin, who was then an infant, and preserving the father, is another of those extravagant projects which could never have entered into the mind of a statesman. All that we can find well attested in relation to this affair is, that Lewis had the utmost hatred to the Armagnac family; that he caused the duke of Nemours to be seized at Carlat in 1477; that he confined him in an iron cage in the Bastile; and that, having drawn up the articles of his impeachment with his own hand, he sent judges to try him, among whom was that famous traitor, Philip de Comines, who having long sold the secrets of the house of Burgundy to the king, engaged afterwards openly in the French service, and whose memoirs are still in great esteem, though written with all the caution of a courtier who was afraid

afraid of declaring the truth, even when Lewis was no more.

The king ordered the duke of Nemours to be examined in his iron cage, after which he was put to the torture, and received sentence of death. He was then led to confession in a hall hung with black: confession began at that time to be considered as a favour granted to condemned criminals; and mourning hangings were only used for princes. It was in this manner that Conradin had been formerly executed at Naples, and that Mary Stuart of Scotland was afterwards treated in England.

But here Lewis XI. put in practice a thing hitherto unknown in any country: he caused the duke's young children to be placed under the scaffold erected for their father's execution, that they might receive his blood upon them, with which they went away all covered; and in this condition were conducted to the Bastile in wooden cages, made in the form of horse-paniers, where the confinement their bodies suffered, put them to perpetual torture. In short, the unheard-of torments these unhappy princes suffered would be incredible, were they not well attested by the petition which they presented to the estates in 1483, after the death of Lewis XI.

Never was honour and integrity less regarded than under this reign. The judges themselves were not ashamed to divide amongst them the possession of those whom they condemned.

Amidst the barbarity and ferocity of manners which distinguished the times preceding these, some heroic actions now and then broke forth. The reign of Charles VII. had its Dunois, its

La. Trimouille, its Clisson, its Richemont, its Saintraille, its La Hire, and many magistrates of approved merit: but during the reign of Lewis XI. there appeared not one great man. He had utterly debased the whole nation: all virtue was become extinct, and servile obedience was the only merit, till at length the people grew easy under their burthen, like wretches condemned to the galleys for life.

But with all this cruelty and craft Lewis had two predominant passions, which one would imagine should have humanized his manners; these were love and devotion. He had mistresses, he had bastards, and he performed pilgrimages; but his love was of a piece with the rest of his character; and his devotion was only the superstitious fear of a timorous and bewildered mind. He always went covered with reliqs, and constantly wore a leaden figure of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is said he used to ask pardon for his murders before he committed them. He made a deed of the earldom of Bologna to the Holy Virgin. True piety does not consist in making the Virgin Mary a countess, but in refraining from those actions which our consciences condemn, and which God seldom fails to punish.

He introduced the Italian custom of ringing a bell at twelve o'clock at noon, when every one was to say an *Ave Maria*. He asked permission of the pope to wear the surplice and the aumess †, and to be a second time anointed with the holy oil of Rheims.

† An ornament which the canons of a cathedral church wear on their arms when they go to officiate at mass.

At length, being sensible of the approaches of death, he shut himself up in the castle of Pleffis-les-tours, and inaccessible to every one, surrounded by guards, and a prey to the most bitter reflections, he sent for a hermit of Calabria, called Francisco Martorillo, since adored as a saint, under the name of St. Francisco de Paulo, and throwing himself at his feet, entreated him with a flood of tears, to intercede with God that his life might be prolonged; as if the voice of a Calabrian friar in a village of France could arrest the ordinance of God, or preserve a weak and perverse soul in a worn out body, contrary to the rules of nature. While he was thus begging for life of a foreign hermit, he thought to recruit the weak remains that were left by drinking the blood of young children, fondly imagining to correct thereby the acrimony of his own. 1483

Certainly no one could experience a more melancholy situation than to be in the midst of power and prosperity, the continual victim of uneasiness, remorse, fear, and the shame of being universally detested.

And yet he was the first of the kings of France who took and used the title of Most Christian king; much at the same time that Ferdinand of Arragon, as famous for his perfidies as his conquests, took that of Catholic.

Notwithstanding his many vices, Lewis had some good qualities. He was valiant and liberal: he was well acquainted with men and things: he would have justice executed; and no one but himself dared to be unjust.

When Paris had been laid waste by a plague, it was re peopled through his care; on this oc-

casion indeed he received a number of robbers and freebooters, but the severity of his administration soon made them good citizens. In his time this city contained eighty thousand burghers able to bear arms. To him the people were first indebted for the lowering of the power of the *grandeës*. This made about fifty thousand families murmur against him; but it procured, or ought to have procured him, the blessings of above five hundred thousand.

He was the first who established the posts, though not on the same footing as they now are in Europe. He only revived the *veredarii* of Charlemagne, and the ancient Roman empire. He kept two hundred and thirty couriers, at his own expence, to carry his orders incessantly through the kingdom. Private persons had the use of the horses belonging to these couriers, on paying ten sols per horse for every journey of thirty leagues. Letters were delivered from town to town by the king's couriers. This branch of police was for a long time unknown in France. He likewise endeavoured to establish one standard for weights and measures throughout the kingdom, as had been done in the time of Charlemagne. In a word, he proved that a bad man may be a public benefactor when his private interest is not against it.

The taxes in the reign of Charles VII. independent of the royal demesnes, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres of that currency. In the reign of Lewis XI. they were four millions and an half of livres, which at ten livres to the mark, will make twenty-three millions and an half of our present currency.

rency. Now, if we examine the price of commodities according to this proportion, especially corn, which is the principal one, we shall find that they were not worth above one half of what they are at present: so that with twenty three millions and an half, the government then answered all the purposes for which it is at present obliged to expend forty-fix.

Such was the condition of the French power before Burgundy, the Franche Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the cities on the Somme, and Provence, and Anjou, were annexed to the monarchy by Lewis XI. This kingdom soon afterwards became the most powerful in Europe, and might be compared to a river swelled by a thousand lesser streams, and cleared from the mud and weeds which had so long interrupted its course.

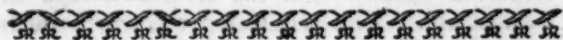
Titles at this time first began to be given to power. Lewis XI. was the first king of France who had the title of Majesty given him, which before was only given to the emperor, and which the German chancery has never granted to any king even to this day. The kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, had the title of Highness. The king of England was stiled Your Grace: and Lewis XI. might have been called Your Despotship.

We have now seen by what a series of fortunate crimes he came to be the first absolute king in Europe since the establishment of the great feudal government. Ferdinand the Catholic could never attain this power in Arragon. Isabella indeed had the address to work the minds of her Castilians to passive obedience, but she never reigned absolute. Every state,
every

every province, and every city throughout Europe, had its particular privileges; the feudal lords often opposed these privileges, and the kings frequently attempted to subject both the feudal lords and the cities to their obedience; but neither of them accomplished it, till Lewis XI. and he only by spilling the blood of Armagnac and Luxembourg on the scaffold, sacrificing every thing to his vengeance, and paying dearly the execution of his vile purposes. Isabella of Castile managed with more cunning and less cruelty; for instance, how did she act when wanting to unite the dutchy of Placentia to her own crown? By means of insinuations and money she excited the vassals of the duke of Placentia to revolt against him. They accordingly assemble, and demand to be admitted as vassals of queen Isabella, and she, out of complaisance, complies with their request.

Lewis XI. at the same time that he increased his power over his subjects by his rigorous administration, enlarged his kingdom by his industry and application to public business. He procured the county of Provence in legacy from its last sovereign count, and thus deprived the empire of a feudatory, as Philip of Valois had done with regard to Dauphiné. He likewise annexed Anjou and Maine, which belonged to this count, to the crown of France; and thus, by skill, money, and good fortune, did the kingdom of France, which from the reign of Hugh Capet had been of little or no consideration, and which had been almost finally destroyed by the English, become a considerable state. The same good fortune procured it the addition of Burgundy; and the faults of the last duke re-
stored

stored this province to the state, which the imprudence of its kings had separated from it.



CHAP. LXXXI.

Of BURGUNDY and the SWISS NATION, in the Time of LEWIS XI. in the fifteenth Century.

CHARLES the Rash, who was descended in a right line from John king of France, held the dutchy of Burgundy as an appennage of his house, together with the cities upon the Somme, which had been ceded to his family by Charles VII. He was likewise possessed by right of succession of the Franche Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all Holland. His cities in the Low Countries were in a flourishing condition, by means of their extensive commerce, which almost equalled that of Venice; Antwerp was the staple of the northern nations, the town of Ghent employed fifty thousand workmen in their woollen manufactory, Bruges had as great a trade as Antwerp, and Arras was then famous for those fine hangings which still go by its name in Germany, England, and Italy.

It was then customary for princes to sell their dominions when they were in want of money, as a private person now sells his house or his estate. This custom took place after the crusades, Ferdinand king of Arragon sold Roussillon to Lewis XI. with right of redemption;

demption; Charles duke of Burgundy had lately purchased the province of Gueldres, and a duke of Austria had sold him all the demesnes he possessed in Alsace, and the neighbourhood of Swisserland. This acquisition was worth much more than Charles gave for it, who now saw himself in possession of a state which reached from the banks of the Somme to the gates of Strasburg; he had nothing to do therefore but to enjoy his good fortune. Few kings in Europe were so powerful as himself, and not one more rich or magnificent; but he was desirous to erect his states into a kingdom, which might one day have proved very prejudicial to France. To effect this nothing more was necessary than to purchase a diploma of the emperor Frederick III. the custom being still preserved of asking the title of king of the emperors, as a kind of homage paid to the ancient Roman empire. Charles however failed in this negotiation; but as he designed to add Lorraine and Swisserland to his dominions, he was sure that if he succeeded he might make himself king without the permission of any one.

He was not at the least pains to disguise his ambition, and this procured him the surname of the Rash. We may form an idea of his haughtiness by his manner of receiving the
 1474 deputies from Swisserland. The writers of that country affirm that he obliged them to address him upon their knees. This is a strange contradiction in the manners of a free nation which soon after became his conquerors.

The foundation of the duke of Burgundy's pretensions to this homage to which the Helvetic body submitted, was as follows: Several
 Swiss

Swiss villages were situated in the midst of the demesnes which he had purchased of the duke of Austria, and he thought when he made this purchase, that he bought these people likewise as slaves: the deputies of the commons always addressed the king of France upon the knee, and the duke of Burgundy had always kept up the *etiquette* of the chiefs of his house. We have elsewhere observed that several kings, after the example of the emperor, had insisted on the ceremony of the bended knee when spoken to, or presented with any thing; and that this custom, which came originally from Asia, had been introduced by Constantine, and before him by Dioclesian. From hence came the custom, that a vassal should do homage to his lord by kneeling with both knees upon the ground, and likewise the custom of kissing the pope's feet. This is the history of human vanity.

Philip of Comines, and the croud of historians who followed him, pretend that the war against the Swiss, which proved so fatal to the duke of Burgundy, was occasioned by a cart-load of sheep-skins. The slightest occasion will kindle a war when matters are ripe for it: but Lewis XI. had for a long time been endeavouring to animate the Swiss against the duke of Burgundy, and many acts of hostility had passed between both parties, before the adventure of the sheep-skins. The truth is, that Charles's ambition was the only occasion of the war.

There were at that time only eight Swiss cantons: Fribourg, Soleure, Schaffhouse, and Appenzel, not having then entered into the alliance; nor did Basil, an imperial town, whose

whose situation upon the Rhine made it a rich and flourishing port, make a part of this infant republic, known then only for its poverty, simplicity, and courage. The deputies of Berne presented a remonstrance to this ambitious prince, setting forth, that their whole country was not worth the spurs worn by his knights. These deputies did not address Charles upon the knee; they spoke with humility, and defended themselves bravely.

1476 The duke's gendarmerie, whose armour was all covered with gold, were twice beaten, and suffered the most shameful defeat from these humble villagers, who were astonished at the richness of the spoils they found in the enemy's camp.

Could it have been foreseen, that, when the largest diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiss soldier in the battle of Granson, was sold by him to his general for a crown; could it have been foreseen, I say, at that time, that one day there should be as beautiful and opulent cities in Swisserland as the capital of the dutchy of Burgundy then was? The luxury of jewels and rich stuffs was for a long time unknown to those people, and when it came to be known, it was prohibited; but the solid riches, which consist in agriculture, were always left free, to be gathered by the free and victorious hands of the inhabitants. The conveniencies of life have been more sought after by them of late; and the pleasures of society and sound philosophy, without which society can afford no lasting pleasure, have found their way into those parts of Swisserland where the climate is more mild, and where plenty now reigns. In
fine,

fine, in some parts of this country, formerly so wild and uncouth, they have at length found the way to join the politeness of Athens with the Spartan simplicity.

In the mean time Charles the Rash determined to revenge himself upon Lorraine, and wrest the city of Nanci (which he had taken once before) from its lawful possessor duke René; but these very Swiss, who had formerly conquered him, being now joined by the people of Fribourg and Soleure, who in that rendered themselves worthy of the alliance, again defied the usurper of their country, who purchased with his blood the title of Rash, bestowed upon him by posterity. 1477

Then it was that Lewis XI. made himself master of Artois and the cities in the Somme, and of the dutchy of Burgundy as a male-fief, and of the city of Besançon, as lying very convenient for him.

The princess Mary, daughter to Charles the Rash, and sole heiress of so many provinces, saw herself by this means stript in an instant of two thirds of her inheritance. Lewis might also have added to the kingdom of France the Seventeen Provinces, which almost all belonged to this princess, by marrying her to his son; but he vainly flattered himself with having her for a daughter-in-law whom he had stript of her dominions; and thus this great politician missed an opportunity of annexing Franche Comté and all the Low Countries to his kingdom.

The people of Ghent and of the rest of the towns in Flanders, who enjoyed more freedom at that time under their sovereigns, than even
the

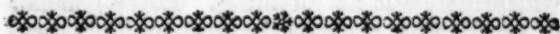
the English do under their kings, destined Maximilian, son to the emperor Frederick III. for a consort to their princess.

At present subjects learn the marriages of their princes, the making of war and peace, the laying on of taxes, and in short the whole of their destiny, from the declarations issued by their masters, but it was not so in Flanders: the people of Ghent determined that their princess should marry a German; and they cut off the heads of the princess Mary's chancellor, and of her chamberlain Imbercourt, for having entered into a treaty of marriage for her with the dauphin of France; and these two ministers were executed in the very presence of the young
1478 princess, who pleaded in vain for their pardon with these rough people.

Maximilian, who was invited rather by the people than the princess, repaired to Ghent to conclude his nuptials, like a private gentleman going to make his fortune by marrying a rich heiress; his wife defrayed the expence of his journey, his equipage, and his household. But though he espoused Mary, he did not get possession of her dominions, and was only the husband of a sovereign princess; and even when at the death of his wife he became guardian to the son he had by her; when he had the government of the Low Countries, and even after he came to be king of the Romans, and emperor, the inhabitants of Bruges imprisoned him in 1488 for four months, for having violated their privileges. Thus, if princes have frequently abused their power, the people on the other hand have as much abused their privileges.

This

This marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with Maximilian proved the source of all those wars which have for such a number of years set the house of France at variance with that of Austria. This it was which gave rise to the greatness of Charles V. and brought Europe to the brink of slavery: all through the obstinacy of the citizens of Ghent, in marrying their princefs.



C H A P. LXXXII.

OF CHIVALRY.

THE extinction of the house of Burgundy, the administration of Lewis XI. and above all the new method of making war lately introduced throughout Europe, had by little and little contributed to the abolition of that kind of military dignity or brotherhood, known by the name of chivalry, of which only the shadow is now left.

This chivalry was a military institution, which had arisen of itself among the great lords, in the same manner as religious societies or brotherhoods had been established among the citizens. This institution owed its birth to the anarchy and rapine which desolated all Europe upon the decline of the Charlemagne family. The nobles of all degrees, dukes, counts, viscounts, vidames, castellans, were now become sovereign princes in their own territories, and continually making war upon each other; and, instead of the great armies of Charles Martel,

Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, almost all Europe was divided into small troops of seven or eight hundred men, and sometimes much less. Two or three towns made a petty state, which was incessantly fighting with its neighbouring state. The communication between the provinces was shut up, the high roads were neglected, or so infested with robbers, that the merchant could no longer travel in safety, or bring his commodities to market; without which there was no subsisting. Every possessor of a castle stopt them on the road, and laid them under contribution, and many of the larger castles upon the borders of the rivers were real dens of thieves, who not only plundered the merchants, but frequently carried off all the women that came in their way.

Several of the lords by degrees entered into associations for the defence of the public safety, and the protection of the ladies, to which they bound themselves by oath; and this virtuous institution, by being made a religious act, became an indispensable duty; several associations of this kind were formed in most of the provinces, and every lord of a large fief held it an honour to be a knight, and admitted into this order.

Towards the eleventh century there were several religious and profane ceremonies appointed for the observance of each candidate, which seemed to throw a new character upon the order. The person who stood for admittance was to fast, to confess himself, to receive the sacrament, and to pass one whole night under arms: after this he was to sit at a table

by

by himself, while his godfathers, and the ladies that were to arm the new knight, dined at another. The candidate, clad in a white robe, was at his little table by himself, where it was forbidden him to speak, laugh, or even to touch food. The next day he was to make his entrance into the church, with his sword hanging about his neck, and received the priest's benediction; he was then to go and kneel down before the lord or lady who was to invest him with his armour of knighthood. Those of the assistants who were qualified put on his spurs, clad him with his cuirass, his cap, his cuisses, his gauntlets, and the coat of mail called the haubert. The godfather who installed him gave him three strokes with the flat of his sword on the neck, in the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George. And, from this instant, every time he heard mass he drew his sword at the reading of the gospel, and held it upright.

The installation was followed by a magnificent entertainment, and frequently by a tournament; but these were always at the people's expence. The great feudal lords imposed a tax upon their vassals on the day that any of their children were made knights. Young people were generally admitted to this honour at the age of twenty-one: before that they were termed batchelors, which is as much as to say lesser knights, varlets, or squires; and the lords who were incorporated in these military societies, frequently gave their children to each other to be brought up at a distance from their parents roof, under the name of varlets, or apprentices in chivalry.

These

These knights were in greatest vogue in the time of the crusades. The lords of fiefs, who brought vassals into the field under their banner, were called knights bannerets; not that the title of knight alone gave them the privilege of appearing in the field with banners. It was their power, and not the ceremony of installation, which enabled them to raise troops and keep them on foot. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of their knighthood; this title being only a distinction introduced by custom; a kind of conventional honour, and not any real dignity in the state, nor of the least weight in the form of government. The knights had no share in the elections of emperors or kings; nor was it necessary to have been dubbed a knight to be admitted to a seat in the diets of the empire, the parliaments of France, or the cortes of Spain. In a word, none of the essentials of government, such as infeoffments, rights of dependency and jurisdiction, inheritance, or laws, had any connexion with chivalry. The chief privileges of this institution consisted in bloody exhibitions and tournaments. A batchelor or esquire was not in general allowed to enter the lists against a knight.

Kings themselves frequently entered into this order, but this made no addition to their honour or power; they only did it to encourage chivalry and valour by their example. The knights were always treated with great respect by the community, and that was all.

But after king Edward III. instituted the order of the garter; Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, that of the golden fleece; and
Lewis

Lewis XI. the order of St. Michael, which at its first institution was as noble as either of the other two, though now so ridiculously disgraced; then the ancient chivalry began to decline. It had no longer any distinguishing mark, nor a chief to confer the particular honours and privileges of the order. And there were no longer any knights bannerets after the kings and great princes had erected military companies; so that chivalry became then only a name. The honour of knighthood was generally conferred by a great prince or some renowned warrior. Those lords who were of any established rank of dignity took, with the rest of their titles, that of knight; and all those who made profession of arms called themselves esquires.

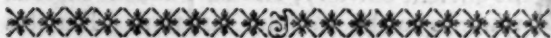
The military orders of knighthood, as those of the Templars, of Malta, the Teutonic order, and several others, are only imitations of the ancient chivalry, and have added religious ceremonies to the military function. But this kind of chivalry is quite different from the ancient institution, and was only productive of certain orders of military monks, founded by the popes, endowed with benefices, and confined to three orders of monks. Of these extraordinary orders, some have been great conquerors, others have been suppressed on account of their debaucheries, and others still continue to subsist in high reputation.

The Teutonic was a sovereign order, as that of Malta still is, and will long continue to be.

Almost every prince in Europe has endeavoured to establish an order of knighthood. The

simple title of knight, bestowed by the kings of England upon some of the principal citizens, without their being incorporated into any particular order, is derived from the ancient chivalry, but differs widely from its original. The ancient chivalry has been preserved no where but in France, in the ceremony of creating knights all the ambassadors sent to that court from the republic of Venice; and in this installation the dubbing or striking with the sword is the only part of the original institution which is preserved.

Here we have exhibited to us a various picture; and if we attentively trace the chain of all the customs in Europe since the time of Charlemagne, in state, church, war, honours, finances and society, nay even in dress itself, we shall meet with nothing but one perpetual change.



C H A P. LXXXIII.

Of the FEUDAL GOVERNMENT in
the fifteenth Century, after the death of
LEWIS XI.

YOU have already seen how in Italy, France, and Germany, anarchy was turned into despotism, under the reign of Charlemagne, and despotism again overturned by anarchy under his descendants.

You are sensible how wrong it is to think that there were no hereditary fiefs before the
time

time of Hugh Capet. Normandy is a strong instance of the contrary. Bavaria and Aquitaine were hereditary fiefs before Charlemagne's time; as were almost all the Italian fiefs under the Lombard kings. In the reign of Charles the Fat and the Simple, the great officers of state and some bishops arrogated to themselves the rights of regality. But there were always possessors of large territories under the title of Sires in France, Herren in Germany, and Ricos Hombres in Spain. There were always likewise some great cities governed by their own magistrates, as Rome, Milan, Lyons, Rheims, &c. Now the bounds of the liberties of these cities, and those of the power of particular lords, have been always changing; and force and fortune have determined every thing. If some of the great officers became usurpers, the father of Charlemagne had been the same. Pepin the grandson of Arnold bishop of Metz, and preceptor to Dagobert, dethroned the family of Clovis*: Hugh Capet dispossessed Pepin's family; and the descendants of this Hugh Capet were never able to re-assemble the scattered members of the French monarchy.

The feudal power in France received a mortal blow from Lewis XI. and was vigorously opposed in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In England it had been obliged to give way to the mixed form of government. It still subsisted in Poland indeed, though under another form. But in Germany it remained in full vigour, and was even encreasing every day. The count de Boulainvilliers calls this constitution "the

* See Vol. I. Chap. vi, viii, ix.

effort of human genius." Loiseau, and other great civilians, term it "an extravagant institution; a monster composed of members without an head."

We cannot think it a very powerful effort of genius, but rather the mere natural and common effect of human reason and ambition, for those who were in possession of lands to be desirous of being masters in their own territories. The great land-holders, from the midst of Muscovy to the mountains of Castile, have all thought in the same manner, though they may not perhaps have communicated their ideas to each other; and were all equally desirous that their lives and estates should not depend upon the absolute power of a king. They have associated together in every country to oppose this power, and at the same time have exercised it as much as they were able upon their own vassals and subjects.

This kind of government prevailed in Europe for upwards of five hundred years; it was indeed unknown among the Greeks and Romans. But certainly that cannot properly be called an extravagant institution which has been so universally received in Europe. It is doubtless an unjust one, because the greater number are crushed by the fewer, and the private citizen can never hope to rise but by a general subversion of the state. No flourishing cities, no extensive commerce, nor no encouragement for the polite arts are found under a government purely feudal: and the powerful cities in Germany and Flanders flourished only in consequence of a short interval of liberty. The cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, for example,

ple, are to be considered rather as republics under the protection of the dukes of Burgundy, than towns subject to the arbitrary authority of those dukes. The same may be said of the imperial cities.

You have seen the feudal anarchy establish itself through a great part of Europe under the successors of Charlemagne: but before his time, and under the Lombard kings, the feudal form of government was more regular. The Franks, when they invaded Gaul, divided amongst them the territories of Clôvis: therefore the count de Boulainvilliers will have it that the lords of castles were all sovereign princes in France. But what person not possessed of territories can say, I am a descendant of one of the conquerors of Gaul? Or, though he should be descended in a right line from any one of these usurpers, would not the cities and the commons have a better right to recover their liberty than this Frank ever could have had to deprive them of it?

It cannot be said that the feudal power in Germany was established by right of conquest, as it was in Lombardy and France. Germany was never entirely conquered by foreigners; and yet it is, at this time, the only country in the world where the feudal law truly subsists. The Boyards of Russia have their subjects, but they are subjects themselves, and do not form a body politic like the German princes. The Tartar khans and the princes of Walachia and Moldavia are real feudal lords, holding of the grand signior. But then they are liable to be deposed by an order of divan; whereas the German lords cannot be dispossessed

ferred but by the general decree of the whole nation. The Polish nobility are more upon an equality with each other than the land-holders in Germany; therefore this is not a real feudal government. There are likewise no rear-vassals in Poland. A nobleman there, is not the subject of another nobleman, as in Germany. Poland is an aristocratic republic, where the common people are all slaves.

The feudal law is on a different footing in Italy. Every territory is deemed a fief of the empire in Lombardy, which occasions great uncertainty; for the emperors are supreme lords of those fiefs, only in quality of kings of Italy, and successors to the kings of Lombardy. Now certainly a diet of Ratisbon is not king of Italy. But what has happened from this? The Germanic liberty having prevailed over the imperial authority in Germany, and the empire having become a distinct thing from the emperor, the Italian fiefs call themselves vassals of the empire, and not of the emperor. Thus one feudal administration is become another feudal administration. The fief of Naples again is of a nature entirely different from either of these. It is a homage paid by the stronger to the weaker; a kind of ceremony kept up by custom.

Every thing has been a fief in Europe, and the laws of fiefs have been every where different. When the male branch of Burgundy became extinct, Lewis XI. thought he had a right to succeed to that dukedom. But if the house of Saxony or Bavaria was to fail, the emperor would have no right to take possession of those provinces; nor would the pope have any

any claim to the kingdom of Naples, in case the reigning family was to become extinct. These rights are all derived from force, custom, or agreement. Force gave Burgundy to Lewis XI. for there was still a prince of that house living, the count of Nevers, who was a descendant of the lawful possessors, but dared not assert his right. It was likewise no less scandalous that Mary of Burgundy was excluded from the succession. For in the grant made of the dominion of Burgundy to her ancestors, by king John of France, it is expressly said "that the heirs shall succeed to the honours;" now a daughter is an heiress.

The question concerning male and female fiefs, the right of liege homage or simple homage; the confusion among those lords who held different lands in vassalage of two lords paramount at a time, and among the vassals of lords paramount who contested the supreme demesne; and a thousand difficulties of the like nature, gave rise to numberless processes which could be decided only by the force of arms. The fortunes and possessions of private citizens were still in a more unhappy situation.

What must be the situation of that vassal whose lord is himself subject to another, who holds of a third! He must be involved in suits in almost every court, and lose all he is worth before he can obtain a final decree. It is certain that the people never voluntarily made choice of this form of government. Nor is that country worthy to be inhabited, where all degrees and conditions are not equally subjected to the laws.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

OF CHARLES VIII. and of the State of EUROPE when that Prince undertook the Conquest of NAPLES.

LEWIS XI. left his son Charles VIII. a child of fourteen years of age, weak in body, and unimproved in mind, master of the finest and most powerful kingdom in Europe. But he left him at the same time a civil war, which is almost the inseparable attendant upon a minority. The young king was indeed no longer a minor by Charles V.'s law : but he was still so by nature. His eldest sister Anne, wife to Banjeu duke of Bourbon, was left regent by her father's will, and is said to have been very worthy of this high post. Lewis duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and afterwards that Lewis XII. whose memory is still so dear, began by being the scourge of the kingdom to which he afterwards proved the tenderest parent. In the first place, his rank of first prince of the blood, had been so far from procuring him any share in the government, that it had not even given him the right of precedency over those peers who were of more ancient creation. On the other hand it seemed very extraordinary, that a woman who was by law declared incapable of ascending the throne, should nevertheless reign under another name. These considerations excited Lewis of Orleans, who was of an ambitious temper, (as the most virtuous frequently are) to raise a civil war against the

the king his master, in order to be made his guardian.

The parliament of Paris then found, for the first time, of how much consideration it might be during a minority. The duke of Orleans applied in person to the courts for an order to alter the administration. La Vaquerie, the first president, who was an able lawyer, made him answer, that the parliament had nothing to do either with the finances or the government of the state, which belonged to the general states, whom the parliament did not represent.

This reply proves that the city of Paris at that time was in full tranquillity, and that the parliament was in the interest of Madame de Baujeu. A civil war now broke out in 1488 the provinces, and especially in that of Brittany, where the old duke Francis II. espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans. A battle was fought near St. Aubin in Brittany; and here it must be observed, that, in the army of the Bretons and the duke of Orleans, there were between four and five hundred English, notwithstanding the troubles which then distracted that country, and drained it of its soldiers. The English have seldom stood neuter when France was to be attacked. The rebel army was defeated by that great general Lewis de la Trimouille, who took their chief the duke of Orleans prisoner, who afterwards came to be his sovereign. Lewis may be reckoned the third king of the Capet family who had been taken prisoner in battle, and he was not the last. The duke of Orleans continued prisoner near three years in the tower

1491 Bourges, till Charles VIII. went in person to deliver him from thence. The manners of the French were much milder than those of the English, who, harrassed with continual civil wars at that time, made it their common practice to put to death by the hands of the executioner those whom they conquered in battle*.

The peace and greatness of France were at length happily established by the marriage of Charles VIII. who obliged the old duke of Brittany to give him his daughter to wife, with all his dominions in dowry. The princess Anne of Brittany, one of the most beautiful women of her age, had a passion for the duke of Orleans, who was still in the flower of his youth, and master of many amiable accomplishments; and who, by this civil war, found himself deprived at once of his liberty and his mistress.

Upon the marriages of princes in Europe depends the fate of their people. Charles VIII. who during the life-time of his father might have espoused the princess Mary, heiress of Burgundy, might now have had to wife the daughter of this Mary and of Maximilian king of the Romans; and Maximilian on his side, who had lost his queen, Mary of Burgundy, had, not without reason, entertained hopes of obtaining Anne of Brittany for his second consort. He had even gone so far as to espouse her by proxy; and the count of Nassau had, according to the custom of those times, put one leg

* See Chap. xciv. in this Vol.

into the princess's bed, in the name of the king of the Romans. But this did not hinder the king of France from concluding his marriage; and he obtained the princess, together with Brittany for her portion, which has since been reduced to a province of France.

France was then in its zenith of glory, and nothing but the many errors it was afterwards guilty of, could have prevented it from being the arbiter of Europe.

We may remember that the last count of Provence bequeathed his dominions to Lewis XI. * This count, in whom the house of Anjou became extinct, took the title of king of the two Sicilies, which his family had lost the possession of for a long time. This title he also left to Lewis XI. by the donation of the county of Provence. Charles VIII. determined not to wear an empty title, made all preparations for the conquest of Naples, and the dominion of all Italy.

Here we must stop and take a view of the state of Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century, when these events took place.

* See Chap. lxxx.

C H A P. LXXXV.

The STATE of EUROPE at the End of the
fifteenth Century.

1493 **A**T this time died the emperor Frederick III. of the house of Austria, leaving the empire to his son Maximilian, who was in his father's life-time elected king of the Romans. But these kings of the Romans had no power in Italy, and that which was left them in Germany was little more than that of a doge of Venice; besides this, the house of Austria was far from being formidable in itself. They may in vain shew the tomb of this emperor at Vienna, with this epitaph, "Here lies Frederick III. the pious and august, emperor, sovereign of Christendom, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, archduke of Austria, &c." This only serves to shew the vanity of such inscriptions: Frederick never enjoyed any other thing appertaining to Hungary but the crown, ornamented with a few jewels, which he always kept locked up in his closet, and would never restore to his pupil Ladislaus, who was the true king of Hungary, nor to those whom the Hungarians afterwards chose for their sovereigns, and who defended them against the Turks. He was hardly possessed of half the province of Austria; his cousins had the rest; and as to the title of sovereign of Christendom, it is easy to see how well he deserved that. His son Maximilian had, besides the demesnes left him by his father, the regency of the dominions of Mary of Burgundy, his wife;

wife ; but he governed only in the name of his son Philip the Handsome. As to the rest, we know that he was called *Massimiliano pochi danari* * ; a surname which does not shew him to have been a prince of any great power.

England, which was still little better than a nation of savages, after having been long rent to pieces by the civil wars of the white and red roses, in the manner which we shall soon relate, had but just begun to breathe under its king Henry VII. who, after the example of Lewis XI. humbled the barons, and favoured the people.

OF SPAIN.

Of the Unfortunate Reign of HENRY IV. surnamed the IMPOTENT ; of ISABELLA and FERDINAND ; the Taking of GRANADA, and the Persecution against the JEWS and MOORS.

THE Christian princes of Spain had always been at variance with each other. The race of Henry de Trastamare, the bastard usurper, (since we must call things by their proper names) still continued to reign in Castile, and an usurpation of a more singular kind laid the foundation of the Spanish grandeur.

Henry IV. one of the descendants of Trastamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleasures. Never can a court be entirely given up to debaucheries, but revolutions, or at least seditions must be

* Or, Maximilian the Moneyless,

the consequences. Donna Juana, his queen, whom we shall call by this name, to distinguish her from his daughter the princess Joan, and several other princesses of the same name, was a daughter of Portugal: she took not the least pains to conceal her galantries, and few women ever carried on their amours with less regard to decency. Henry IV. passed his time with his wife's lovers, and these diverted themselves with the king's mistresses. In short, every thing conspired to set the Spaniards an example of the greatest effeminacy and most consummate debauchery. The administration being so weak, the malecontents, who make the majority at all times, and in all countries, became very numerous in Castile. This kingdom was then governed as France, England, Germany, and all the other monarchical states in Europe had for a long time been. The vassals shared in the sovereign authority; and if the bishops were not like those of Germany, sovereign princes, they were lords and great vassals, the same as in France.

An archbishop of Toledo, named Carillo, with several other bishops, headed the party against the king; and the same disorders were renewed in Spain which had afflicted France in the reign of Lewis the Feeble, Germany under a number of its emperors, and which we shall soon see appear again in France under Henry III. and desolate England in the reign of Charles I.

1465 The rebels now grown powerful, deposed their king in effigy; a ceremony which had never before entered into the heads of any faction. They erected a great stage in the

the plain of Avila, upon which was placed a sorry wooden figure, representing Henry IV. dressed in his robes and other ensigns of royalty. To this figure they read the sentence of deposition, after which the archbishop of Toledo took off the crown, another person the sword, and a third took away the sceptre ; they then, from the same stage, proclaimed a young brother of Henry's, named Alphonso, king in his stead. This farce was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease even after the death of the young prince, on whom the conspirators had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party declared the king impotent, at the very time that he was surrounded by mistresses ; and, by a proceeding unheard of in any state, pronounced his daughter Joan a bastard, and born in adultery *.

Several of the grandees on this occasion laid claim to the crown ; but the rebels agreed to acknowledge the king's sister Isabella, a princess of seventeen years of age, sooner than submit to one of their equals ; and chose rather to lay the kingdom waste in the name of a young queen, who had as yet no interest, than to raise up any person to be their master.

The archbishop then who had made war against his king in the name of the infant, now continued to carry it on in the name of the infant ; and Henry could not extricate himself out of all these troubles, nor remain quiet upon

* The whole nation was so well convinced of the king's impotence, and that this child was the daughter of don Bertrand de la Cueva, that they bestowed upon her the name of Bertraneja.

1468 his throne till he had signed one of the most shameful treaties that had ever been extorted from a sovereign ; by which he acknowledged his sister Isabella as the only lawful heiress to his kingdom, in prejudice to the undoubted rights of his own daughter Joan : and at this price he purchased of his rebellious subjects the empty title of king.

But, in order to complete their work, it was necessary to provide the young princess Isabella a husband able to defend her claim. For this purpose they cast their eyes on Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Arragon, a prince nearly of the same age with Isabella. The archbishop married them privately ; and this marriage, concluded under such fatal auspices, proved nevertheless the foundation of the Spanish greatness.

At first it revived all the former divisions, civil wars, fraudulent treaties, and those outward reconciliations which serve only to augment a mutual hatred. Henry, after having once more settled matters on a quiet footing, was attacked with a violent disorder

1474 at an entertainment given him by one of these reconciled enemies, and died soon after.

He vainly bequeathed at his death his kingdom to his daughter Joan, and swore in vain that she was his lawful daughter ; neither his death-bed oaths, nor the asseverations of his queen, availed aught against the party of Isabella and Ferdinand (afterwards surnamed the Catholic) king of Arragon and Sicily. They did not live together like man and wife, in the common possession of their estates, under the husband's direction, but like two monarchs in
close

close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other, were seldom in company together, had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of each other in the administration; the queen found a still greater subject of jealousy in the infidelity of her husband, who filled all the great posts in the state with his bastards: but they were both inseparably united in their common interests, always acting upon the same principles, always having the words religion and piety in their mouths, and wholly taken up with their ambitious views. In short, the rightful heiress Joan was unable to withstand their united forces; at length her uncle don Alphonso, king of Portugal, who was desirous of espousing her, took up arms in her favour. But the conclusion of all these efforts and troubles was, that this unfortunate princess ended that life in a convent, which was destined
1479
to a throne.

Never was injustice better coloured, succeeded more fortunately, or was justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century by their mutual discords and divisions; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

Boabdilla, nephew to Alboacen, king of Granada, engaged in rebellion against him. Ferdinand the Catholic took every opportunity

tunity of fomenting this civil war, and of supporting the nephew against the uncle; by this means to weaken both the one and the other. Soon after the death of Alboacen, he fell upon his ally Boabdilla, with the united forces of Arragon and Castile. It cost him six years to conquer this Mahometan kingdom. At length he came and laid siege to the city of Granada, which held out against him for eight months. Queen Isabella came thither in person to share in her husband's triumph. Boabdilla surrendered upon conditions which shewed that he was yet able to defend his capital: for it was stipulated, that nothing should be attempted against the estates, lands, liberties, or religion of the Moors; that the prisoners taken from them should be restored without ransom; and that the Jews, who were comprehended in the same treaty, should enjoy the same privileges.

1491 Boabdilla then came out of the city, and went to present the keys to Ferdinand and Isabella, who treated him like a king for the last time.

Cotemporary writers who have related this event, tell us, that the Moorish king shed tears when he looked back upon the walls of that city, which had been built by the Mahometans near 500 years, was full of inhabitants and riches, adorned with that stupendous palace of the Moorish kings, in which were the finest baths in Europe, and a number of magnificent and spacious apartments, supported upon an hundred pillars of alabaster. Perhaps the very luxury, the loss of which he so much regretted, had been the instrument of his ruin. He retired into Africa, and there ended his days.

Fer-

Ferdinand was considered in Europe as the avenger of the Christian religion, and the restorer of his country. From that time he was called king of Spain: and in fact, being master of Castile by right of marriage, of Granada by conquest, and of Arragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he got possession of in the end. He had several warm disputes with France about Cerdagne and Roussillon, which had been pledged to Lewis XI. It may be judged whether, as king of Sicily, he could without jealousy behold Charles VIII. preparing to pass into Italy in order to dispossess one of the house of Arragon, then settled on the throne of Naples.

We shall soon see in what manner the consequences of so natural a jealousy broke forth; but, previous to entering into the quarrels of princes, you are always desirous to observe the fate of the people. You see that Ferdinand and Isabella did not find the kingdom of Spain in the condition it was afterwards under Charles V. and Philip II. The mixture of antient Visigoths, Vandals, Africans, Jews, and Aborigines, had for a long time laid waste the land of which they disputed the possession, and it did not grow fruitful till it came into the hands of the Mahometans. The Moors, after they were conquered, became farmers to their conquerors, and the Christians of Spain were wholly maintained by the labours of their ancient enemies. They had no manufactures of their own, and as little trade; they were hardly acquainted with the common necessities of life: they had little or no furniture in their houses, no inns on their roads, no conveniences for lodging

lodging strangers in their towns; and the use of fine linnen was for a long time unknown to them, and even that of the coarser kind was very scarce. All their trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by the Jews, who were become absolutely necessary in a nation which knew only the use of arms.

1492 When, towards the end of the fifteenth century, they began in Spain to enquire into the causes of the wretchedness of the country, it was found that the Jews had accumulated to themselves either by trade or usury all the money in the nation; and upon a computation there appeared to be no less than one hundred and fifty thousand of this foreign nation amongst them, who were at once so odious and so necessary to the Spaniards. A number of the grandees, who had nothing left but their titles, had married into Jewish families, as the only means of repairing the losses they had sustained by their prodigality; and they made the less scruple of such an alliance, as it had for a long time been customary for the Christians to intermarry with the Moors. It was therefore debated in the king and queen's council, by what means the nation might be delivered from this underhand tyranny of the Jews, after having shaken off that of the Mahometans. At length they came to a resolution, in the year 1492, to drive all the Jews out of the kingdom, and share their spoils. Accordingly they were allowed only six months to dispose of their effects, which they were consequently obliged to part with at a very low price. They were furthermore forbid, upon pain of death, to carry with them either gold,
silver,

silver, or jewels. In consequence of this ordinance, no less than thirty thousand Jewish families left the kingdom of Spain, which, at a computation of five persons in each family, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Part retired into Africa, and part into Portugal and France, and several returned back under pretence of embracing the Christian religion. They had been expelled the kingdom for the sake of getting possession of their riches, and they were received again for the sake of those they brought back with them; and it was principally on their account that the tribunal of the inquisition was set up, that upon the least attempt to exercise any act of their own religion, they might be proceeded against juridically, and their possessions forfeited. No such treatment is offered in India to the Banyans, who are exactly in that country what the Jews are in Europe, a people separated from all the other nations by a religion as ancient as the annals of the world, but united with them by the necessity of commerce, of which they are the factors, and by which they acquire as great riches as the Jews do amongst us. These Banyans are not hated, either by Mahometans, Christians, or Pagans; whereas the Jews are held in execration by all nations amongst whom they are admitted. Some Spanish writers pretend that this nation was grown formidable: they were certainly hurtful to the Spaniards by the immense profits they made of them, but they were not a warlike people, and therefore there was nothing to fear from them. The Spaniards feigned to be alarmed at what was only a piece of vanity in the Jews, namely,

ly, their having endeavoured long before the Christians to form a settlement upon the southern coasts of the kingdom. It is certain, that they had for time immemorial flocked in great numbers into the province of Andalusia: now they had attempted to cloak this fact under a thousand idle and fabulous notions, which have always prevailed among these people, the more sensible part of whom always confine themselves to business, and leave rabbinism to those who have nothing better to do. The Spanish rabbins had written a great deal to prove that a colony of Jews flourished in these parts in the time of king Solomon, and that the inhabitants of ancient Bætica paid a tribute to him: they endeavoured to support this assertion by a number of false medals and inscriptions. This piece of deceit, with others of a more essential kind of which they were accused, contributed not a little to their disgrace.

From this time began in Spain and Portugal the distinction between old and new Christians, or those families which had intermarried with Jews, and those which had made alliances with Moors.

Nevertheless the temporary profit which accrued to the state from the violence offered to the Jews, soon deprived it of the certain revenues which these people used to pay into the royal treasury. This deficiency continued to be severely felt till the Spaniards made themselves masters of the riches of the new world. However, they provided against this inconvenience as much as might be by the help of bulls: that granted by pope Julius II. in 1509, called the Cru-

Cruzado, brought more money into the government than all the taxes it had laid upon the Jews. Every private person was obliged to purchase one of these bulls, for the permission to eat meat in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year. No one who went to confession could receive absolution without first shewing this bull to the priest. They afterwards fell upon the invention of the bull of composition, by virtue of which a person was allowed to keep any thing he had stolen, provided he did not know the owner. Such superstitious practices are certainly as bad as any thing of the kind with which they reproached the Hebrews. Folly, insatiation, and vice, are in every country a part of the public revenue.

The form of absolution given to those who purchased this bull, is not unworthy a place in this general picture of the customs and manners of mankind: "By the authority of Almighty God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our most holy father the pope, to me committed, I grant you the remission of all your sins, confessed, forgotten, and unknown; and from the pains of purgatory."

The Mahometans underwent the same treatment from Isabella, or rather from her minister cardinal Ximenes, as the Jews had done: great numbers of them were forced to become Christians, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation at Granada, and were sent to the stake if they turned again to their own religion. This drove as many Moors out of the kingdom as it had done Jews; nor do we lament the fate of either the Arabs or the Hebrews, the one having so long

long held Spain in subjection, and the others having for a still longer time continued to plunder it.

About this time the Portuguese first emerged from their obscurity ; and, notwithstanding the ignorance of those ages, began to merit a glory as lasting as the universe, by the great change they wrought in the commerce of the world, which was the fruit of their discoveries. The Portuguese were the first of all the modern nations who navigated on the Atlantic Ocean, and are indebted only to themselves for the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, whereas the Spaniards owe the discovery of America to foreigners. But it was to one man only, namely, the infant don Henry, that the Portuguese are indebted for that great undertaking, against which they at first so loudly murmured. Whatever has been done either great or noble in the world, has been brought about wholly by the genius and courage of a single man, who has dared to oppose the prejudices of the multitude.

Portugal was employed in its great navigations and successes in Africa, and took no part in the events of Italy, which alarmed the rest of Europe.

OF ITALY.

I Shall now set before you the powers, the interests, and the manners of the several nations, from the mountains of Dauphiné to the extremity of Italy.

The dominions of Savoy, which were not then so extensive as they are at present, as containing

taining neither Montferrat nor Saluca, and being destitute both of money and commerce, was not looked upon as a barrier. Its sovereigns were attached to the house of France, which had lately, during their minority, disposed of the government; and the passage of the Alps was left open.

From Piedmont we descend into the territories of Milan, the most fertile country of Hither Italy. This as well as Savoy was an imperial principality, but powerful and altogether independent of a feeble empire. This state, after having belonged to the Viscontis, passed into the hands of a peasant's bastard, a great man himself, and the son of a great man. This peasant was Francis Sforza, who by his own merit rose to be constable of Naples, and one of the most powerful noblemen in Italy. His bastard son was one of the Condottieri, and chief of these disciplined banditti, who sold their service to the popes, the Venetians, and the Neapolitans. He made himself master of Naples in the middle of the fifteenth century, and some time afterwards of Genoa, which had formerly been so flourishing a republic, and which, after having sustained nine successive wars with Venice, was now fluctuating from one state of slavery to another. It had offered itself to the French in the reign of Charles VI. and had afterwards revolted: it then acknowledged the authority of Charles VII. In 1458, and again shook off his yoke. It would next have submitted to Lewis XI. but that monarch returned for answer, that it might give itself to the devil, for he would have nothing to do with

it. After all, in 1464, it was obliged to submit to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan.

1476 Galeas Sforza, the son of this bastard, was assassinated in the cathedral church of Milan on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumstance, which otherwise would be frivolous, because here it is of importance; for the assassins loudly invoked St. Stephen and St. Ambrose to inspire them with sufficient courage to murder their prince. Poisonings, assassinations, and superstition, were the distinguishing characteristics of the Italians in those days, who, though well versed in the arts of revenge, knew not how to fight, consequently the number of poisoners far exceeded that of good soldiers. The son of this unfortunate Galeas Sforza, while yet an infant, succeeded him in the duchy of Milan, under the guardianship of his mother, and the chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle Ludovico Sforza, or Lewis the Moor, drove the mother out of the kingdom, put the chancellor to death, and soon after poisoned his nephew.

It was this Lewis the Moor who entered into a treaty with Charles VIII. to favour the descent of the French in Italy.

Tuscany, a country less beholden to the gifts of nature, was to Milan what the antient Attica was to Bæotia; for within the last century Florence had signalized itself, as we have already seen, by its attention to commerce and the liberal arts. The family of Medicis were at the head of this polite nation, than whom no house ever acquired supreme power by a more just title. It obtained it by mere dint of bene-

beneficence and virtue. Cosmo de Medicis, born in 1389, was a private citizen of Florence, who lived without seeking for titles; but acquired by commerce a fortune equal to the greatest monarchs of his time. He employed his great wealth in relieving the poor, in making himself friends among the rich by lending money to them, in adorning his country with superb edifices, and in inviting to Florence the men of learning among the Greeks who were driven from Constantinople. His advice was for the space of thirty years the law of the republic. His only arts were his good deeds, which are of all others the most just. After his death his papers shewed that he had lent immense sums to his countrymen, of which he had never demanded the least payment, and he died universally regretted by his very enemies. The people of Florence with ¹⁴⁶⁴ one consent adorned his tomb with the glorious epitaph of father of his country, a title which not one of the many kings we have seen pass in review were ever able to obtain.

His reputation procured his descendants the chief authority in Tuscany. His son took the administration under the name of Gonfalonier. His two grandsons, Laurence and Julian, who were masters of the republic, were set upon in the church by a band of conspirators at the time of the elevation of the host. Julian ¹⁴⁷⁸ died of the wounds he received, but Laurence made his escape. Florence resembled Athens, both in government and genius. It was at one time aristocratical, and at another popular, and dreaded nothing so much as tyranny.

Cosmo de Medicis might be compared to Pisistratus, who notwithstanding his great power, was ranked in the number of sages. The sons of this Cosmo resembled those of Pisistratus, who were assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Laurence escaped from his murderers, and so did one of the sons of Pisistratus, and both of them lived to revenge the death of his brother: but that happened in Florence which did not at Athens; the chiefs of religion were concerned in this bloody conspiracy. Pope Sixtus V. planned it, and the archbishop of Pisa set it on foot.

The people of Florence revenged this cruel, act on those who were found guilty; and the archbishop himself was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence, thus revenged by his fellow citizens, made himself beloved by them during the rest of his life. He was surnamed the father of the muses, a title not equal indeed to that of father of his country, but which shewed that he was so in fact. It was a thing no less admirable than foreign to our manners to see this citizen, who always addicted himself to commerce, selling with one hand the produce of the Levant, and with the other supporting the weight of the republic; entertaining factors and ambassadors; opposing an artful and powerful pope, making peace and war, standing forth the oracle of princes, and the cultivator of the Belles Lettres, furnishing amulements for the people, and giving a reception to the learned Greeks of Constantinople. His son Peter held the supreme authority in Florence, at the time that the French

French made their expedition to Naples; but with much less credit than either his predecessors or descendants.

Of the PAPAL STATE.

THE papal state was not then what it now is; nor yet what it would have been, had the popes been in a condition to profit by the donations which it was thought Charlemagne had left them, and those which they were really entitled to by the gift of the countess Matilda. The house of Gonzag was in possession of Mantua, for which it did homage to the empire. Several lords under the titles of vicars of the empire, or of the church, were in peaceable fruition of those fine territories which now belong to the popes. Perugia belonged to the family of the Bailloni; the Bentivoglios had Bologna; the Polentini Ravenna; the Manfredi Faenza; the Sforzas Pezaro; the Rimerios were in possession of Imola and Forli; the house of Este had for a long time governed in Ferrara; the Picos in Mirandola, and the Roman barons had great power in Rome; whence they were called the pope's hand-cuffs. The families of Colonna and Ursini, the Conti, and the Savilli, who were the principal barons, and ancient possessors of the most considerable demesnes, divided the Roman state by their continual disputes, like the great lords of France and Germany, who waged war with each other at the time that those kingdoms were in their feeble state. The people of Rome, who were very fond of processions, and for ever crying out for plenary indulgences from their popes, fre-

quently mutinied upon their deaths, rifled their palaces, and were ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber, as was particularly the case at the death of pope Innocent VIII.

After his decease Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, was chosen pope, and took the name of Alexander VI. a man whose memory has been made execrable by the cries of all Europe, and the pen of every historian. The protestants, who in the next age separated themselves from the church of Rome, added still more to the measure of this pontiff's iniquities. We shall see presently whether more crimes were laid to his charge than he deserved. The exaltation of this man to the papal chair sufficiently shews the manners and spirit of his age, so different from those of the present. The cardinals who elected him must have known that he at that time openly brought up five children which he had by Vanoza. They must necessarily have foreseen that all possessions, honours, and authority, would be in the hands of his family, and yet they chose him for their master. The chiefs of the faction in the conclave sold for a trifling sum, not only their own interests but those of all Italy.

OF VENICE.

VENICE extended its dominions on the terra firma from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled it of all which it had formerly taken in Greece from the Christian emperors; but it still retained the large island of Candia, and afterwards acquired that of Cyprus in 1437, by the donation

donation of its last queen, daughter to Marco Cornaro, the Venetian. But the industry of its inhabitants were of greater value than those two islands, or the whole of its demesnes upon terra firma. The wealth of other nations rolled in upon it, through all the various channels of commerce; all the princes of Italy stood in awe of this republic, and she herself was in dread of an invasion from France.

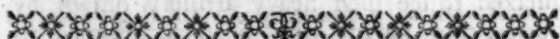
Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was alone regular, stable, and uniform. It had but one essential fault, which indeed was not thought such by the senate; which was, that it wanted a counterpoise to the power of the patricians, and proper encouragement for the common people. No private citizen of Venice could hope to rise by his merit, as in ancient Rome. The chief excellence of the English government, since the house of commons has had a share in the legislature, consists in this counterpoise, and in leaving the way to honours and dignities open to all, such who are deserving of them.

OF NAPLES.

AS to the Neapolitans, they were always a weak and fickle people, alike incapable of governing themselves, of chusing a king, or of being contented with him they had; and always at the mercy of the first power who chused to invade them with an army.

Old king Fernando reigned at that time in Naples. He was a bastard of the house of Aragon. Illegitimacy at that time was no bar to the throne. A bastard race wore the crown

of Castile; and a bastard, descendant of Don Pedro the Severe, governed Portugal. Fernando therefore reigned by this title in Naples; he had received the investiture of that kingdom from the pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the house of Anjou, who still asserted their rights. But he was neither beloved by the pope, his lord paramount, nor by his own subjects, and died in 1434, leaving behind him an unfortunate family, whom Charles VIII. deprived of a throne which he could not keep; and whom he afterwards, to his own misfortunes, continued to persecute.



C H A P. LXXXVI.

Of the Conquest of NAPLES. Of ZIZIM, brother to BAJAZET II. Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. &c.

CHARLES VIII. his council, and his young courtiers were so intoxicated with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples, that they restored to Maximilian, Artois and the Franche Comté, which had been taken from his wife; and returned Cerdagne and Roussillon, to Ferdinand the Catholic, with the remission of three hundred thousand crowns, which he owed, on condition that he should not interrupt the progress of the war. In this they never reflected, that twelve villages added to a state, are of greater value than a kingdom situated at four hundred leagues distance from it. They committed likewise another error in trusting to the catholic king.

com-

At length Charles VIII. entered Italy: he undertook this expedition with only 1494 sixteen hundred men at arms, who with their archers, made a squadron of five thousand horsemen, heavily armed; two hundred gentlemen of his guard, five hundred light horse, six thousand French foot, and the like number of Swiss; and so badly provided with money, that he was obliged to borrow upon his march, and even to pledge the jewels which had been lent him by the dutchess of Savoy. Nevertheless, this army produced consternation and submission wherever it came. The Italians were amazed to see such heavy artillery drawn by horses, they having only been accustomed to small brass culverins drawn by oxen. The Italian gendarmerie was composed of spadafins or bravos, who hired themselves at an extravagant price to the condottieri, who sold their services at a still more exorbitant rate to those princes who stood in need of their dangerous assistance. These chiefs took such names as were most likely to strike terror into the ignorant people, such as *taille-cuisse*, *fier-à bras fracassé*, or *sacripend*. i. e. Slash-thigh, Arm-strong, Havock, &c. They were all afraid of losing their men, therefore only pursued the enemy, and never came to blows: those who kept the field were the conquerors. Indeed, in these times there was much more blood shed in private revenge, among citizens, and in conspiracies, than in battle. Machiavel tells us, that in one of the battles fought at this time, there was only one horseman killed, and he was trod to death by the croud.

The prospect of a serious war, therefore, filled them with dread, and not one dared to appear. Pope Alexander VI. the Venetians, and Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, endeavoured to throw obstacles in his way as soon as he entered it. Peter de Medicis, who was obliged to ask his protection, was for so doing expelled the republic, and retired to Venice, from whence he never dared to venture forth, though assured of the king's protection; which he did not think sufficient to secure him against the private revenge of his countrymen.

The king entered the city of Florence as its lord, and delivered Sienna from the Tuscan yoke, to which it was soon afterwards again obliged to submit. He then marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. in vain intrigued against him, and he entered that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but as soon as he saw the French cannon pointed against those feeble ramparts, he capitulated, and craved for mercy.

It cost him only a cardinal's hat to
 1494 make his peace with the king. The president Brissonet, who from a lawyer was become an archbishop, persuaded the king to this accommodation, by which he gained the purple. A king is often well served by his subjects who are cardinals, but seldom by those who are in pursuit of that dignity. The king's confessor was likewise in the secret. Charles, whose interest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and repented of it afterwards; and certainly never pontiff more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the
 Vene-

Venetians had applied to the Turkish sultan Bajazet II. son and successor to Mahomet II. to assist them in driving Charles VIII. out of Italy. It was even asserted that this pope had sent Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the Ottoman Porte, and that this alliance between the pope and the sultan was purchased by one of those inhuman murders which are not committed without horror even in the seraglio of Constantinople.

The pontiff, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, or Gem, the brother of Bajazet. The manner in which this son of Mahomet II. fell into the hands of the pope is as follows:

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet, who was as much hated by them: but notwithstanding the young prince had the prayers of the people for him, he was defeated. In this disgrace he had recourse by an ambassador to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. He was at first received by them as a prince to whom they stood bound in the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of service to them; but soon afterwards they treated him as their prisoner. Bajazet paid these knights forty thousand sequins per ann. not to suffer Zizim to return again to Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France, called le Bourneuf. Charles VIII. had received at one time an ambassador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII. Alexander's predecessor, relating to this valuable captive. The sultan claimed him as his sub-

ject, and the pope wanted to have possession of his person, as a pledge of safety for Italy, against the attempts of the Turks. In the end, Charles sent Zizim to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendor and magnificence which the sovereign of Rome could shew to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople. They would have obliged Zizim to kiss the pope's feet; but Bosso, who was an eye-witness of the whole, assures us, that the Turk rejected this mark of submission with indignation. Paul Jovius says, that Alexander VI. sold Zizim's life in a treaty he made with Bajazet. The king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, wanted to become formidable to Bajazet, by having the person of this unhappy brother in his power. The pope, according to Paul Jovius, delivered him to Charles, but poisoned. It is not clearly determined whether this poison was given him by one of the pope's domestics, or by a secret emissary of the grand seignor. It was however publicly declared that Bajazet had promised the pope three hundred thousand ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir says, that according to all the Turkish annals, Zizim was murdered by his barber, who cut his throat, and that, in recompence, Bajazet afterwards made this barber his grand vizir. It is hardly probable that they would have made a barber general and prime minister. If Zizim had been murdered after this manner, Charles VIII. who sent his body to his brother, must certainly have discovered the nature of his death: and the writers of those times would have made men-

mention of it: therefore prince Cantemir, and the accusers of Alexander VI. may be equally deceived. The public, thro' hatred to this pontiff, imputed to him all the crimes that possible for him to commit.

The pope having taken an oath not to disturb the king in his conquests, was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public confistory, the king appeared to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John de Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who certainly ought to have been elsewhere than at such a ceremony. The king then kissed the feet of the person whom two days before he would have condemned as a criminal; and, to compleat the scene, he served the pope at high mass. Guicciardin, a cotemporary writer of great credit, assures us, that in the church the king sat below the cardinal dean. We must not therefore be surprised that cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the sacred college, has in our time, upon the authority of these ancient customs, expressed himself thus, in a letter to Lewis XIV. "I am going to take possession of the first seat in the christian world, next to the supreme."

Charlemagne had caused himself to be declared in Rome emperor of the West. Charles VIII. was in the same city declared emperor of the East, but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to him who had lost the empire and his life, made an empty cession in favour of Charles VIII. and his successors, of an empire which could no longer be recovered.

After

After this ceremony Charles continued his progress towards Naples. On this occasion, Alphonso II. the new king, who was as much hated by his subjects as his father had been, being struck with dread at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Messina, where he entered into the order of the Olivetian monks. His son Fernando, who became king upon his abdication, not being able to retrieve the public affairs, now rendered desperate by this rash action of his father's, and finding himself forsaken by his people, released them from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the small island of Ischia, about eighteen miles distant from Naples.

Charles being thus left master of the
1494 kingdom, and arbiter of Italy, made his entry into the city of Naples as a conqueror, without having hardly struck a blow: and now he assumed the premature titles of Augustus and emperor; for at this time almost all Europe was secretly endeavouring to prevent him from keeping the crown of Naples; and the pope, the Venetians, Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabella of Castile, entered into a league together for that purpose. Charles ought to have foreseen this confederacy, and to have been in a condition to oppose it. He set out on his return for France just five months after his leaving it; and so great was his blindness, his contempt for the Neapolitans, or rather his weakness, that he left only five thousand French behind him to preserve his new conquests.

As

As he was upon his march back, he fell in with the confederate army of thirty thousand men, near the village of Fornova in Placentia, rendered famous by that day's action. He had not above eight thousand men with him. If he was beaten, he lost his liberty or his life; if he conquered, he only gained the advantage of a retreat. He now gave a proof of what he might have done in this expedition, had his prudence been equal to his courage. The Italians soon fled before him. In this engagement he did not lose above two hundred men, while the loss of the allies amounted to above four thousand. Such is in general the advantage which a disciplined army, though small in number, headed by their king, has over a raw and mercenary multitude. The Venetians reckoned as a victory the having plundered a part of the king's baggage; and carried his tent in triumph into their own country. Charles VIII. conquered only to secure his return to his kingdom; and left one half of his little army at Novarra, in the dutchy of Milan, where the duke of Orleans was quickly besieged.

The confederates might have attacked him a second time with great advantage; but they did not dare. "There is no withstanding," said they, *la furia Franceise*." The French did exactly that in Italy which the English had done in France. They conquered with inferiority of numbers, and they lost their conquests.

While the king was at Turin every one was surprised to hear the chamberlain of pope Alexander VI. order the king of France, in his master's name, instantly to withdraw his troops from the territories

territories of Milan and Naples, and repair to Rome to give an account of his conduct to the holy father, under pain of excommunication. This bravado would have been a subject of laughter, had not this pontiff's conduct in other respects furnished too serious matter of complaint.

The king at length returned to France, where he shewed as much remissness in preserving his conquests, as he had discovered eagerness in making them. Frederic, the uncle of Fernando the dethroned king of Naples, who became titular king after the death of his nephew, recovered the whole of his kingdom in less than a month's time, by the help of Gonsalvo of Cordova, called the Great Captain, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had sent at that time to his assistance.

The duke of Orleans, who soon after succeeded to the crown of France, was glad to be suffered to depart quietly from Navarra. At length there remained not the least trace of this torrent which had overspread Italy; and Charles

VIII. whose glory had been so transient, 1497 died without issue at the age of twenty-eight; leaving his successor Lewis XII. to follow his example, and to repair his errors.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

OF SAVONAROLA.

BEFORE we proceed to examine how Lewis XII. maintained his rights in Italy, what became of that fine country rent by so many factions and disputed by so many powers, and in what manner the popes formed that extensive state of which they are at present in possession, we owe some attention to an extraordinary fact which at that time exercised the credulity of all Europe, and displayed the full power of fanaticism.

There was at Florence a Dominican named Jeronymo Savonarola, who was one of those church-orators who think that a talent for speaking in the pulpit qualifies them for governing the nation, and one of those divines who, because they can explain the Apocalypse, think they are become prophets. He directed, he preached, he heard confessions, he wrote; and living in a free city, which was consequently filled with factions, he aimed at becoming the head of the people.

As soon as it was known to the principal citizens of Florence that Charles VIII. meditated a descent upon Italy, this man took upon him to foretel it; and the people therefore believed him inspired. He inveighed against pope Alexander VI. he encouraged such of his countrymen as persecuted the family of Medicis, and bathed their hands in the blood of the friends to that house. No man had ever been in
greater

greater degree of credit with the common people of Florence. He was become a kind of tribune amongst them, by having procured the artificers to be admitted into the magistracy. The pope and the Medicis family fought Savonarola at his own weapons, and sent a Franciscan friar to preach against him. There subsisted a more mortal hatred between the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, than between the Guelphs and Gibellines. The cordelier succeeded so well, that he rendered his antagonist, the Dominican, odious. The two orders now let loose all the fury of invective against each other. At last a Dominican friar offered to undergo the trial of fire in vindication of Savonarola's sanctity. This was answered by a Franciscan friar, who offered to undergo the same trial to prove Savonarola an impostor and a profligate wretch. The people, eager for this spectacle, cried aloud for its being put in execution, and the magistracy was obliged to give orders for it. Every one had at that time fresh in mind the old fabulous story of the monk Aldrobrandin, surnamed *Petrus igneus*, or Peter the fiery, who, in the eleventh century, passed through two flaming piles of wood *; and the partizans of Savonarola made not the least doubt that God would do as much for a Jacobine friar as he had heretofore done for a Benedictine. The contrary faction entertained the like hopes in behalf of the cordelier.

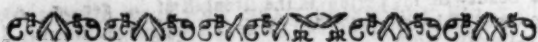
At length the fires were lighted, and the two

* See Chap. xxxv. Vol. I.

champions appeared in the midst of an innumerable croud of spectators. But when they came to take a cool view of the two piles in flames, they both began to tremble, and their fears suggested to them a common evasion. The Dominican would not enter the pile without the host in his hand, and the cordelier pretended that this was no article of the agreement. Both were obstinate, and mutually assisted each other in getting over this false step. In short, they did not exhibit the shocking farce they had proposed.

The people upon this, stirred up by the Franciscan party, would have seized upon Savonarola; and the magistracy ordered him to quit the city: but although he had the pope, the Medicis family, and the people, all against him, he refused to obey; upon which he was seized, and put to the torture seven times. By the extract of his confession we learn, that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet and an impostor, who abused the secrets of confession, and those which were revealed to him by the society. Could he do otherwise than own himself an impostor? Is not every one who enters into cabals, under pretence of being inspired, an impostor? Perhaps he was moreover a fanatic. The human imagination is capable of uniting these two extremes, which appear so contradictory. If he had been condemned only thro' a motive of justice, a prison and severe penance had been sufficient punishments; but the spirit of party had a share in his sufferings. In short, he was sentenced, with two other Dominicans, to suffer in those flames which

1498 which they had boasted to encounter.
 May However, they were strangled before
 23. they were thrown into the fire. Savonarola's party did not fail to attribute a number of miracles to him after his death, the last shift of those who have been attached to an unfortunate chief. We must not forget that Alexander VI. after he was condemned, sent him a plenary indulgence.



C H A P. LXXXVIII.

OF PICO DE LA MIRANDOLA.

AS the adventure of Savonarola shews to what an height superstition was still carried, the disputations of the young prince of Mirandola may convince us of the flourishing state of the sciences in those times. These two different scenes passed at Florence and Rome among people then accounted the most ingenious in the world. From hence we may readily infer what darkness hung over the other nations of the earth, and how slow human reason is in its formation.

It will always be a proof of the superiority of the Italians in those times, that John Francis Pico de la Mirandola, a sovereign prince, was from his earliest years a prodigy of learning and memory*. Had he even lived in our days,

* Such another prodigy of learning appeared about the latter end of the sixteenth century, in the person of James Creighton,

days, he would have been esteemed a miracle of real erudition. He had so strong a passion for the sciences, that at length he renounced his principality, and retired to Florence, where he died in the year 1494, on the very day that

Creighton, a native of Scotland, distinguished abroad by the epithet *Creightonius*, or *Critonius mirabilis*. He was related to the royal family of Stuart, and as remarkable for the beauty of his person as the strength of his genius. At the age of twenty-one he spoke ten languages fluently; understood philosophy, theology, mathematics, and the belles lettres; played excellently on several musical instruments; excelled in the exercises of riding, dancing, and fencing; was modest in his deportment, affable in his carriage, brave to a degree of heroism, and liberal above his circumstances. His country being involved in troubles on the score of religion, he went abroad, repaired to Venice, from whence he removed to Padua, where he engaged the admiration of the most learned doctors, in private companies as well as public disputations: for, he supported public theses in all the sciences, and was looked upon as another Pico de Mirandola. At length, he went to Mantua at the request of the duke William de Gonzaga, to superintend the education of his son Vincent, who proved himself a wretch destitute of honour, courage, and humanity. Rankling with envy at the superior accomplishments of Creighton, he, during the carnival, went forth at night with two assassins, and attacked his governor, whom he found playing on the guitarre in the street. Creighton, thus assaulted, drew his sword, and defended himself so gallantly against all three, that the two assassins betook themselves to flight. Then he pushed the prince so hard, that he had no other way of saving his life but pulling off his masque. The governor no sooner recognized the face of his pupil than he begged pardon on his knee, and presented his sword to Vincent, who, like a perfidious coward, and ungrateful villain, plunged it into his heart; thus, by an almost unparalleled act of treachery, depriving the world of one of its greatest ornaments, who fell universally regretted in the twenty-second year of his age.

Charles

Charles VIII. made his entry into that city. It is said, that at the age of eighteen he understood twenty-two different languages. This is certainly out of the ordinary course of nature. There is hardly any language which does not require above a year to learn it perfectly: therefore a young person, who, at so early an age as eighteen, knows two and twenty, must be suspected of understanding them very imperfectly, or of knowing only the elements at most, which is in fact knowing nothing at all.

It is still more extraordinary, that this prince, having studied so many languages, should at the age of twenty-four, be able to maintain theses at Rome on all the sciences without excepting one. In the front of his works we meet with one thousand four hundred general conclusions, on every one of which he offered to dispute. Now in all this immense study and learning, a few elements of geometry, and the doctrine of the sphere, are the only things which appear worthy of his great pains and application. All the rest only serves to shew the genius of the times. We meet with the *summum* of St. Thomas, an abridgement of the works of Albert, surnamed the Great, and a mixture of divinity and peripateticism. Here we read that the angels are infinite *secundum quid*; and that animals and plants are formed by a corruption animated by a productive virtue. The whole is in this taste, and indeed it is all that was taught in the universities of those times. Thousands of pupils had their heads filled with these chimeras, and continued to frequent, for forty or fifty years, the

the schools where they were taught. The knowledge of all other nations was as trifling. Those who held the reins of government in the world were therefore very excusable in being ignorant of them, and Pico of Mirandola very unhappy in having spent his life, and shortened his days, in the pursuit of these grave fopperies.

The number of those who, born with a real genius, cultivated by reading the best Roman authors, had escaped this general night of learning, were very inconsiderable after Dante and Petrarch, whose works were better adapted for princes, statesmen, women, and men of fortune, who only seek for an agreeable amusement in reading; and these would have been more proper for the prince of Mirandola than the compilations of Albert the Great.

But he was carried away by a passion for universal knowledge; and this universal knowledge consisted in knowing by heart a few words upon every subject, which conveyed no kind of idea. It is difficult to comprehend how the same man who reasoned so justly and with so much nicety upon the affairs of the world, and their several interests, could be satisfied with such unintelligible jargon in almost every thing else. The reason perhaps is, that mankind are fonder of appearing to know something, than to seek after knowledge; and when error has gotten the mastery of our minds during our tender age, we are at no pains to shake off its yoke, but rather strive to subject ourselves more to it. Hence it comes that so many men of real discernment and genius are so frequently under the dominion of popular errors.

Pico

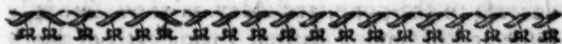
Pico de la Mirandola wrote indeed against judicial astrology; but then, let us not mistake, it was only against the astrology practised in his time. He allowed of another kind, which, according to him, was the most ancient and true, and which he said had been neglected.

In his first proposition he expresses himself thus: "Magic, such as is now practised, and which is condemned by the church, cannot be founded on truth, because it depends on those powers which are enemies to truth." Now by these very words, contradictory as they are, it is evident that he admitted magic to be the work of devils, which was the general received opinion concerning it. Accordingly he affirms that there is no virtue in heaven or on earth but what a magician can make subservient to his purposes: and he proves that words are of efficacy in magic, because God made use of speech in arranging the several parts of the universe.

These theses made more noise, and were in greater reputation at those times, than the discoveries of Newton, or the investigation of the great Locke in our days. Pope Innocent VIII. caused thirteen propositions of this great body of doctrine to be censured; a censure which resembled the decisions of those Indians who condemned the opinion of the earth's being supported by a dragon, because, according to them, none but an elephant was able to support it. Pico de la Mirandola drew up an apology for his propositions, in which he complains of those who had censured him, and says, that being in company with one of them, who was inveighing bitterly against the cabala, he asked him if he
knew

knew what was meant by the word cabala. A pretty question truly ! answered the schoolman ; does not every body know that he was an heretic, who wrote against Jesus Christ ?

At length it became necessary for pope Alexander VI. who at least had the merit of desisting these frivolous disputes, to send him his absolution. It is remarkable that he acted in the same manner by Pico de la Mirandola and Savonarola.



C H A P. LXXXIX.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. and LEWIS XII.
of FRANCE.

POPE Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great designs, one was to restore to the pontifical demesnes, the many territories which it was pretended they had been deprived of, and the other to procure a crown for his son Cæsar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the least impair his authority, and the people of Rome raised no seditions against him. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister Lucretia, whom he took away from three husbands, successively ; the last of whom (Alphonso of Arragon) he caused to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Este. These nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the most infamous diversions that debauch had ever in-

vented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtezans danced naked before this incestuous family, and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia, and Cæsar Borgia, at that time archbishop of Valentia in Spain, and cardinal, were said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The Duke of Gandia was assassinated in Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was suspected as the author of his death. The personal estates of the cardinals belong at their decease to the pope, and Alexander was strongly suspected of having hastened the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become their heir; notwithstanding all which the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendship was sought by all the potentates of Europe.

Lewis XII. king of France, who succeeded Charles VIII. was more earnest than any other in seeking an alliance with Alexander: he had more reasons than one for this; he wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of Lewis XI. with whom he had consummated his marriage, and lived in wedlock for above two and twenty years, but without having had any children. No law, excepting the law of nature, could authorise such a separation; and yet disgust and policy made it necessary.

Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII. still retained that inclination for Lewis XII. which she had felt for him, when duke of Orleans; and unless he married her, Brittany would be for ever lost to the crown of France. It was an antient but dangerous custom to apply to the court of Rome for permission to

... I ... marry

marry a relation, or to put away a wife; for these kind of marriages or divorces having become necessary to the state, the tranquility of a kingdom consequently depended upon the pope's manner of thinking; and the popes were frequently enemies to France.

The other reason which united Lewis XII. to Alexander VI. was the desire he had to defend his fatal claim to the dominions of Italy. Lewis claimed the dutchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, who was a sister of a Visconti, who had been in possession of that principality; but this claim was opposed by the exclusive right granted to Lewis the Moor by the emperor Maximilian, who had likewise married Lewis's niece.

The public feudal law was so changeable, that it could only be interpreted by the law of force. This dutchy of Milan, the ancient kingdom of the Lombards, was a fief of the empire, and it had not been determined whether it was a male or female fief, or whether the daughters had a right of inheritance. The grandmother of Lewis XII. who was daughter to Visconti duke of Milan, had by her marriage-contract only the county of Asti. This marriage-contract proved the cause of all the miseries of Italy, the disgraces of Lewis XII. and the misfortunes of Francis I. Almost all the Italian states were thus fluctuating in uncertainty, unable either to recover their liberty, or to determine what master they were to belong to.

The claim of Lewis XII. on Naples was the same as that of Charles VIII.

Cæsar Borgia, the pope's bastard, was charged with the commission of carrying the bull of divorce to France, and negotiating with the king on the measures relating to this conquest. Borgia did not leave Rome till he was assured of the dutchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres, all which Lewis granted him, together with his promise to procure for him the king of Navarre's sister. Cæsar Borgia then, notwithstanding his being a deacon and archbishop, changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one; and the pope, his father, granted a dispensation at one and the same time to his son to quit the church, and to the king of France to quit his wife. Matters were quickly agreed upon, and Lewis prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy.

In this enterprize he had the Venetians on his side, who were to have a share in the spoils of the Milanese. They had already taken Bressan and the country of Bergamo, and aimed at nothing less than the possession of Cremona, to which they had as much right as to Constantinople.

The emperor Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, against France, his natural enemy, was not at that time in a condition to assist him in person. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had effectually driven the Austrians out of all the places they had been possessed of in their country. Maximilian therefore acted upon this occasion the feigned part of indifference.

Lewis

Lewis XII. terminated amicably some disputes he had with this emperor's son, Philip the Handsome, father to Charles V. afterwards sovereign of the Low Countries; and this Philip did homage in person to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. This homage was received by Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France, in the following manner: The chancellor seated and covered, held between his hands those of the prince joined together, who, standing uncovered, and without his sword and girdle, pronounced these words: "I do homage to Monsieur the king, for my peerages of Flanders, Artois, &c."

Lewis having likewise renewed the treaties made with England by Charles VIII. and being now secure on all sides, at least for a time, made his army pass the Alps. It is to be remarked, that when he entered upon this war, instead of encreasing the taxes he diminished them, and this indulgence first procured him from his subjects the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. But at the same time he sold a number of the posts called Royal offices, especially those in the finances. Would it not then have been better to have imposed a regular and equal tax upon the people, than to have introduced a shameful venality in the posts of that country, of which he pretended to be the father? This custom of putting employs up to sale came from Italy: in Rome they had for a long time sold the places in the apostolic chamber, and it is but of late years that the popes have abolished this pernicious custom.

The army which Lewis XII. sent over the Alps, was not more considerable than that with

which Charles VIII. had conquered Naples ; but what must appear strange is, that Lewis the Moor, tho' only duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and lord of Genoa, had an army altogether as strong as that of the king of France.

It was now seen for the second time
1499 what the *Furia Francese* could do against Italian cunning. The king's army in twenty days time made itself master of the state of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona.

Lewis XII. after having conquered these beautiful provinces by his generals, made his entry into Milan, where he received the deputies from the Italian states, as a person who was their sovereign arbiter ; but no sooner was he returned to Lyons, than that negligence which almost always succeeds impetuosity, lost the French Milan, in the same manner as it had lost them Naples. Lewis the
1500 Moor, during this transient restoration, payed a gold ducat for the head of every Frenchman brought to him. Then Lewis XII. made another effort, and sent his general Lewis de la Trémouille to repair the former oversights, who again entered the dutchy of Milan. The Swiss, who since the death of Charles VIII. had made use of the liberty they had recovered, to dispose of their services to whomsoever would pay for them, were in great numbers among the soldiery of the French army, as well as in that of the Milanese. It is remarkable, that the dukes of Milan were the first princes who took the Swiss into pay. Maria Sforza set this example to the rest of the princes of Europe.

But

But on this occasion some captains of this nation, which had hitherto resembled ancient Sparta, in its liberty, equality, poverty, and courage, stained the honour of their country by their greediness of money. The duke of Milan had trusted the care of his person to these people, preferably to his Italian subjects; but they soon proved how unworthy they were of such confidence, by entering into a composition with the French, and confining the duke in the city of Novarra; and all the favour he could procure at their hands, was to march out of the city with them in a Swiss 1500 dress, and a halbert in his hand. In this disguise he marched through the ranks of the French army; but those who had so basely sold him quickly discovered him to the enemy, and he was taken prisoner and conducted to Pierreen-Cise, and from thence to the same tower of Bourges where Lewis XII. had been himself confined when duke of Orleans*; from thence he was afterwards removed to Loches, where he lived for ten years, not shut up in an iron cage, as vulgar report has it, but treated with distinction, and allowed during the last years of his confinement to go any where within five league of the castle.

Lewis XII. now become master of Milan and Genoa, resolved to get possession of Naples also; but he feared that same Ferdinand the Catholic who had once before driven the French from that country.

Therefore as he had before joined with the Venetians for the conquest of Milan, and had

* See Chap. lxxxv.

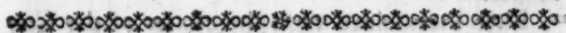
given them part of the spoils, he now entered into an engagement of the same nature with Ferdinand, for the conquest of Naples, that prince preferring a share in the spoils of his family to the honour of succouring it; and by this treaty he divided with France the kingdom of Frederic, the last king of the bastard-branch of Arragon. His catholic majesty kept Apulia and Calabria to himself, and the rest went to France.

Pope Alexander VI. the ally of Lewis XII. engaged in this conspiracy against an innocent monarch, his feudatory, and granted to these two kings the investiture he had before bestowed upon the king of Naples. The catholic king sent the same general Gonsalvo de Cordova to Naples under pretence of assisting his relation, but in reality to overwhelm him. The French now invade the kingdom by sea and land, and the Neapolitans were not accustomed to risk their lives in defence of their kings.

1501 The unfortunate monarch betrayed by his own relation, pressed by the French arms, and destitute of all resource, chose rather to put himself into the hands of Lewis XII. whom he looked upon as a generous enemy, than to trust to the catholic king, who had behaved with such perfidy towards him. Accordingly he demanded a passport from the French to leave his kingdom, and arrived in France with five galleys; there he lived upon a pension granted him by the king, of one hundred and twenty thousand livres, of our present money. Strange destiny for a sovereign prince!

Lewis XII. then had at one time a duke of Milan for his prisoner, and a king of Naples, a fol-

a follower of his court, and his pensioner. The republic of Genoa was one of his provinces; his people were moderately taxed, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world, and wanted nothing but the industry of commerce and the reputation of the liberal arts, which, as we shall hereafter see, were the peculiar lot of Italy.



C H A P. XC.

The Villainies of the Family of ALEXANDER VI. and of CÆSAR BORGIA. Sequel of Affairs between LEWIS XII. and FERDINAND the CATHOLIC. Death of Pope ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER VI. effected that in a less degree, which Lewis XII. executed in the greater. He subdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of his son; every thing seemed to conspire to the aggrandizement of this son, who nevertheless had but little enjoyment of his good fortune, and laboured, without knowing it, for the church-patrimony.

There was not any one act of oppression, artifice, heroic courage, or villainy, which Cæsar Borgia left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen that stood in his way, than Alexander, Gengis-Can, Tamerlane, or Mahomet, had done to subdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Indulgencies were sold to raise

troops; and we are assured by cardinal Bembo, that, in the territories of Venice alone, there were as many disposed of as amounted to one thousand six hundred gold marks. The tenth penny was levied on all the revenues of the clergy, under pretence of a war against the Turks, when, instead of that, it was only to carry on a slight skirmish near the gates of Rome.

First they seized upon the estates of the Colonnas and Savatelli, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Borgia next made himself master, partly by artifice, and partly by force, of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Inola, and Piombino, and in the course of these petty conquests, perfidy, assassination, and poison, were the chief arms he used. He demanded, in the name of the pope, troops and artillery from the duke of Urbino, which he employed against this very duke, and drove him out of his dominions. He drew the lord of Camerino to a conference, where he caused him to be strangled, together with two of his sons. He engaged, upon the surety of the most solemn oaths, four noblemen, viz. the dukes of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli, to come and treat with him near Senigallia, who fell into the ambush he had prepared for them; and Oliverotto and Vitelli were, by his orders, most inhumanly murdered. Could one suppose that Vitelli, when in the agonies of death, should beseech his murderer to obtain for him of the pope his father an indulgence *in articulo mortis*? and yet this is asserted by cotemporary writers. Nothing can better shew the weakness of mankind, and the force of persuasion. If Cæsar
Borgia

Borgia had died before his father Alexander, of that poison which it is pretended they had prepared for the cardinals, and of which both of them drank by mistake; if Borgia had been the first, I say, who had died on this occasion, it would have been no matter of surprize to have heard him ask a plenary indulgence of his father.

Alexander VI. at the same time apprehended the relations of these unfortunate noblemen, and had them strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. What is truly deplorable is, that Lewis XII. the father of his people, countenanced these barbarities of the pope in Italy, and suffered him with impunity to shed the blood of these victims for the sake of being assisted by him in conquering Naples. Thus, what is called policy and the interest of the state made him unjustly partial to Alexander. What a policy, what an interest of state must that be, which led him to abet the oppressions of a man by whom he was soon afterwards betrayed himself!

It was the destiny of the French to conquer Naples, and to be again expelled from it. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had betrayed the last king of Naples, who was his relation, did not prove more faithful to Lewis XII. who was his ally, but soon entered into an agreement with pope Alexander, to deprive that prince of his share in the partition.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who so well merited the title of the Great Captain, though not of the good man, and who used to say that the web of honour should be slightly wove, first deceived the French, and then conquered them.

It appears to me, that the French commanders have in general a greater share of that courage which honour inspires, than of the artifice necessary for conducting great affairs. The duke of Nemours, a descendant of Clovis, who was then at the head of the French army, challenged Gonsalvo to single combat; Gonsalvo replied by defeating his army several times, especially at Cerignola in Apulia, where
 1503 Nemours himself was slain with four thousand of his men. It is said, that not above nine Spaniards were killed in this battle, an evident proof that Gonsalvo had made choice of an advantageous post, that Nemours wanted prudence, and that his soldiers were disheartened. The famous chevalier Bayard, in vain sustained alone, on a narrow bridge, the attack of two hundred of the enemy. His resistance was glorious, but it answered no purpose.

In this war they first found out a new method of destroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, and a great general among the Spaniards, discovered the use of mines, and made the first trial of them upon the French.

Notwithstanding this ill success, the kingdom of France was at that time so powerful, that Lewis XII. found himself able to send three armies at once into the field, and a large fleet to sea. Of these three armies one was destined against Naples, and the two others for Roussillon and Fontarabia; but not one of them made any progress, and that sent against Naples quickly met with an entire defeat. At length Lewis XII. lost his share of the kingdom of Naples beyond all recovery.

Soon

Soon after, Italy was delivered from pope Alexander VI. and his son. All ¹⁵⁰³ historians have taken pleasure in transmitting to posterity that this pope died of the poison he had prepared for several cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment. An end suitable to his life!

But there seems very little probability in this story. It is pretended, that being in urgent necessity of money, he wanted to inherit the estates of these cardinals; but it is proved that Cæsar Borgia carried away one hundred thousand gold ducats out of his father's treasury after his death, consequently this want of money was not real. Besides, how came this mistake in the bottle of poisoned wine, which is said to have occasioned this pope's death, and brought his son to the brink of the grave? Men who have been long conversant with crimes of this nature, leave no room for making such mistakes. No person is mentioned as having made this confession; it would seem very difficult then to have come at the information. If when the pope died this had been known to be the cause of his death, those who were intended to be poisoned must have likewise come to the knowledge of it, and they would hardly have permitted Borgia to take quiet possession of his father's treasures. The people, who frequently hate their masters, and must have held such masters in particular execration, though they might have been kept under during Alexander's life-time, would undoubtedly have broke out at his death, would have disturbed the funeral obsequies of such a monster, and have torn his abominable son in pieces. In fine, the journal of the

the Borgia family says, that the pope at the age of 72 was attacked with a violent tertian, which soon turned to a continual fever, and proved mortal: this is not the effect of poison. It is said moreover, that the duke of Borgia caused himself to be sewed up in a mule's belly: I should be glad to know to what sort of poison a mule's belly is an antidote, and how this dying man could go to the Vatican, and fetch thence his father's money? Was he shut up in his mule when he carried it off?

It is certain, that after the pope's death there was a sedition in Rome; the Colonnas and the Ursini entered it in arms. This then was the most proper time for accusing the father and son of such a crime. In fine, pope Julius II. who was the sworn enemy of this family, and who had the duke of Borgia for a long time in his power, never imputed that to him which was so universally laid to his charge.

But, on the other hand, how happens it that cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Paul Jovius, Tomasi, and so many other writers of those times, all agree in this strange accusation? Whence such a multitude of particular circumstances? And why do they pretend to give the very name of the poison made use of upon this occasion, which it seems was called Cantarella? To all this it may be answered, that it is no difficult matter to invent circumstances in an accusation, and that in one of so horrible a nature it was necessary to give the colouring of probability.

Alexander VI. left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe, than Nero or Caligula in the Roman empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double weight to his guilt. Nevertheless,

vertheless, Rome was indebted to him for her temporal greatness; and it was this pontiff who enabled his successors to hold at times the balance of Italy.

His son lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Almost all the cities which he had conquered, either by fraud or force, chose another master as soon as his father died; and pope Julius II. obliged him soon after to deliver up the rest, so that he had nothing left of all his wicked greatness. Every thing reverted to the holy see, who reaped more benefit from his wickedness than from the abilities of all its popes, assisted by the arms of religion.

Machiavel pretends that he had so well concerted his measures, that he must have been master of Rome and the whole ecclesiastical state after the death of his father, but that it was impossible for him to foresee that he himself should be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander finished his life.

In a very short time he was abandoned by friends, enemies, allies, relations, and all the world; and he who had betrayed so many, was himself at length betrayed; Gonfálvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had trusted himself, sent him prisoner to Spain. Lewis XII. took from him his dutchy of Valentinois, and his pension. At length, having found means to escape from his prison, he took refuge in Navarre. Courage, which is not a virtue, but a happy qualification, alike common to the wicked and the virtuous, did not forsake him in his distresses; and, while he was in his asylum, he still kept up to every part of his

his character, he carried on intrigues, and commanded in person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law, during a war which that prince entered into at his advice to dispossess his vassals of their estates, as he himself had formerly done by the vassals of the holy see. He was slain fighting. A glorious end! whereas, we see in the course of this history, lawful sovereigns, and men of the strictest virtue, fall by the hand of the common executioner.



C H A P. XCI.

Sequel of the POLITICAL CONCERNS of
LEWIS XII.

THE French might possibly have repossessed themselves of Naples, as they had done of Milan; but the ambition of cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister to Lewis XII. was the occasion of losing that state for ever. Chaumont d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, so much admired for having only a single benefice, but who had at least another in the kingdom of France, which he governed without controul, wanted one of a more elevated rank. He aimed at the papacy after the death of Alexander VI. and he must have been elected, had his politics been equal to his ambition. He was master of great treasures. The army which was going to invade Naples was then at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals persuaded him to remove it to a greater distance, pretending that the election would by that

that means appear more free, and consequently be of greater validity. He gave into the snare, drew off the army, and then cardinal Julian de la Rovere, caused Pius III. 1503 to be elected, who lived not quite a month to enjoy his new dignity. After his death cardinal Julian, called Julius II. was himself made pope, and the rainy season coming on, prevented the French from passing the Garigliano, and favoured the operations of Gonzalvo of Cordova. Thus cardinal d'Amboise, who nevertheless passes for a wise man, lost himself the tiara, and his master the kingdom of Naples.

A second fault of another kind with which he is reproached is the unaccountable treaty of Blois, by which the king's council, with one stroke of a pen, mutilated and destroyed the French monarchy. By this treaty the king gave his only daughter, by Anne of Brittany, in marriage to the grandson of the emperor, and Ferdinand the Catholic, his two greatest enemies; this young prince was the same who afterwards proved the scourge and terror of France, and all Europe, by the name of Charles the fifth. Can it be supposed that he was to have in dowry with his wife all the entire provinces of Brittany and Burgundy, with an absolute cession on the part of France too, of all her rights to Milan and Genoa? and yet all this did Lewis XII. give away from his kingdom, in case he should die without issue male. There can be no excuse for a treaty of so extraordinary a kind, unless by saying that the king and the cardinal d'Amboise had no intention to keep it, and that in short Ferdinand had

had taught the cardinal the art of dissimulation.

1506 Accordingly, we find that the general estates in an assembly held at Tours remonstrated against this fatal scheme. Perhaps the king, who began to repent of what he had done, was artful enough to get his kingdom to demand that of him which he did not dare to do of his own accord; or perhaps he yielded to the remonstrances of the nation from the pure dictates of reason. In fine, the heiress of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Austria and Spain, as her mother had been from the emperor Maximilian. She was then married to the count of Angoulesme, afterwards Francis I. and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near slipping through its hands, was now incorporated with it; and Burgundy likewise was still preserved.

Lewis XII. is accused of committing another error in joining in a league against his allies, the Venetians, with all their secret enemies. And it was an unheard-of event, that so many kings should conspire to destroy a republic, which not above three hundred years before, was a town of fishermen, who afterwards became illustrious and opulent merchants.

CHAP.

C H A P. XCII.

Of the League of CAMBRAY, and its Consequences. Of Pope JULIUS II. &c.

POPE Julius II. who was a native of Savona, in the Genoese dominions, could not without indignation see his country under the French yoke. Genoa had lately made an effort to recover its ancient liberty, for which Lewis XII. punished that republic with more ostentation than rigour. He entered the city with his sword drawn, and ordered all its charters to be burnt in his presence. He afterwards caused a throne to be erected on an high scaffold, in the market-place, and obliged the principal citizens of Genoa to come to the foot of this scaffold, and there upon their knees to hear their sentence which was only to pay a fine of one hundred thousand gold crowns : he then built a citadel to awe the city, which he called the bridle of Genoa.

The pope, who, like the rest of his predecessors, was desirous to drive all foreigners out of Italy, endeavoured to send the French over the Alps again ; but he was willing, in the first place, to get the Venetians to join with him, and that they should begin by restoring to him several cities, to which the holy see had pretensions, the greatest part of which had been wrested from their possessors by Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois : and the Venetians, ever watchful of their interests, had immediately after the death of Alexander VI. seized upon the
towns

towns of Rimini and Faenza, and several lands in Bologna, Ferrara, and the dutchy of Urbino: these conquests they were determined to keep. Julius II. then made use of the French to oppose the Venetians, whom he had before endeavoured to arm against the French: nor did he think the French alone sufficient, but endeavoured to draw all the other powers of Europe into the league.

There was hardly one sovereign who had not some demand on the territories of this republic. The emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretensions as emperor; and besides, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, the marche of Trevizana, and Friuli, lay convenient for him. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, might take back some sea-port towns in Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an easy way of paying off his debts. The king of Hungary had pretensions to a part of Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy might also claim the island of Cyprus, in virtue of his alliance with the princes of that country, who were now extinct. The people of Florence likewise, as near neighbours, might come in for their share in these demands.

1508 Almost all the powers who were at enmity with each other, suspended their private disputes to join in the general league set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this resource
she

she trusted, and that dissention which she wisely judged would speedily happen among so many confederates. It was in her power to appease Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league: but she disdained to make any concession, and dared the fury of the storm. This was perhaps the only time the Venetians were rash.

The pope began his declaration of war by excommunications, which at that time were held in more contempt at Venice than in any other nation whatever. Lewis XII. sent an herald at arms to the doge to denounce war in form against him; at the same time he demanded the restitution of the territories of Cremona, which he himself had ceded to the Venetians when they assisted him in retaking Milan, and moreover laid claim to Brescia, Bergamo, and several other territories.

The rapid success which had always accompanied the French army in the beginning of all their expeditions did not fail them in this. Lewis XII. at the head of his army routed the Venetian forces in the famous battle of Agnadello, fought near the river Adda. 1509 Immediately upon this victory every one of the confederates seized upon his pretended lot. Julius II. made himself master of all Romania. Thus the popes, who as we are informed by history, owed their first demesnes to a French emperor, were now obliged to the victorious army of Lewis XII. king of France, for the rest; and from that memorable day they became possessed of almost the whole of these territories which they at present occupy.

The

The emperor's troops in the mean time advanced towards Friuli, and seized upon Trieste, which has ever since remained in the house of Austria. The Spaniards laid hold of the Venetian possessions in Calabria; and even the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, who were formerly generals in the Venetian service, had a share in the general spoil. Venice now exchanged her fool-hardy courage for the deepest consternation. She abandoned all her towns on the terra firma, released Padua and Verona from their oath of allegiance, and reduced to her antient Lagunes, sued for mercy to the emperor Maximilian, whose great success made him inflexible.

And now pope Julius having fulfilled his first design, which was that of aggrandizing the see of Rome, on the ruins of Venice, began to think of the second, which was to drive the barbarians, as they were called, out of Italy.

Lewis XII. was returned to France, where like Charles VIII. he remained as negligent in securing his conquests as he had been eager to make them. The pope granted the Venetians his pardon, who, somewhat recovered from their first consternation, continued to make head against the emperor.

At length Julius entered into a league with this republic against those very French whom he had before invited to assist in oppressing it. His aim was to ruin all the foreign powers in Italy by the arms of each other, and to exterminate the small remains of German authority yet left in that country, and to raise Italy to a respectable and powerful state of which
the

the sovereign pontiff might be the chief. To compass his project he spared neither negotiations, money, nor pains. He directed the war in person, he attended in the trenches, and braved death in all its shapes. He is blamed by most historians for his ambition and obstinacy: but they ought to do justice to his consummate courage, and the grandeur of his views.

A fresh error committed by Lewis XII. favoured the designs of Pope Julius. Lewis was fond of that oeconomy which is a virtue in a peaceable administration, but a vice in the prosecution of great undertakings.

By a mistaken discipline the chief strength of an army was at that time centered in the gendarmerie, who fought either on foot or on horseback; and the French had never been at the pains to form a good body of infantry of their own, which however was very easy to be done, as experience has since shewn. The kings of France then always kept a body of German and Swiss foot in their pay.

It is well known that the Swiss infantry greatly contributed to the conquest of Milan. In this business they had not only sold their lives, but even their honour, by betraying Lewis the Moor*. The Swiss cantons now demanded an augmentation of pay from Lewis, which he refused to comply with. The pope took advantage of this conjuncture: he wheedled the Swiss, he gave them money, and flattered them with the title of defenders of the church. He sent emissaries amongst them to preach against

* See Chap. lxxxix.

the French: a people naturally of a warlike disposition, ran in crouds to hear these sermons. What was this but preaching up a crusade?

It may have been observed, that through an unaccountable concurrence of circumstances and conjunctures, the French were now become allies to the Germans, whose declared enemies they had been on so many former occasions. Nay they were even their vassals; for Lewis XII. had purchased for one hundred thousand gold crowns, the investiture of the dutchy of Milan, of the emperor, who was neither a powerful ally nor a faithful friend, and who, as emperor, could not be supposed to love either the French or the pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, whose dupe Lewis had always been, deserted the league of Cambray as soon as he had gotten possession of the places he claimed in Calabria. He had prevailed on the pope to grant him the full and entire investiture of the kingdom of Naples, who by this means bound him firmly in his interest; so that Julius, by his superior skill in politics, gained over not only the Venetians, the Swiss, and the kingdom of Naples, but also the English, while France was left to bear the brunt of the war alone.

1510 Lewis XII. upon being attacked by the pope, called an assembly of the bishops at Tours, to know whether he might safely defend himself against the pontiff, and whether the excommunications of this latter would be valid. In these more enlightened days, we may be surprised that such questions were thought necessary; but we should consider the

the prejudices of the times; and here I cannot forbear remarking the first case of conscience which was proposed in this assembly. The president put the question, whether or no the pope had a right to declare war on an occasion that did not relate to religion or the church patrimony; it was answered in the negative. Now it is plain, that the question here proposed was not that which should have been asked, and that the answer was contrary to what should have been given: for in matters of religion or church possessions, a bishop, if we believe the holy scriptures, should be so far from making war, that he is only to pray and to suffer; but in a political affair, a pope not only may, but ought to assist his allies, and revenge the cause of Italy. Besides, the pope made war at this time to increase the church demesnes by the addition of Ferrara and Bologna, whose possessors were under the protection of France.

This French assembly made a more noble answer, when it resolved to abide by the pragmatic sanction of Charles VIII. to stop all future remittances to Rome, and to levy a subsidy on the clergy of France for carrying on the war against the pope, the Roman head of these clergy.

The operations were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. The pope laid siege to Mirandola*; and this pontiff, at the age of seventy, appeared in the trenches armed cap-a-pié, visited all the works, hastened the operations, and entered the breach in person.

† A fortified city of Modena in Italy.

1511 While the pope, worn out with age, was toiling under arms, the French king, still in the prime of his vigour, was holding councils, and endeavouring to stir up the ecclesiastical powers of Christendom, as the pope did the military ones. The council was held at Pisa, whither several cardinals who were the pope's enemies, repaired. But this council of the king's proved a fruitless undertaking, while the pope's warlike enterprizes met with success.

They in vain caused medals to be struck at Paris, in which Lewis XII. was represented with this device *perdam Babylonis nomen*. I will destroy even the name of Babylon. It was shameful to boast of what he was so little able to execute.

Heroic deeds, and even battles gained, may serve to render a nation famous, but can never increase its power while there is an essential error in the political administration, which at length must bring on its ruin. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave chevalier de Bayard acquired universal admiration by his courage and generosity. Young Gaston de Foix made his name immortal at the age of twenty-three, by repulsing a large body of Swiss, passing with amazing speed four rivers, beating the pope in Bologna, and gaining the famous battle of Ravenna, where he won immortal glory, and lost his life. These rapid exploits made a noble figure; but the king was at a great distance from his army: his orders came often too late, and were sometimes contradictory. His parsimony at a time when he ought to have been lavish in his rewards, checked

checked all emulation. Military discipline and subordination were unknown among his troops. The infantry was composed of German foreigners, who were mercenaries attached to no interest. The French gallantry, and that air of superiority which belongs to conquerors, at once irritated the subjected Italians, and made them jealous. At length the fatal blow was struck by the emperor Maximilian, who, gained over by the pope, published the imperial *avocatoria*, (or letters of recal) by which every German soldier, serving in the armies of France, was ordered to quit them under pain of being declared a traitor to his country.

The Swiss at the same time came down from their mountains to fight against the French, who at the time of the League of Cambray had all Europe for their ally, and now beheld it up in arms against them. These mountaineers made an honour of bringing with them the son of that Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, whom they had betrayed, to expiate in some measure the treachery they had been guilty of towards the father by crowning his son.

The French, who were commanded by the marechal Trivulce, were obliged to abandon, one after another, all the towns they had taken from the furthestmost part of Romagna to the borders of Savoy. The famous Bayard made some fine retreats; but he was still a hero obliged to fly. There were but three months between the victory of Ravenna and the total expulsion of the French from Italy: and Lewis XII. had the mortification to see young Maximilian Storza, son to the deceased duke, who

had been a prisoner in his dominions, settled upon his father's throne by the Swiss; and Genoa, where that prince had established a kind of Asiatic pomp of power, resumed its liberty, and drove the French out of its territories.

The Swiss, who from mercenaries to the French king, were now become his enemies, laid siege to the city of Dijon with twenty thousand men. Paris itself was struck with dread; and Lewis de la Tremouille, governor of the province of Burgundy, could not get rid of these invaders, without paying them twenty thousand crowns in ready money, with a promise in the king's name of four hundred thousand more, and giving seven hostages for the payment. Thus were the French obliged to pay dearer for the invasion of these people than they would have done for their assistance. The Swiss, enraged at not receiving the fourth part of the money stipulated, condemned the hostages to be put to death: upon which the king was obliged to promise not only to pay them the whole sum agreed, but also to advance as much more. But the hostages having luckily made their escape, the king saved his money, but not his honour.

C H A P.

C H A P. XCIII.

Sequel of the Affairs of LEWIS XII. of FERDINAND the Catholic, and of HENRY VIII. king of ENGLAND.

THIS famous league of Cambray, which was at first set on foot against the Venetians, was at length turned against France, and became particularly fatal to Lewis XII. We have already seen that there were two princes in Europe above the rest, superior in abilities to the French king, these were Ferdinand the Catholic and the pope. Lewis had made himself feared only for a short time; and afterwards had all the rest of Europe to fear.

While he was losing Milan and Genoa, together with his money and his troops, he was moreover deprived of a barrier which France had against Spain. His ally and relation, John d'Albret, king of Navarre, saw his dominions in an instant seized upon by Ferdinand the Catholic. This robbery was covered with a religious pretext. Ferdinand pretended a bull from pope Julius II. excommunicating John d'Albret as an adherent of the French king, and the council of Pisa. The kingdom of Navarre has ever since continued in the possession of the Spaniards, without ever having been rent from it.

The better to understand the politics of this Ferdinand, so remarkable for his continual professions of religion and good faith, and his always breaking them, let us examine the

art he used in this conquest. The young king of England, Henry VIII. was his son-in-law. To him he proposed a treaty of alliance, by which the English were to be reinstated in Guienne, their ancient patrimony, from whence they had been expelled above a century. The young king, dazzled with this specious promise, sent a fleet and forces into the Bay of Biscay, which Ferdinand employed in the conquest of Navarre; and afterwards left the English to return home without making the least attempt upon Guienne, which indeed it was impracticable to invade. Thus he deceived his son-in-law, after having successively imposed upon the king of Naples, his relation, upon the Venetians, upon Lewis XII. and the Pope. His Spanish subjects gave him the titles of the Wise and the Prudent; in Italy he was called the Pious; and at Paris and London, the Treacherous.

Lewis XII. who had provided sufficiently for the security of Guienne, had not the same good fortune with regard to Picardy. The new king of England, Henry VIII. took advantage of the general distress to invade France on this side, into which he had always an easy access through Calais, of which he was in possession.

This young monarch, boiling with ambition and courage, attacked France alone, without the assistance either of the emperor Maximilian, of Ferdinand the Catholic, or any other of his allies. The old emperor, always enterprising and poor, served without blushing in the king of England's army, for the daily pay of one hundred crowns. Henry, by his single strength, seemed in a condition to renew the fatal times
of

of Poitiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of 1513 Guinegaste, which is called the Battle of the Spurs. He took Terouane, which is no longer a town; and Tournay, a city which has been always incorporated with the kingdom of France, and the nursery of that monarchy.

Lewis XII. who was at this time a widower, by the death of his wife, Anne of Brittany, could not purchase peace of Henry upon any other terms than those of marrying his sister, the princess Mary of England; but, instead of receiving a portion with his wife, which not only princes, but even private persons are entitled to, Lewis was obliged to pay a dowry, and it cost him a million of crowns to marry the sister of his conqueror. Thus, after having been ransomed both by the English and the Swiss, duped by Ferdinand, and driven from his conquests in Italy, by the resolution of pope Julius II. he soon afterwards finished his 1515 inglorious career.

On account of the few taxes he laid upon his people, he was called their Father, a title he would otherwise have acquired, from the heroes with which France then abounded, had he by exacting the necessary contributions preserved Italy, checked the insolence of the Swiss, properly succoured Navarre, and driven back the English.

But if he was unfortunate abroad he was happy at home. No other fault can be laid to this prince's charge but that of selling the posts in the state; and this venality did not extend in his time to the officers of judicature. By this sale of employments he raised, during the

seventeen years of his reign, the sum of 1,200000 livres in the single diocese of Paris. But then, on the other hand, the aids and taxes were very moderate. He shewed a fatherly affection for his people, by never loading them with heavy burthens; and did not look upon himself as sovereign of France in the same manner as the lord of a fief is of his lands, merely to be furnished with subsistence from them. In his time there were no new impositions; and when Fromentau, in 1580, presented to that extravagant prince, Henry III. a comparative account of the sums exacted during his reign, and those which were paid to Lewis XII. there appeared in each article an immense sum to be placed to the account of Henry, and a very moderate one to that of Lewis, supposing it to have been an ancient right belonging to the crown; but considered as an extraordinary tax, there remained nothing to be charged to Lewis: unhappily for the kingdom this account of what was exacted by Henry, and not paid to Lewis makes a large volume.

The whole of this king's revenue did not not exceed thirteen millions of livres; but these thirteen millions are about fifty millions of the present money. Commodities of all kinds were much cheaper than they are at present, and the kingdom was not in debt: it is not, therefore, so very surprising, that with this small revenue in money, and a prudent oeconomy, he could live in splendor, and keep his people in plenty. He took care to have public justice distributed diligently, impartially, and almost without expence. The fees of courts were not then one fortieth part of what they are

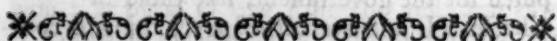
are now. In the whole bailiwick of Paris there were at that time no more than forty-nine serjeants, or bailiffs, whereas there are at present five hundred. It must be allowed that Paris was not then the fifth part so large as it now is: but the number of the officers of justice is encreased in a much greater proportion than the extent of the city; and the evils, inseparable from all great capitals, have encreased in this much more than the inhabitants.

He preserved the custom of the parliaments of the kingdom, to chuse three candidates to fill up a vacant seat; the king nominated one out of these, and the dignities in the law were then only given to the counsellors, as a reward for their merit or reputation in their profession. His ever-memorable edict of 1499, which should never be forgotten in history, has made his memory dear to every lover and distributor of justice. By this edict he ordained, "That the law should always be observed, notwithstanding any orders contrary to law, which a sovereign might be induced to issue thro' importunity."

The general plan, according to which you here study history, admits of but few details; but particular circumstances, like these, upon which the welfare of states depends, and which form so excellent a lesson for princes, become one part of the principal object.

Lewis XII. was the first of our kings who protected the industrious labourer from the rapacious violence of the soldier, and punished with death those gendarmes who laid the peasants under contribution. This cost the lives of five or six gendarmes, and the country was at ease: therefore, if he was neither the

great hero, nor the profound politician, he at least acquired the more valuable glory of being a good king; and his memory will continue to be blessed by all posterity.



C H A P. XCIV.

OF ENGLAND, and the Troubles in that Kingdom, after its Invasion of FRANCE. OF MARGARET of ANJOU, wife to HENRY VI. &c.

POPE Julius II. who in the midst of the dissensions which still troubled Italy, continued firm to his design of driving thence all foreigners, had given the see of Rome a temporal power, to which it had hitherto been a stranger. Parma and Placentia were separated from the dutchy of Milan, and annexed to the pope's dominions by the consent of the emperor himself; and Julius ended his pontificate and his life with this act, which does honour to his memory. The popes, his successors, have lost this state. The see of Rome was at that time a preponderating temporal power in Italy.

Venice, tho' engaged in a war with Ferdinand the Catholic, as king of Naples, still continued very powerful, and made head at once against both Mahometans and Christians. Germany was at peace, and England began to grow formidable. We must enquire from whence she set out, and whither she arrived.

The

The malady of Charles VI. had ruined France, and the natural weakness of Henry VI. desolated England.

In his minority his relations disputed for the government, like those of ¹⁴²² Charles VI. and overturned every thing to command in his name. As in Paris a duke of Burgundy caused a duke of Orleans to be assassinated, so in London, the dutchess of Gloucester, the king's aunt, was accused of practising sorcery against the life of Henry VI. A wretched woman-fortune-teller and a foolish or knavish priest, who pretended to be magicians, were burned alive for this pretended conspiracy; the dutchess thought herself happy in being only condemned to do penance in her shift, and confined in prison for life. The spirit of philosophy was then very distant from that island, which was the centre of superstition and cruelty.

Most of the quarrels between sovereigns have ended in marriages. Charles ¹⁴⁴⁴ VII. gave Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. she was daughter to René of Anjou, king of Naples, duke of Lorraine, and count of Maine, who, with all these titles, was without dominions, and could not afford to give the least portion with his daughter. Few princesses were more unhappy in a father and an husband. She was a woman of an enterprising disposition and unshaken courage, and, but for one crime she committed (which sullied her virtues) she might have passed for an heroine. She had all the talents of government, and all the virtues of war: but, at the same time, she gave a loose to the cruel actions which ambition, war, and faction inspire. In a word, her

boldness, and her husband's pusillanimity, were the first causes of the public calamities which beset their kingdom.

1447 She had a desire to govern, and to this end it was necessary to get rid of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and husband to that dutchess who had already fallen a sacrifice to his enemies, and was confined by them in prison. The duke was arrested under pretence of being engaged in a new plot, and the next morning was found dead in his bed. This act of violence rendered both the queen's administration and the king's name odious to the English, who seldom hate without forming conspiracies. There happened to be at that time in England a descendant of Edward III. who was nearer related to the common stock than the family on the throne. This was the duke of York. He bore for the device on his shield a white rose; and Henry VI. who was of the house of Lancaster, bore a red rose. From hence came these two names so famous in the civil war.

Factions must ever in their beginnings be protected by a parliament, till this parliament becomes the slave to the conqueror.

1450 The duke of York accused the duke of Suffolk before the parliament; this duke was the queen's prime minister and favourite, these two titles had gained him the hatred of the nation. Here follows a strange instance of the effects of party hatred. The court, to content the people, banished this minister from the kingdom, who thereupon embarked on board a ship for France. The captain of a man of

war

war met this ship at sea, and enquiring what passengers they had on board, was answered by the master, that they were carrying the duke of Suffolk over to France. "You shall not carry a person impeached by my country out of the island," replied the captain; and immediately ordered him on board his own ship and struck off his head. Thus did the English act in time of full peace *. The war which succeeded opened a scene of still greater horrors.

Henry VI. was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him for some years incapable of thinking or acting †. Thus Europe, in the course of this century, beheld three sovereigns, who, from a disorder in their brain, were plunged into the greatest misfortunes; the emperor Winceflaus, Charles VI. of France, and Henry VI. of England.

In one of these unhappy years of Henry's insanity, the duke of York ¹⁴⁵⁵ and his cabal made themselves masters of the council; the king recovering, as it were, from a long trance, opened his eyes and beheld himself deprived of all authority. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, exhorted him to be king; but, in order to be so, it was necessary to un-

* The English government and English nation are no more chargeable with this murder, than they are with any robbery committed on the high-way, in contempt of the law established. The duke of Suffolk was seized by a desperate partizan of the opposite faction, who caused him to be put to death without form of trial.

† Henry VI. had no other distemper but a weak head, which did not at all affect his bodily constitution, which was hale and vigorous.

sheath the sword. The duke of York, who was expelled the council, was already at the head of an army. Henry was carried to fight a battle at St. Alban's, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner; but not then dethroned. The duke of York, his conqueror, carried him in triumph with him to London; and, leaving him the empty title of King, took to himself that of Protector, a title known before to the English.

Henry VI. who had frequent returns of his weakness and disorder, was no other than a prisoner, served with the exterior marks of royalty. His wife longed to set him at liberty, that she herself might be free. Her courage was her greatest misfortune; she raised troops by the assistance of the noblemen in her interest, delivered her husband from his confinement in London, and became herself the general of her army. Thus, within a short space of time, the English saw four French women at the head of armies, viz. the wife of the count of Montfort, in Brittany; Edward the second's queen, in England; the maid of Orleans, in France; and this Margaret of Anjou.

The queen herself drew up her army, and fought by her husband in the bloody battle of Northampton. Her great enemy, the duke of York, was not in the opposite army; but his eldest son, the earl of March, served his first apprenticeship to civil war under the earl of Warwick, the most famous man of his time; a genius born for those days of tumult, full of artifice, and still more replete with courage and pride, fit either to direct a campaign, or to lead in the day of battle; fruitful

ful in resources, capable of every thing, and formed to give or take away crowns at his pleasure. Warwick's star prevailed again; Margaret of Anjou was defeated, had the grief to behold the king, her husband, taken prisoner in his tent; and, while that unhappy monarch was calling to her with out-stretched arms, she was obliged to ride off full speed with her son the prince of Wales. Henry was a second time reconducted to his capital by his conquerors, where he remained still a king and a prisoner.

A parliament was now called; and the duke of York, who was before protector, demanded a new title. He claimed the crown as the representative of Edward III. in preference to Henry VI. who was descended of a younger branch of that family. The cause of the real king, and of him who wanted to be such, was solemnly debated in the house of peers, each side gave in their arguments in writing, as is done in a common cause. The duke of York, though the victor, could not carry his cause entirely. It was decided, that Henry VI. should keep the crown during his lifetime; and that it should devolve upon the duke of York after his death, by the exclusion of the prince of Wales. But a clause was added to this act, which proved a new declaration of war and tumults; namely, that if the king did any thing in violation of the said act, the crown should from that instant go to the duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, tho' beaten, a wanderer at a distance from the king her husband, and having for enemies the victorious duke of

York, the city of London, and the parliament, still maintained her courage. She went thro' the principality of Wales and the neighbouring counties, animating her former friends, endeavouring to make new, and raising another army. It is well known that the armies of those days did not consist of regular troops, kept long in the field, and in the pay of a single chief. Every nobleman brought with him what men he could pick up in haste, who were maintained and paid by plunder; and it was necessary to come to an engagement speedily, or retire. At length the queen, at the head of an army of 18000 men encountered her grand enemy the duke of York, in the county of that name, near the castle of Sandal. The fortune of that
1460 day answered her courage. The duke of York was defeated, and died of his wounds in the field; and his second son, Rutland, was taken as he was endeavouring to make his escape. The father's head was fixed upon the town walls, together with those of his generals, where they remained, a long time as monuments of his defeat.

Margaret, at length victorious, marched to London to set the king her husband at liberty. The earl of Warwick, who was the soul of York's party, was still at the head of an army, carrying with him his king and captive. The queen and Warwick met near St. Alban's, a place famous for the many battles fought there.

1461 The queen had again the good fortune to conquer. She now enjoyed the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick flying before her, and of restoring to her husband, on the field of battle, his liberty and authority. Never

had woman met with more success, or acquired greater glory; but her triumph was short. She still wanted the city of London on her side, which Warwick had found means to secure so effectually, that when the queen presented herself for admittance, it was refused her, and she had not an army sufficiently strong to force it. The earl of March, eldest son to the duke of York, was in that city, and breathed nothing but revenge: in short, after all her victories, the queen was obliged to retreat. She went into the north of England to strengthen her party, which the name and presence of the king greatly increased.

In the mean time Warwick, who had London at his command, assembled the 1461 citizens in a field near the city gates; and shewing them the duke of York's son, asked them which they would chuse for their king, that young prince, or Henry of Lancaster? The general cry served on this occasion instead of an assent of parliament, as there was none sitting at that time. Warwick, however, called together some few of the lords and bishops, who came to a resolution, that Henry of Lancaster had infringed the former act of parliament, by his wife's having taken up arms for him.

The young duke of York, therefore, was proclaimed king in London, by the name of Edward IV. while his father's head still remained fixed upon the walls of York, as that of a traitor. Henry VI. was now deprived of his crown, who, when in his cradle, was proclaimed king of England and France, and had swayed the sceptre for thirty-eight years, without

out having ever been reproached with a crime; but that of imbecility.

His wife, who was then in the north of England, upon receiving this news, hastily assembled an army of 60000 men. This was a prodigious effort. This time, however, she hazarded neither her husband's person, her son's, or her own. Warwick led his new-made king with an army of 40000 men to give battle the queen. They met at *Santon**, near the river Aire, on the borders of Yorkshire, when there was fought the most bloody battle that had ever contributed to depopulate England. The writers of those times tell us, that there fell no less than 36000 on that day. Warwick gained a compleat victory, by which young Edward was established on the throne, and Margaret of Anjou was left the outcast of fortune. After the defeat she fled into Scotland with her husband and son, leaving Edward at full liberty to act as he pleased, who immediately took his father's head, and those of his followers down from the city walls, placing in their room, those of his enemy's generals whom he had taken prisoners. England thus became a vast theatre of blood and human slaughter; and scaffolds were raised in every part of the field of battle.

* This battle was fought between Towton and Saxton.

C H A P. XCV.

OF EDWARD IV. OF MARGARET of
ANJOU, and of the Murder of HENRY VI.

THE intrepid Margaret still preserved her courage. Finding herself deceived in the succours she expected from Scotland, she crossed over to France, through the midst of the enemy's ships, which almost covered the sea, and applied for assistance to Lewis XI. who had just begun his reign. Through a mistaken policy, he refused to grant her request, but even this did not daunt her: she borrowed money and some ships, and at length obtained five hundred men, with which she reembarked, and in her return to England met with a violent storm, which separated the vessel she was in from the rest of her small fleet: at length however she landed in England, where she gathered together an army, and once more dared the fortune of war. She was no longer so careful of her own person, nor of those of her husband and son. She risked another battle at Hex-
ham, which she lost as she had done so many others. After this defeat she remained wholly without resource; the king her husband fled one way, and she with her son another, without servants or assistance, and exposed to every kind of accident and ill-treatment. Henry fell into the hands of his enemies, who conducted him to London in an ignominious manner, and confined him in the Tower. Margaret had the good fortune to escape into France with her son, and took refuge with her father René
of

of Anjou, who could do nothing more than lament her misfortunes.

Young Edward IV. who had been placed on the English throne by the arms of Warwick, being now rid of all his enemies, and in possession of Henry's person, reigned in full security. But no sooner was he freed from his troubles, than he became ungrateful: Warwick, who was a father to him, was at that time in France negotiating a marriage between his prince and the lady Bona of Savoy, sister to Lewis's queen. While this treaty was concluding, Edward happened to see Elizabeth Woodwill, the widow of Sir John Gray, with whom he fell violently in love, and was privately married to her; after which he caused her to be proclaimed queen, without once informing Warwick of any part of these transactions. After this glaring affront, he entirely neglected him, removed him from his councils, and by this treatment made him his irreconcilable enemy. Warwick, who had cunning equal to his courage, soon employed both in working his revenge. He brought over the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, to his party, raised the kingdom of England in arms, and instead of the contentions of the white and red rose, the civil war was carried on between the king and his incensed subject. On this occasion battles, truces, negotiations, and treasons followed each other in rapid succession. Warwick at length prevailed, and drove the king he had made from the throne; 1470 after which he went to the Tower, and released Henry whom he had before dethroned, and once more placed the crown on his

his head. This procured him the title of king-maker. The parliaments of those times were only the instruments of the will of the strongest; Warwick assembled one, which reinstated Henry VI. in all his rights, and declared Edward IV. an usurper and a traitor, on whom it had but a few years before bestowed the crown. This long and bloody tragedy did not end here: Edward IV. who had fled to Holland, had a number of friends in England; accordingly he returned back, seven months after his banishment, when the gates of London were opened to him by his party; and Henry, ever the sport of fortune, was hardly seated on his throne when he was sent again to the Tower. Margaret of Anjou, his queen, who was always ready to revenge his cause, and always fruitful in resources, came over to England at this time, with her son the prince of Wales; and the first news she heard at her landing was the fresh misfortune which had befallen her royal consort. But Warwick, who had been so long his persecutor, was now become his defender, and headed an army in his behalf against Edward, whom he marched to meet. This was some consolation to the unhappy queen; but a very short time after she had heard of the imprisonment of her husband, a second courier brought her the news that Warwick was slain in battle, and that Edward remained conqueror. 1471

It is amazing that a woman, after such repeated series of misfortunes, could still have the courage to brave fortune: but this very courage furnished her with resources and friends. Whoever headed a faction in England in those days was sure to see it strengthened in length
of

of time, by the hatred which generally prevails against the court and ministry. This partly helped to raise another army for Margaret, after all her various changes of fortune and defeats. There was hardly a county in England in which she had not fought a battle; Tewksbury, near the banks of the Severn, was witness to her last: here she headed her troops in person, and went from rank to rank shewing the soldiers the young prince of Wales, whom she led by the hand. The fight was obstinate, but at length victory declared for Edward. The queen losing sight of her son during the hurry of the defeat, and having in vain enquired for him, fell, deprived of all sense and motion, and recovered only to see her son taken prisoner, and her conqueror Edward standing before her. Her son was then taken from her, and she was carried prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower with the king her husband. While they were carrying off the queen, Edward turning to the prince of Wales, asked him how he came to have the boldness to enter his dominions? To which the young prince replied, "I am come into my father's kingdom to revenge his cause, and rescue my inheritance out of your hands." Edward, incensed at the freedom of this reply, struck him over the face with his gauntlet, and historians tell us, that immediately Edwards two brothers, the duke of Clarence, whom he had lately restored to his favour, and the duke of Gloucester, with some of their followers, fell upon the young prince like so many wild beasts, and hewed him to death with their swords on the field of battle. If such are the manners of
the

the chiefs of the people, what must be those of the commonalty? They put all their prisoners to death, and at length determined to murder Henry himself. The respect which, even in those times of brutality and cruelty, had for upwards of forty years been paid to the virtues of this monarch, had hitherto stopt the hands of assassination; but after the inhuman murder of the prince of Wales, very little regard was shewed to the king; and the duke of Gloucester, who had before dipt his hands in the son's blood, now went to the Tower, and put an end to the wretched father's life. 1471

Queen Margaret's life was spared, because they were in hopes that the French court would purchase her liberty; and accordingly, about four years afterwards, when Edward, after being settled in the quiet possession of the throne, went to Calais with an intention of making war upon France, and that Lewis XI. by a sum of money and a shameful treaty prevailed on him to return, this heroine was re-deemed for fifty thousand crowns. This was a considerable sum to the English at that time, impoverished by their wars with France, and their troubles at home.

Margaret of Anjou, after having fought twelve battles in support of the rights of her husband and son, died in 1482, the most wretched queen, wife, sister, and mother, in Europe; and, but for the murder of her husband's uncle, the most respectable.

C H A P. XCVI.

Sequel of the Troubles of ENGLAND, during the Reigns of EDWARD IV. the Tyrant RICHARD III. and to the latter Part of the Reign of HENRY VII.

EDWARD IV. now reigned peaceably. The house of York was fully triumphant, and its power was cemented by the blood of almost all the princes of the Lancastrian family. Whoever considers the behaviour of Edward will look upon him as no other than a barbarian, wholly devoted to revenge; and yet he was a man given up to pleasure, and as busied in the intrigues of women as in those of the state. He did not stand in need of the title of king to please; he was formed by nature one of the handsomest men of his time, and the most amorous; and, by an astonishing contrast, he had, with the tenderest sensibility, given him the most blood-thirsty and cruel disposition. He condemned his brother Clarence to lose
 1577 his life upon the most frivolous suspicion, and only granted him the favour of chusing the manner of his death. Clarence desired to be drowned in a butt of wine. What reason can be given for so unaccountable a choice †!

† This is a vulgar error. It was not at his own desire; but the court being afraid of the popular resentment by a public execution, he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey.

He

He knew the surest way to please the nation was to make war with France. We have already seen that in 1475 Edward crossed the sea, and that Lewis XI. by a shameful policy purchased the retreat of a prince not so powerful as himself, nor so well settled on his throne*. To purchase peace of an enemy is to furnish him with the means to make war; accordingly in 1483 Edward proposed to his parliament a fresh invasion of France, and never was proposal received with more universal joy; but while he was making preparations for this great undertaking, he died, in the forty-second year of his age. 1483

As he was of a very robust constitution, his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, was suspected of having shortened his days by poison. The public suspicion was neither rash nor ill-founded; Gloucester was a monster, born with a disposition to commit the deepest and most deliberate crimes.

Edward IV. at his death left two sons: the eldest of these was thirteen years of age, and succeeded his father by the name of Edward V. Gloucester formed the design of taking these two children from the queen their mother, in order to put them to death, and seize the crown for himself, and spared no kind of dissimulation, artifice, and oaths, to secure their persons, which he no sooner accomplished than he lodged them both in the Tower, that they might, as he pretended, be in greater safety. But he met with an unexpected obstacle in putting this double assassination in execution. He had caused

* See Chap. lxxx.

the lord Hastings, a nobleman of a violent character, but firmly attached to the person of the young king, to be sounded by his emissaries : this lord had given plain intimations of his horror at being concerned in any such crime. Gloucester then, finding his secret in such dangerous hands, did not hesitate an instant in the part he was to act. The council of state, of which Hastings was a member, sate in the Tower ; thither came Gloucester, attended by a band of armed followers, and addressing himself to Lord Hastings, told him, that he arrested him for high crimes. " Who ! me, my lord ? " replied the accused nobleman. " Yes, thee, 1483 traitor," answered Gloucester; and immediately, in presence of the council, ordered him to be beheaded.

Having thus gotten rid of one who was privy to his secret, he, despising the forms of law with which the English always covered over their most wicked attempts, gathered together a rabble from the dregs of the people, who, assembling in the Guildhall of the city, cried out that they would have Richard of Gloucester for their king ; and the mayor of London went the next day, at the head of this mob, and made him an offer of the crown, which he accepted, and was crowned without calling a parliament, or offering the least shew of reason for such a procedure. He only caused a rumour to be spread, that his brother Edward IV. had been born in adultery, and made no scruple of thus dishonouring the memory of his mother. Indeed it was hardly possible to think that the same person should be father to Edward IV. and Gloucester. The first was remarkably handsome, and the other

other deformed in all parts of his body, with an aspect as hideous as his soul was villainous.

Thus he founded his sole right to the crown on his mother's infamy; and in declaring himself legitimate, made his nephews the issue of a bastard. Immediately after his coronation he sent one Tyrel to strangle the young king and his brother in the Tower. This was known to the nation, who only murdered in secret; so much do men change with the times. Gloucester, under the name of Richard III. remained two years and a half in quiet enjoyment of the fruits of one of the most atrocious crimes that the English had ever seen perpetrated amongst them, tho' used to many.

During this short enjoyment of the royal authority, he called a parliament, to which he had the audaciousness to submit his claim to be examined. There are times in which the people are dastardly, in proportion as their rulers are cruel; this parliament declared the mother of Richard III. an adulteress; and that neither the late Edward IV. nor his brothers, Richard only excepted, were born in lawful wedlock; and therefore that the crown of right belonged to him, in preference to the two young princes who had been strangled in the Tower, concerning whose deaths however they came to no explanation. Parliaments have sometimes committed more cruel actions, but never, any one so infamous. So vile a condescension requires whole ages of virtuous conduct to make amends for it.

At length, after two years and an half were elapsed, there arose an avenger of these crimes, in the person of Henry Earl of Richmond, who was the only remaining branch of the many

princes of the house of Lancaster, that had fallen sacrifices to the ambition of the York faction, and who had taken refuge in Brittany. This young prince was not a descendant of Henry VI. but derived, like him, his pedigree from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son to the great Edward III. though by the female side, and from a very doubtful marriage of this John of Gaunt. His right to the crown was also still more doubtful; but the general detestation in which Richard III. was held, on account of his crimes, fortified his claim, and added strength to his party. He was as yet very young, when he conceived the design of revenging the deaths of so many princes of the house of Lancaster, by punishing Richard, and reducing England to his obedience. His first attempt proved unsuccessful, and, after having been witness to the defeat of his party, he was obliged to return to Brittany, and sue for an asylum. Richard treated in secret with the minister of Francis II. duke of Brittany, father to Anne of Brittany, who was married to Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. This prince himself was not capable of doing a base action; but his minister Landois was, and promised to deliver the earl of Richmond into the tyrant's hands. The young prince coming to the knowledge of this, fled out of Brittany in disguise, and got into the territories of Anjou, only an hour before these who were sent to seize him.

It was the interest of Charles VIII. at that time king of France, to protect Richmond. The grandson of Charles VII. had been wanting in the principal point of politics, by suffering the English to remain unmolested when it was in

in his power to distress them; and on this occasion Charles VIII. furnished Richmond with only two thousand men. These would have been sufficient, had Richmond's party been considerable: this however was the case soon after, and Richard himself, as soon as he heard that his rival was landed only with those small numbers, rightly judged that he would not be long without an army. The whole country of Wales, of which this prince was a native, took up arms in his favour, and a battle was at length fought between Richard and the earl, at Bosworth near Leicester*. Richard wore the crown on his head during the engagement, thinking to animate his men, by shewing them that they fought for their lawful king against a rebel. But lord Stanley, one of the tyrant's generals, who had long beheld with horror the crown usurped by such a monster, betrayed a person so unworthy to be his sovereign, and went over to the earl ¹⁴¹⁵ with the corps he commanded. Richard was possessed of courage, and that was his only virtue. When he saw the day become desperate, he furiously threw himself into the midst of his enemies, where he received a death too glorious for his deserts. His naked and mangled body was found buried under an heap of slain, and being thrown across an horse, was carried in that manner to the city of Leicester, where it remained two days exposed to the view of the populace, who, calling to mind his many cruelties and crimes, shewed no signs of sorrow for

* Voltaire, by mistake, says Litchfield.

his fate. Stanley, who had taken the crown from his head after he had fallen in the field, carried it to Henry of Richmond.

The victors sung *Te Deum* on the field of battle. When it was over, the whole army, as inspired with one voice, cried out, "Long live Henry of Richmond, our king." Thus did the fortune of this single day put an happy end to the desolations with which the factions of the white and red rose had filled England; and the throne, which had been so often stained with blood, and undergone such frequent changes, was at length settled in peace and security. The misfortunes which had followed the family of Edward III. were now at an end; and Henry VII. by marrying a daughter of Edward IV. united the rights of the two houses of York and Lancaster in his own person.

As he had known how to conquer, so he knew how to govern; and his reign, which lasted for four and twenty years, during which time he was almost constantly at peace, somewhat humanized the manners of the nation. The parliaments which he frequently called, and with whom he always kept fair, enacted wise laws; justice once more resumed all her functions, and trade, which had begun first to flourish under the great Edward III. and which had been almost entirely ruined during the civil wars, was again revived. Of this the nation stood greatly in need. We may judge of its poverty by the extreme difficulty which Henry VII. found in raising a loan of two thousand pounds sterling from the city of London, a sum which did not amount to fifty thousand livres of our present money. Henry was through inclination

tion and necessity avaritious. Had he been only saving he would have shewed his prudence; but the sordidness of his disposition, and his rapacious exactions, have tarnished the glory of his reign. He kept a private register of what he gained by the confiscations of estates; in short, no king was ever guilty of more meannesses. At his death there were found in his coffers two millions of pounds sterling, an immense sum for those times, which might have been much more usefully employed in public circulation, than in lying buried in a prince's treasury; but in a country where the people were more inclined to raise seditions than to give money to their kings, it was necessary for a prince to have a treasure always at hand.

Two adventures, each extraordinary in its kind, rather disquieted than troubled his reign. A journeyman baker*, who called himself the nephew of Edward IV. disputed the crown with him. This person, who had been trained up in his part by a priest, was crowned king at Dublin, the capital of Ireland, 1487 and ventured to give Henry battle near Nottingham†, who having defeated him and taken him prisoner, thought to humble the revolvers sufficiently by making their sham-king one of the scullions in his kitchen, in which post he continued for many years.

Daring enterprizes, though attended with ill success, frequently encourage others to imi-

* Lambert Simnel.

† This was called the battle of Stoke, from the village where it was fought.

tate them, who, stirred up by the glory of the example, go on in hopes of meeting with better success: witness the six false Demetrius's, who rose one after another in Muscovy, and many other impostors. This journeyman-baker was followed by the son of a Jew broker of Antwerp, who appeared in a more exalted character.

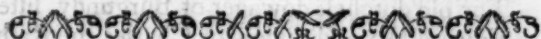
This young Jew, whose name was Perkin*, pretended to be the son of Edward IV. The French king, who was always attentive to cherish the seeds of sedition among the English, received this pretender at his court, acknowledged his assumed title, and gave him all encouragement: but having soon after reasons to keep fair with Henry, he left the impostor to shift for himself.

The old dutchess dowager of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. and widow of Charles the Rash, who first put this spring in play, now received Perkin as her nephew. The young Jew enjoyed the fruits of his impostor much longer than his predecessor the baker; a majestic air, a finished breeding, and great personal courage, seemed to make him worthy of the rank he assumed. He married a princess of the house of York, who still continued to love him, even after the discovery of the cheat. He maintained his claim by arms for five years, found means
1498 to raise the Scotch in his favour, and met with unexpected resources even in

* His name was Peter Warbeck; he was called Perkin, or Peterkin, by way of nickname, or abbreviation of his Christian name.

the midst of his defeats. But being at length abandoned by his party, and delivered up to the king, Henry had the clemency to condemn him only to perpetual imprisonment, from which in attempting to make his escape he was seized, and paid for his rashness with his life.

And now the spirit of faction being entirely quelled among the English, that people, no longer formidable to their prince, began to be so to their neighbours, particularly at the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, who, by the extreme parsimony of his father, was in possession of immense riches, and, by the prudence of the administration, the absolute master of a warlike people, who were at the same time in as much subjection as the English are capable of being.



C H A P. XCVII.

A GENERAL VIEW of the sixteenth Century.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century, upon which we are already entered, presents us at one view with the noblest prospects that the universe ever furnished. If we cast our eyes on the princes who reigned at that time in Europe, we shall find, that either by their reputation, their conduct, or the great changes of which they were the causes, they made their names immortal. At Constantinople we see a Selim reducing under the Ottoman dominion all Syria and Egypt, of which the Mahometan Mamelukes had been in possession ever since

the thirteenth century: after him appears his son the great Solyman; the first of the Turkish emperors who carried his standards to the walls of Vienna: he also caused himself to be crowned king of Persia in the city of Bagdat, which he subdued by his arms; and thus made Europe and Asia tremble at one time.

At the same time we behold in the North, Gustavus Vasa rescuing Sweden from a foreign yoke, and chosen king of the country of which he was the deliverer.

In Muscovy, John Basilowitz delivers his country from the Tartars, to whom it was tributary. This prince was indeed himself a Barbarian, and the chief of a people yet more barbarous; but the avenger of his country merits to be ranked in the number of great princes.

In Spain, Germany, and Italy, we see Charles V. the sovereign of all those states, supporting the weight of the government of Europe, always in action, and always negotiating, for a long time equally fortunate in politics and war, the only powerful emperor since Charlemagnè, and the first king of all Spain since the conquest of that country by the Moors; opposing a barrier to the Ottoman empire, making kings, and at length divesting himself of all his crowns, retiring from the world, and ending his life in solitude, after having been the disturber of all Europe.

Next stands forth his rival in glory and politics, Francis I. king of France, who, tho' less powerful and fortunate, but of a more brave and amiable disposition, divides with Charles V. the admiration and esteem of all nations. Glorious even in the midst of his defeats, he renders

ders his kingdom flourishing, notwithstanding his misfortunes, and transplants the liberal arts into France from Italy, where they were then in the height of perfection.

Henry VIII. king of England, tho' too cruel and capricious to be admitted among the rank of heroes, has still a place among these kings, both on account of the change he wrought in the spirit of his people, and by having taught England how to hold the balance of power between sovereigns. This prince took for his device a warrior bending his bow, with these words; "Whom I defend is victorious." A device which his nation has at certain times verified.

Pope Leo X. is a name justly famous for the noble genius and amiable manners of him who bore it, for the great masters in the arts which have immortalized the age he lived in, and for the great change which divided the church during his pontificate.

In the beginning of this same century we find religion, and the pretext of reforming the received law, those two grand instruments of ambition, producing the same effects on the borders of Africa and in Germany, and amongst the Turks and the Christians. A new government and a new race of kings were established in the vast empire of Fez and Moroccco, which extends as far as the deserts of Nigritia. Thus Asia, Africa, and Europe, underwent at one and the same time a change of religions; for the Persians were separated for ever from the Turks, and while they acknowledged the same God and the same prophet, confirmed the schism of Omar and Ali. Immediately afterwards the

Christians became divided amongst themselves, and wrested one half of Europe from the Roman pontiff.

The old world was shaken, and the new one discovered and conquered by Charles V. and a trade opened between the East Indies and Europe by the ships and arms of the Portuguese.

We behold on one side the powerful empire of Mexico subdued by Cortez, and the Pizarros making the conquest of Peru with fewer number of soldiers than is necessary to lay siege to a small town in Europe; and on the other, Albuquerque, with a force very little superior, fixing the empire and trade of the Portuguese in the Indies, in spite of all the opposition of the kings of that country, and the efforts of the Moors, who were in possession of its trade.

Nature at this time produced extraordinary men in almost all branches, especially in Italy.

Another striking object in this illustrious age is, that, notwithstanding the wars which ambition raised, and the religious quarrels which began to disturb several states, the same genius which made the polite arts flourish at Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Ferrara, and which from thence diffused its light throughout Europe, quickly softened the manners of mankind in almost all the provinces of Christendom. The gallantry of the French court in the reign of Francis I. operated partly towards this great change; there was a continual emulation between this prince and Charles V. for glory, the spirit of chivalry and courtesy, even in the midst of their most furious dissensions; and this emulation, which communicated itself to

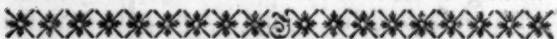
all their courtiers, gave this age an air of grandeur and politeness unknown before.

Opulency had likewise a share in this change; and this opulency, which became more general, was, by a strange revolution, partly the consequence of the fatal loss of Constantinople; for soon afterwards all the trade of the Turks was carried on by the Christians, who sold them even the spices of the Indies, which they took in at Alexandria, and from thence carried them in their ships to all the ports of the Levant.

Industry was every where encouraged. The city of Marseilles carried on a great trade. Lyons abounded in fine manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were still more flourishing than when they were under the house of Burgundy. The ladies, who were invited to the court of France, made it the center of magnificence and politeness. The manners of the court of London were indeed more rude, by reason of the capricious and rough disposition of its king, but that city already began to grow rich by trade.

In Germany the cities of Augsborg and Nuremberg, which dispersed through that empire the riches they drew from Venice, began already to feel the good effects of their correspondence with the Italians. In the former of these cities there were a number of beautiful houses, adorned on the outsides with paintings *in fresco*, after the Venetian manner. In a word, Europe saw halcyon days appear; but they were troubled by the storms which the rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I. excited, and the disputes which now began to arise about religion,

religion, sullied the end of this century, and even rendered it terrible, by giving it a certain cast of barbarism, scarcely known to the Huns and Heruli.



C H A P. XCVIII.

State of EUROPE in the time of CHARLES V.
of MUSCOVY, or RUSSIA. A Digression
concerning LAPLAND.

BEFORE I take a view of the state of Europe under Charles V. it will be necessary to form to myself a sketch of the different governments into which it was divided. I have already shewn the state of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. I shall not speak of Turkey, and the conquests of the Ottomans in Syria and Africa, till I have first examined all the wonderful and fatal events which happened among the Christians; and have followed the Portuguese in the several voyages they made to Asia, and the military trade they carried on in that country, and have taken a view of the eastern world.

I shall begin at present with the Christian kingdoms of the North. The Russian or Muscovite state began at this time to put on some form. This state, which is so powerful, and is every day becoming more so, was for a long time only a tribe of half christian savages, slaves to the Cazan-Tartars, the descendants of Tamerlane.

The duke of Russia paid a yearly tribute in money, skins, and cattle to these Tartars, which he himself carried on foot to the Tartarian ambassador, appointed to receive them, prostrating himself at his feet, and presenting him with milk to drink; and if any part of it fell upon the neck of the ambassador's horse, the duke was obliged to lick it off. The Russians were on the one hand slaves to the Tartars; and, on the other, pressed by the people of Lithuania: and, on the side of the Ukrain again, they were exposed to the depredations of the Crim-Tartars, descendants from the ancient Scythians of Taurica Chersonesus, to whom they likewise paid a tribute. At length there arose a chief, named John Basilides, or the son of Basil, who, being a person of great courage, animated his dastardly Russians, and freed himself from so servile a yoke; adding, at the same time to his dominions, Novogrod, and the city of Moscow, which he took from the Lithuanians towards the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conquests as far as Finland, which country has frequently been the subject of ruptures between Russia and Sweden.

Russia, then, appears to have been at that time a large monarchy, tho' not as yet formidable to Europe. It is said that John Basilides brought back with him from Moscow three hundred waggons loaded with gold, silver, and precious stones. The history of these dark times is wholly composed of fables. Neither the inhabitants of Moscow, nor the Tartars, had at that time any money but what they had plundered from others; and as they had

had so long been a prey to the Tartars, what great riches could be found among them? They were acquainted with little more than the mere necessities of life.

The country about Moscow produces good corn, which is sown in May, and reaped in September. The earth bears some few fruits: honey is as plenty there as in Poland, and they have large and small cattle in abundance; but the wool being unfit for manufacturing, and the people in themselves rude and void of industry, the only cloathing used amongst them was the skins of beasts. There was not one house in the city of Moscow built of stone. The little wooden huts they lived in were made of the trunks of trees, covered with moss. As to their manners, they lived like brutes, having a confused idea of the religion of the Greek church, of which they thought themselves members. When they died, the priest who buried them put into the hand of the dead person, a note addressed to St. Peter and St. Nicholas. This was their principal act of religion; but in almost all the villages to the north-east of Moscow, the inhabitants were in general idolaters.

The czars who succeeded John Basilides were possessed of riches, especially after another John Basilowitz had in 1551 taken Cazan and Astracan from the Tartars: but the Russians themselves were always poor; for as these absolute sovereigns had almost all the trade of their empire in their own hands, and raised contributions upon those who had gained a small competency, they quickly filled their own coffers, and even displayed an Asiatic pomp

pomp and luxury on their festivals and solemn days. They traded to Constantinople, by the way of the Black Sea; and with Poland by Novogrod. They had it therefore in their power to civilize their subjects; but the time was not yet come. All the northern part of their empire beyond Moscow consisted in vast wilds, and some few settlements of savages. They were even ignorant that there was such a large country as Siberia. A Cossack first discovered and conquered it in the reign of this John Basilowitz, in the same manner as Cortez conquered Mexico, with a few firearms only.

The czars had very little share in the affairs of Europe, except in some wars with the Swedes on account of Finland. None of the inhabitants ever stirred out of the country, nor engaged in any maritime trade. The very port of Archangel was at that time as much unknown as those of America, and was not discovered till the year 1553, by the English, who were in search of new countries in the North, after the example of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had made several new settlements in the South, the East, and the West. It was necessary to pass the North Cape, at the extremity of Lapland. It was known by experience that there was a country where, during five months of the year, the sun never enlightened the horizon. In this attempt the crews of two ships perished with cold and other disorders on this coast. A third ship, commanded by one Chancellor, anchored in the port of Archangel, in the river Dwina, the borders of which were inhabited only by savages. Chancellor

cellor sailed up the Dwina to Moscow. The English after this were almost the only masters of the trade of Muscovy, and gained great riches by the furs they brought from thence; and this was likewise another branch of trade taken from the Venetians. This republic had formerly had marts, and even a town on the borders of the Tanais, and afterwards carried on a trade for furs with Constantinople. Whosoever reads history with any advantage, will see that there have been as many revolutions in trade as in states.

It was very improbable at that time that a prince of Russia should one day found, in the marshes at the bottom of the Gulph of Finland, a capital, in whose port there arrives every year near two hundred and fifty foreign ships, and which has sent forth armies to fix a king on the throne of Poland, assist the German empire against France, become masters of Crimea, and divest Sweden of part of its territories.

About this time Lapland began to be more particularly known, to which even the Swedes, the Danes, and the Russians had hitherto, been in a manner strangers. This vast country, which borders upon the northern pole, had been described by Strabo, under the name of the country of the Troglodites, and Northern Pygmies. We have learnt that the race of Pygmies were not fictitious beings. It is probable that the Northern Pygmies have become extinct, or have been all destroyed by the neighbouring nations. Several kinds of men have disappeared from the face of the earth, as well as several kinds of animals.

The

The Laplanders do not appear in the least to resemble their neighbours ; for example, the men in Norway are large and well made : whereas, Lapland produces no men taller than three cubits ; their eyes, ears, and noses, again, are different from those of all the other people who surround them. They seem to be a species formed purposely for the climate they inhabit, which they themselves are delighted with, and which none but themselves can like. Nature seems to have produced the Laplanders, as she has done the rein-deer, peculiarly for that country : and as these animals are found no where else in the world, so neither the people appear to have come from any other part. It is not probable that the inhabitants of countries less savage would have passed over the most frightful deserts, covered with perpetual snows, to transplant themselves into so barren a part of the globe. One family may have been cast by a tempest upon a desert island, and have peopled this island ; but no number of people would quit their habitations on the continent, where they were provided with some kind of nourishment, to settle themselves in a remote part, amidst rocks covered with moss, and where they could meet with no other subsistence than fish and the milk of rein-deers : besides, supposing people from Norway or Sweden to have transplanted themselves into Lapland, could they possibly have become so entirely changed in figure ? How happens it that the Icelanders, who dwell as far northward as the Laplanders, are so tall in stature, and the Laplanders, on the contrary, not only very short, but of a quite different form ?

form*? These were, therefore, a new species of men who made their appearance to us at the same time that America and Asia presented us with others. The sphere of nature now became enlarged to us on all sides; and it is on this consideration alone that Lapland merits our attention.

I shall not take any notice of Iceland, which was the Thulé of the antients; nor of Greenland, nor yet of all those countries bordering on the Pole, whither the hopes of discovering

* Why may not men degenerate in stature, as well as trees? The seed or slip of a tall tree, sown or planted in a cold climate, shall rise a poor stunted shrub. That there should be a difference, in point of exteriors, between a native of Iceland and a Laplander, will not appear strange, when we consider these particulars: the climate of Iceland is mild and moderate, the soil fertile, the natives are well clothed, well fed, well housed, and enjoy the conveniences of life. They are, in comparison to the Laplanders, a late colony, from a civilized people, who carried the arts of oeconomy, and the comforts of living along with them to their new habitation; and are subsisted by commerce, under the protection of laws and a regulated police. On the other hand, the cold of Lapland is in the winter almost intolerable; and in the summer the air is continually surcharged with unwholesome vapours, exhaled and perspired from immense morasses, lakes, and forests. The Laplanders are ill covered with skins, poorly fed, and miserably lodged in hovels, where they lie promiscuously, stewing in the midst of smoke from their fuel, and steams from the bodies of one another: nay, when their hunting proves unsuccessful or impracticable, they are almost starved for want of provision. All these circumstances must, without doubt, have had an effect in stunting the growth of their bodies in the course of propagation; even supposing them to be descendants of some more southern people, driven into these northern regions by the cruelty of their conquering neighbours.

a passage

a passage into America have carried our navigators. The knowledge of these countries is as barren as the countries themselves, and does not enter into the political plan of the world.

OF POLAND.

POLAND, which for a long time retained the manners of the Sarmatians its first inhabitants, began to be of some consideration in Germany, after the Jagellonian race came to the throne; and was no longer the same country which was wont to receive its kings at the emperor's will, and pay him tribute.

The first of the Jagellon family was chosen king of this republic, in the year 1382. He was duke of Lithuania, and was an idolater, as well as the rest of his countrymen, and a great part of the palatinate. He was made king upon a promise of becoming Christian, and incorporating Lithuania with Poland.

This Jagellon, who took the name of Ladislaus, was father to the unfortunate Ladislaus, who was king of Hungary and Poland, and formed to be one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, had he not unfortunately been defeated and slain in 1445, at the battle of Varna, which, at the instigation of cardinal Julian, he fought against the Turks, in defiance of his faith solemnly plighted.

The Turks, and the monkish knights of the Teutonic order were a long time the two great enemies of Poland. The latter of these, who had formed themselves into a crusade, not being able to succeed in their attempts against
the

the Mahometans, fell upon the idolatrous and the Christian inhabitants of Prussia, which was then a province belonging to the Poles.

During the reign of Casimir, in the fifteenth century, the Teutonic knights waged a long war with Poland, and at length divided Prussia with this state, on condition that the grand master of their order should be a vassal of this kingdom, and, at the same time, a prince palatine and have a seat in the diet.

At this time the palatines only had votes in the estates of the kingdom; but Casimir summoned deputies from the body of the nobility, in the year 1640, who have ever since maintained this privilege.

The nobles then had another privilege in common with that of the palatines, which was that of not being subject to arrest for any crime before they were juridically convicted: this was a kind of right of impunity. They had besides, the right of life and death over their peasants, whom they might put to death with impunity, provided they threw the value of ten crowns into the grave: and if a Polish nobleman killed a peasant belonging to another nobleman, he was by the laws of honour obliged to give him another in his room; and to the disgrace of human nature, this horrid privilege still subsists.

Sigismund, who was of the Jagellonian race, and died in 1548, was cotemporary with Charles V. and was esteemed a great prince. During his reign the Poles had several wars with the Muscovites, and likewise with the Teutonic knights, while Albert of Brandenburg was their grand master. But war

was

was all the Poles knew, without being acquainted with the military art ; which was first carried to perfection in the southern parts of Europe. They fought in a confused and disorderly manner ; they had no fortified places ; and their chief strength consisted, as it still does, in their cavalry.

They wholly neglected trade ; nor did they discover, till the thirteenth century, the salt-pits of Cracovia, which now constitute the chief wealth of the country. The corn and salt trade was left to Jews, and other foreigners, who grew rich by the proud indolence of the nobles and the slavery of the people. There were at that time in Poland no less than two hundred Jewish synagogues.

If we consider the government of this country, it will appear, in some respects, an image of the antient government of the Franks, Muscovites, and Huns ; and, in others, somewhat to resemble that of the ancient Romans, inasmuch as the nobles, like the tribunes of the Roman people, could oppose the passing any law in the senate by simply pronouncing the word *Veto*. This power, which extended even to all the gentlemen, and was carried so far as to give a right of annulling, by a single vote, all the other votes of the republic, is now become a kind of right of anarchy. The tribune was the magistrate of the people of Rome ; whereas a gentleman in Poland is only a member and a subject of the state, and this member has the peculiar privilege of disturbing the whole body : but so dear is this privilege to self-love, that, if any one should attempt to propose
in

in the diet an abolition of this custom, he would be certain of being torn in pieces.

In Poland, as well as in Sweden, in Denmark and throughout the whole North, the only distinguishing title was that of Noble. The dignities of duke and count are of a later date, and are derived from the Germans; but these titles confer no power. The nobles are all upon an equality. The palatines, who deprived the people of their liberty, were wholly employed in defending their own against their kings; and, notwithstanding the Jagellon family were so long in possession of the throne, its princes were never either absolute in their royalty, nor even kings by right of birth, but were always chosen as chiefs of the state, and not as masters. In the oath taken by these kings, at their coronation, they expressly desired the nation to dethrone them, if they did not observe those laws they had sworn to maintain.

It was no very easy matter to preserve the right of election always free, and still continue the same family on the throne: but the kings having no strong holds in their possession, nor the management of the public treasury, nor the army, could not make any attack upon the liberties of the nation. The state allowed the king a yearly revenue of about twelve hundred thousand livres of our money, for the support of his dignity, which is more than the king of Sweden has to this day; the emperor has no allowance, but is obliged to support, at his own expence, the dignity of Head of the Christian World, *Caput Orbis Christiani*; while the island of Great Britain

Britain give their king near twenty three millions for his civil list. The sale of the kingly office is now become in Poland one of the principal sources of the money which circulates in that kingdom. The capitation tax levied on the Jews, which is one of its largest revenues, does not amount to above 120000 florins of the coin of the country.

With regard to the laws, the Poles had no written code in their own language, till the year 1552*. The nobles, who were always of equal rank with each other, were governed by the resolutions taken in their assemblies, which is at present the only real law amongst them; and the rest of the nation are guided only by these resolutions. As these nobles are the only possessors of lands, they are masters of all the rest of the people, and the husbandmen are no other than their slaves: they are likewise in possession of all the church benefices. It is the same in Germany; but this is an express and general law in Poland; whereas, in Germany, it is only an established custom; indeed a custom greatly repugnant to Christianity, tho' agreeable to the spirit of the Germanic constitution. Rome, in all its different forms of government, from the times of its kings and consuls to the papal monarchy, has always enjoyed this advantage, that the door to honours and dignities was always open to pure merit.

* It was in the fourteenth century that Casimir the Great introduced the Magdeburg laws, now called, *The Constitution of Poland*.

OF SWEDEN and DENMARK.

THE kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were, like that of Poland, elective. The peasants and artificers were slaves in Norway and Denmark; but in Sweden they had a seat in the diets of the state, and gave their vote in the imposition of taxes. Never did two neighbouring nations entertain a more violent antipathy to each other than the Swedes and Danes; and yet these rival people formed only one state in the famous union of Calmar, at the end of the fourteenth century.

One of the Swedish kings, named Albert, having attempted to appropriate a third of the farms in the kingdom to his own use, his subjects revolted against him. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark, who was called the Semiramis of the North, took advantage of these troubles, and got herself acknowledged queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway in the year 1395. Two years afterwards she united these two kingdoms, which ought always to have continued under the dominion of one single sovereign.

When we recollect that formerly the Danish pirates alone, carried their victorious arms throughout the greater part of Europe, and conquered England and Normandy, and afterwards see that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, tho' united, were not a formidable power to their neighbours, we may evidently conclude, that conquests are only to be made among an ill-governed people. The hanse towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Rostock,

tock, Luneburg, and Wismar alone were able to resist the power of these three kingdoms, on account of their superior riches; and the single city of Lubeck carried on a war against the successors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms, which appeared so fair at first sight, proved in the end the source of all their misfortunes.

There was in Sweden a primate, who was archbishop of Upsal, and six bishops who had almost the same authority in that country which most of the great ecclesiasticks had acquired in Germany and other nations, especially the archbishop of Upsal, who was, like the primate of Poland, the second person in the kingdom. Whosoever is the second person in a state is always desirous of being the first.

It happened in the year 1452 that the estates of Sweden, tired of the Danish yoke, chose with one consent the grand marshal Charles Canutson for their king, and being equally weary of the power of the bishops, they ordered a perquisition to be made into the estates which the church had engrossed under favour of these troubles. The archbishop of Upsal, named John de Salstad, assisted by the six bishops of Sweden and the rest of the clergy, excommunicated the king and the senate at high mass, laid his ornaments upon the altar, and putting on a coat of mail, and taking a sword in his hand, quitted the church and began a civil war, which the bishops afterwards continued for seven years. After this there was nothing but the most bloody anarchy, and a perpetual war between the Swedes, who wanted an independent king, and the Danes; the latter of which almost al-

ways gained the mastery. The clergy, who were at one time in arms for their country, and at another against it, reciprocally excommunicated, fought with, and plundered each other.

At length the Danes having gained the mastery, under the command of their king, John, son to Christian I. and the Swedes, being subdued, and having afterwards revolted again, this king John caused his senate in Denmark to publish an arret against that of Sweden, by which all the members of that senate were condemned to lose their nobility, and forfeit their estates. What is very singular is, that he caused this arret to be confirmed by the emperor Maximilian, and that this emperor wrote to the estates of Sweden, telling them, 1505 "That they were to pay obedience to that ordinance, or else that he would proceed against them according to the laws of the empire." I do not know how the abbé Vertot, in his *Revolutions of Sweden*, came to forget so important a transaction, which Puffendorf has so carefully preserved.

This fact is a plain proof that both the German emperors and the popes have always pretended to an universal jurisdiction. It likewise proves, that the Danish king was willing to flatter Maximilian, whose daughter he afterwards obtained for his son Christian II. In this manner were rights established in those days. Maximilian's council wrote to the Swedes in the same manner as that of Charlemagne had done to the people of Benevento and Guienne: but he wanted the same number of forces and the like power with Charlemagne.

This

This Christian II. after the death of his father took very different steps. Instead of applying to the imperial chamber for an arret, he obtained four thousand men of Francis I. king of France. Before this time the French had never engaged in any of the quarrels of the North. It is probable that Francis I. who aspired to the imperial dignity, was willing to gain a support in Denmark. The French troops fought several battles against the Swedes, under Christian, but were very badly recompensed for their services, being sent home without pay, and set upon in their return by the peasants; so that not above 300 men returned alive to France, the usual fate of all expeditions sent too far distant from their own country.

We shall see what a tyrant this Christian was, when we come to the article of Lutheranism. One of his crimes proved the cause of his punishment, in the loss of his three kingdoms. He had lately made an agreement with an administrator created by the estates of Sweden whose name was Steno Sture; but he seemed to fear this administrator less than he did the young Gustavus Vasa, nephew to king Canutson, a prince of the most enterprising courage, and the hero and idol of the Swedes; and pretending to be desirous of having a conference with the administrator in Stockholm, demanded of him, at the same time, to bring with him on board his fleet, then lying in the road, the young Gustavus, with six other noblemen as hostages. As soon as they were come on board his ship he put them all in irons, and made sail to Denmark with his prize. After

1518 this he made preparations for an open war, in which Rome took part. We will now see how she came to enter into it, and in what manner she was deceived.

Troll, archbishop of Upsal, (whose cruelties I shall relate when I come to speak of Lutheranism,) and who had been chosen primate by the clergy, confirmed by pope Leo X. and was united in interest with Christian, was afterwards deposed by the estates of Sweden, in 1517, and condemned to do perpetual penance in a monastery. For this the estates were excommunicated by the pope in the customary stile. This excommunication, which was nothing in itself, was rendered very formidable by the power of Christian's arms.

There was at that time in Denmark a legate from the pope, named Arcemboldi, who had sold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such had been the address of this priest, or the weakness of the people, that he had raised near two millions of florins in these countries, though the poorest in Europe, which he was going to send over to Rome; but Christian seized on them as a supply for the war he was carrying on against the excommunicated Danes. This war proved successful; Christian was acknowledged king, and archbishop Troll was reinstated in his dignity. It was after this restoration that the king and his primate gave that fatal feast in Stockholm, at which he caused all the members of the senate, and a great many citizens to be massacred*. While these things were

* The circumstances of this massacre were truly horrible. It was the first of all saints, in the year 1520, when all the gran-

were transacting, Gustavus escaped from his confinement, and fled into Sweden. He was obliged to conceal himself for some time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in the disguise of a peasant. He even worked in the mines, either for his subsistence, or the better concealing himself: but at length he made himself known to these savage people, who being from their rustic simplicity utter strangers to politics, held tyranny in the most detestable light. They agreed to follow him, and Gustavus soon saw himself at the head of an army. The use of fire-arms was not then at all known to these rude men,

grandees and noblemen of Sweden were invited to the king's coronation. Christian himself walked at their head to the cathedral, where, at the ceremony of coronation, he swore upon the sacrament he would preserve the privileges of the Swedish nation, and maintain the most sincere friendship with the senators and grandees of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance in their turn. They returned to the palace, where they were splendidly entertained at the king's expense. In the midst of their festivity he arose and retired to a closet: then the hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests, until a scaffold could be raised before the palace gate: on this, all the bishops and grandees were beheaded, except the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whom Christian reserved as an extraordinary victim. He was stretched on a St. Andrew's cross, and being opened alive, his heart was plucked out of his breast. The nobles being thus executed, a signal was given, at which the soldiers fell upon the populace, and butchered them without mercy. Next day an amnesty being published, those of the burghers that remained ventured to come forth, and were immediately put to the sword. Six bishops who had not been present at the coronation, were invited to Stockholm, to be consulted by the king, and were no sooner lodged in that capital, than the tyrant ordered the house to be set on fire, so that they perished in the flames.

and but imperfectly to the Swedes. This always threw the victory on the side of the Danes : but Gustavus having bought a number of muskets upon his own account at Lubeck, soon engaged them upon an equality.

Lubeck not only furnished him with arms, but it likewise sent him troops, without which Gustavus could not have succeeded ; so that the fate of Sweden depended on a simple trading city. Christian was at that time in Denmark, and the archbishop of Upsal sustained the whole weight of the war against this deliverer of his country. At length, by an event not very common, the party which had justice on its side, prevailed ; and Gustavus, after several unsuccessful attempts, beat the tyrant's lieutenants, and remained master of part of the country,

1521 Christian, grown furious by this disgrace, committed an action which even after what we have already seen of him, appears almost an incredible piece of wickedness. He for a long time had the mother and sister of Gustavus in his power at Copenhagen, and now ordered these two princesses to be both sowed up in a sack, and thrown alive into the sea.

Though this tyrant was so well skilled in working his revenge, he did not know how to fight ; and while he could murder two poor defenceless women, did not dare to venture into Sweden to face Gustavus. At length the cruelties he exercised upon his subjects, in common with his enemies, rendered him as detestable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

As

As the Danes had the power of electing their kings, so they likewise had that of punishing a tyrant. The first who renounced his authority were the people of Jutland, or the dutchy of Sleswick. His uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, took advantage of this just insurrection of the people, and right being supported by force, all the inhabitants of that part which formerly composed the Cimbrica Chersonesus, deputed the chief justice of Jutland to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition.

This intrepid magistrate had the resolution to carry the sentence to Christian in the midst of Copenhagen; the tyrant finding all the rest of his kingdom wavering, himself hated even by his own officers, and not daring to trust any one, received in his own palace like a criminal the sentence declared to him by a single man unarmed. The name of this magistrate deserves to be handed down to posterity: he was called Mons. "My name, said he, ought to be written over the doors of all bad princes." The kingdom of Denmark acquiesced with the sentence, and there never was an instance of a revolution so just and sudden, and so quietly effected. The king deposed himself by flying the kingdom, and retiring into 1523 the dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V. in Flanders, whose assistance he long implored.

His uncle Frederic was elected at Copenhagen, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; but of this last he had only the title; for the Swedes chose Gustavus Vasa their king, who had made himself master of Stockholm

about the same time, and perfectly well knew how to defend the kingdom he had delivered. Christian, who, with his archbishop Troll, was now a wanderer, made an attempt some few years afterwards to get possession of some part of his dominions. He depended upon the assistance of a male-content party in the kingdom, which is always the consequence of a new reign, and which he now found both in Sweden and Denmark: with these he entered Norway. Gustavus had introduced a change in the religion of the Swedes, and Frederic had permitted his Danes to change theirs. Christian professed himself a good Catholic, but was not for that either a better prince, or a better general, nor more beloved; so that in the end his enterprize proved ineffectual.

Abandoned at length by every one, he suffered himself to be carried to Denmark in the year 1532, where he ended his days in a prison. Archbishop Troll, who, prompted by a restless ambition, had prevailed on the city of Lubeck to take up arms against the Danes, died of the wounds he received in battle, and concluded his life with more glory than Christian; both of them merited a more tragical end.

Gustavus, the deliverer of his country, now enjoyed his honours in peace. He first convinced foreign nations what weight Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when the politics of that country put on a new face, and they began to think of establishing a balance of power.

Francis I. made an alliance with him; and, notwithstanding that Gustavus was a Lutheran, sent him the collar of his order, though expressly against

against the statutes. Gustavus spent the remainder of his life in endeavouring to regulate his kingdom. It required all the prudence he was master of to secure his administration against the troubles likely to arise on account of the change he had made in religion. The Dalecarlians, who had been the first to assist him in mounting the throne, were the first to raise commotions. Their savage rusticity rendered them attached to the antient customs of their church; and they were Catholics in the same manner as they were barbarians, by birth and education, as may be conceived from a petition which they presented to him, wherein they desired the king not would wear any cloaths made after the French fashion; and would order all those to be burnt who eat meat on a Friday: this last article was almost the only one in which the Lutherans were distinguished from the Catholics.

The king suppressed these first emotions, and established his religion by judiciously preserving the bishops, and at the same time diminishing their revenues and power. He shewed a proper regard to the antient laws of the kingdom, and caused his son Eric * to be declared his successor, by the estates, in 1544; and he even procured the crown to remain in his family, on condition, that if his race should become extinct, the estates should again resume their right of election; and that if only a princefs remained, she should be allowed a certain portion, without having any pretensions to the crown.

* Voltaire, by mistake, says Frederick.

Such was the situation of affairs in the North, in the time of Charles V. The manners of all these people were simple but austere, and their virtues were fewer, as their ignorance was greater. The titles of count, marquis, baron, and knight, and most of the other badges of vain glory, had not found their way at all among the Swedes, and but very little among the Danes; but then the most useful inventions were likewise unknown to them. They had no settled commerce, nor any manufactures. Gustavus Vasa, by drawing the Swedes from their state of obscurity, inspired the Danes by his example.

OF HUNGARY.

THE constitution of this government was exactly the same with that of Poland. Its kings were elected by the diets: the palatine of Hungary had the same authority as the primate of Poland, and was moreover judge between the king and the nation. Such was formerly the power or privilege of the palatine of the empire, the mayor of the palace in France, and the justiciary of Arragon. We find that in all monarchies the regal power was in its beginning counterbalanced by some other.

The nobles had the same privileges as in Poland; I mean those of being screened from all punishment, and of disposing of the lives of their peasants or bondmen. The common people were slaves. The chief forces of this kingdom consisted in the cavalry, which was formed of the nobles and their followers. The infantry was a heap of peasants gathered together, without order or discipline, who took the

the field in sowing time, and continued in it till harvest.

We may recollect that this kingdom first embraced Christianity about the year 1000 †. Stephen, the chief of the Hungarians, who was desirous of being made king, employed on this occasion the force of arms and religion. Pope Sylvester II. gave him not only the title of king, but of apostolic king likewise. Some writers say that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred these two honours on Stephen, in the year 1003, or 1004. Such discussions, however, have nothing to do with the end of my enquiries. I shall therefore content myself with observing, that, on account of this title's having been conferred by a bull, the popes pretended to exact a tribute from the Hungarians, and that it is in virtue of the term *apostolic* that the kings of Hungary pretend to a right of bestowing all the church benefices in the kingdom.

We may observe that kings and even whole nations have been governed by certain prejudices. The chief of a warlike people did not dare to assume the title of king, without the pope's permission. This kingdom, and that of Poland likewise, were governed on the model of the Germanic empire; and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, had never dared to create dukes, and were so far from taking the title of majesty, that they were at that time only stiled, Your excellency.

The emperors even looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire; and Conrad the Salic actually received homage and tribute from king

† See Vol. I.

Peter; while the popes on their side maintained that they had a right to bestow this crown; because they were the first who gave the title of king to the chief of the Hungarian nation.

And here it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of those times, when the house of France, which had furnished kings to Portugal, England, and Naples, beheld likewise one of its branches seated on the throne of Hungary.

About the year 1290, this throne being vacant, the emperor, Rodolph of Hapsburg, gave the investiture of it to his son Albert of Austria, as he would bestow a common fief. Pope Nicholas IV. on his side, conferred this kingdom as a church benefice on the grandson of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, who was king of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St. Lewis was called Charles Martel, and laid claim to the kingdom, because his mother Mary of Hungary was sister to the last deceased king of Hungary. With a free people, it is not the being a relation to the king that can confer a title to the throne; and the Hungarians accepted neither the sovereign nominated by the emperor, nor him whom the pope appointed for them, but fixed upon Andrew, surnamed the Venetian, a prince who was also of the blood royal. Upon this there followed excommunications and wars; but after his death, and that of his competitor Charles Martel, the decree of the Roman tribunal was carried into execution.

Boniface VIII. in 1303, four months before the affront he received from the king of France, the grief for which is said to have occasioned his death, had the honour to see the cause of
the

the house of Anjou brought before his tribunal*. Mary, queen of Naples, spoke in person before the consistory; and Boniface bestowed Hungary on prince Carobert, son to Charles Martel, and grandson to this Mary.

This Carobert then was in fact king by the pope's favour, and maintained ¹³⁰⁸ upon the throne by his interest and his sword. The kingdom of Hungary became more powerful under him than the emperors, who looked upon it as one of their fiefs. Carobert re-annexed to his kingdom the provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, which had been rent from it at different times.

Carobert's son, Lewis, brother to that Andrew, king of Hungary, whom his wife Joan of Naples caused to be strangled, still farther encreased the Hungarian power. He went to Naples to revenge his brother's murder, and assisted Charles Durazzo to dethrone queen Joan, but without being any way instrumental in the cruel manner in which Durazzo caused that unhappy princess to be put to death. After his return to Hungary he acquired true glory, by doing justice to his people, enacting wise laws, and abolishing the custom of trials by the hot iron, and boiling water, which were always in the greatest credit, when the people were most uncivilized.

We have all along observed that there never was a truly great man who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and

* See chap. liii. Vol. II.

astronomy, and countenanced the other arts : it is to this philosophic genius, so rare at that time, that we are to attribute the abolition of the superstitious trials abovementioned. A king who was master of sound reasoning was a prodigy in those countries. His courage was equal to his other qualifications : he was beloved by his own subjects, and admired by strangers. Towards the latter part of his life, in 1370, the Poles made choice of him for their king : he reigned happily in Hungary forty years, and over the Poles twelve. His people gave him the surname of the Great, which he well deserved ; and yet this prince is hardly known in Europe, because he did not reign over men capable of transmitting his fame and virtues to other nations. How few know that in the fourteenth century there was a Lewis the Great in the Carpathian mountains ?

He was so much beloved, that the estates, in 1382, bestowed the crown on his daughter Mary, not then marriageable, by the title of *King Mary*, a title which has in our time been renewed in favour of a daughter of the last emperor of the house of Austria.

This all serves to shew, that if in hereditary kingdoms the people sometimes find reason to complain of a despotic abuse of the supreme power, elective states are on their part exposed to still more violent storms, and that even liberty itself, which is so natural and inestimable a blessing, is sometimes productive of great misfortunes.

Young king Mary and her kingdom were both under the government of her mother Elizabeth of Bosnia, who being disagreeable to the

grandees, they made use of their right, and placed the crown on another head, and made Charles Durazzo, surnamed the Little, king; who was descended in a direct line from St. Lewis's brother, who reigned in the two Sicilies. Charles arrived at Naples, from Buda, and was solemnly crowned in 1386, and acknowledged king by Elizabeth herself.

We now come to one of those strange events with regard to which the laws are wholly silent, and leave us in doubt whether it may not be a crime even to punish vice.

Elizabeth and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as good correspondence with Durazzo as it was possible to do with a person who was in possession of their crown, invited him to their apartment, where they caused him to be murdered in their presence, after which they prevailed on the people to join them; and young Mary, who was still directed by her mother, resumed the crown.

Some time afterwards, Elizabeth and Mary made a journey into Lower Hungary, and in their way imprudently passed through the lands of the count of Hornac, who was ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary a supreme count, who has the command of the armies, and the executing justice. This nobleman was particularly attached to the murdered king; was it then, or was it not, lawful for him to revenge the death of his king? He soon came to a resolution, and seemed to consult only justice in the cruelty of his revenge; he caused the two queens to be tried, after which he ordered Elizabeth to be drowned, and kept Mary

Mary in prison, as the least guilty of the two.

At the same time Sigismund, who was afterwards emperor, entered Hungary and espoused queen Mary. The ban of Croatia, who thought himself sufficiently powerful, had the boldness to carry that prince's himself to Sigismund, after having drowned her mother, thinking, as we may suppose, that he had done only an act of severe justice; but Sigismund ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and he died amidst the most dreadful torments. His death caused an insurrection of the nobles of Hungary; and this whole reign was one continued succession of troubles and factions.

It is possible to reign over a great number of states, and yet not be a powerful prince; this Sigismund was, at one and the same time, emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary: but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once confined in prison by his subjects, who had revolted against him. In Bohemia he was almost continually at war with the Hussites; and in the empire his authority was almost always counterbalanced by the prerogatives of the grandees, and the privileges of the great cities.

In 1438 Albert of Austria, son-in-law to Sigismund, was the first prince of the house of Austria who had reigned in Hungary.

This Albert was, like Sigismund, both emperor and king of Bohemia, but he did not reign above three years; and this short reign was the cause of intestine divisions, which, together with the irruption of the Turks, depopulated Hungary,

Hungary, and made it one of the most miserable countries in the world.

The Hungarians, who always preserved their liberty, would not accept for their king a child which Albert of Austria left at his death, but chose Uladislaus, or Ladislaus, king of Poland, who, in 1444, lost the famous battle of Varna, together with his life, as has been before related.

Frederick III. of Austria, who was emperor in 1440, took the title of king of Hungary, but never was so in reality. He kept the son of Albert of Austria, whom I shall call Ladislaus Albert, prisoner in Vienna, while John Hunniades was making head in Hungary against Mahomet II. who conquered so many states. This John Hunniades was not king, but he was general and idol of a free and warlike people, and no king ever possessed a more absolute power.

After his death the house of Austria had the crown of Hungary. This Ladislaus Albert was elected king, and caused one of the sons of this John Hunniades, the revenger of his country, to be put to death by the hands of the executioner: but, with a free people, tyranny never goes unpunished; Ladislaus was driven from a throne which he had stained with such illustrious blood, and paid for his cruelty by perpetual exile.

There still remained a son of the great Hunniades: this was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians with great difficulty, and not without paying a large sum of money, rescued out of the hands of the house of Austria. This prince waged war both with the emperor Frederick III. and the Turk, from the former of whom

whom he took Austria, and drove the latter out of Upper Hungary.

After his death, which happened in 1490, the house of Austria was continually endeavouring to add Hungary to its other dominions. The emperor Maximilian, even though he had again entered Vienna, could not obtain this kingdom, which was bestowed upon another Ladislaus, a king of Bohemia, whom I shall call Ladislaus of Bohemia.

The Hungarians, after the example of the nobles in Poland, and the electors of the empire, in thus chusing their own kings, always limited the royal authority : but it must be acknowledged, that the Hungarian nobles were petty tyrants, who would not suffer a greater tyrant over them ; their liberty was no other than a fatal independency, and they reduced the rest of the nation to so wretched a state of slavery, that the peasants and common people being unable longer to support such continued oppressions, took up arms against these cruel masters ; and a civil war, which lasted four years, still farther weakned this unhappy kingdom. At length the nobles, being better provided with arms and money than the peasants, gained the mastery ; and this war ended in redoubled miseries to the people, who to this day continue the actual slaves of the grandees.

A country which had been so long a prey to devastations, and where there remained only a slavish and discontented people, under masters almost always at variance among themselves, was no longer able of itself to resist the arms of the Turkish sultans. Accordingly we find, that when young Lewis II. son to this Ladislaus of Bohemia,

Bohemia, and father-in-law to Charles V. attempted to oppose the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary was not able to furnish him with an army of more than thirty thousand fighting men. One Tomeres, a Franciscan friar, who was general of this army, in which there were five other bishops, promised Lewis the victory; but his whole army was cut to pieces in the famous battle of Mohats, in 1526, and the king himself slain. After this victory, Solyman over-run all this wretched kingdom, and carried two hundred thousand captives away with him.

Nature in vain furnished this country with gold-mines, and the more substantial riches of corn and wine; in vain she formed its inhabitants robust, well-made, and ingenious; nothing now remained to the view but a vast desert, with ruined cities, and fields tilled with the sword in hand, villages dug under ground, in which the inhabitants buried themselves with their provisions and cattle, and a few fortified castles, for the sovereignty of which the possessors were always in arms against the Turks and the Germans.

There were likewise several other fine countries of Europe that were desolated, and lay uncultivated and uninhabited; such as one half of Dalmatia, the north of Poland, the banks of the Tanais, and the fruitful country of the Ukraine, while search was making after other lands in a new world, and as far as the limits of the old.

OF SCOTLAND.

IN this sketch of the political government of the North, I must not forget Scotland, of which I shall speak further when I come to treat of the article of religion.

Scotland had rather a greater share in the system of Europe than the other nations of the North, because as being at enmity with the English, who were always endeavouring to subject it, it had for a long time been in alliance with France, whose kings could easily prevail upon the Scotch to take arms in their favour whenever it was necessary; and we find that Francis I. sent no more than thirty thousand crowns (which makes about one hundred and thirty thousand of our present livres) to the party who were to get war declared against the English in 1543. In fact, Scotland is so poor, that even at this time, when it is united with England, it pays only the fortieth part of the subsidies of the two kingdoms*.

A poor state which has a rich one for its neighbour must at length become venal: but so long as this country kept itself free, it was formidable. The English, who under Henry II. conquered Ireland with so much ease, could never subdue Scotland; and Edward III. who was a great warrior and a deep politician, tho'

* This is the case only in one branch of the revenue, namely the land-tax; in almost all the other impositions the Scots pay the same as the English: that is, they raise their proportion of those annual sums required to pay the interest of one hundred and twenty millions, being at this day the debt of the British nation,

he conquered it could never keep it. There always subsisted a jealousy and hatred between the Scotch and the English, not unlike that between the Spaniards and Portuguese. The house of Stewart had fate on the throne of Scotland ever since the year 1370: never was there a more unfortunate family. James I. after having been prisoner in England eighteen years, was murdered by his subjects in 1444, and James II. was killed in the unfortunate expedition to Roxburgh †, when he was only nine and twenty years old. James III. before he was five and thirty, was slain by his own subjects in a pitched battle. James IV. son-in-law to Henry VII. king of England, fell at the age of thirty-nine in a battle against the English in the year 1513, after a very unfortunate reign ‡; and James V. died in the flower of his age, in the year 1542, when he was not quite thirty.

We shall see that the daughter of James V. was still more unfortunate than any of her predecessors, and added to the number of those queens who have died by the hands of the executioner. James VI. her son, became afterwards king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, only, through the weakness of his intellects, to lay the foundations of those revolutions which afterward brought the head of Charles I. to the block, and drove James VII. into exile, and still keeps this unfortunate family outcasts and wanderers

† The expedition was successful, inasmuch as the place was taken after the king's death.

‡ The reign of James IV. was by no means unfortunate before his last expedition into England.

at a distance from their own country. The most favourable times for this house were, during the reigns of Charles V. and Francis V. James V. who was father to Mary Stewart, sate on the throne of Scotland; and after his death, his widow Mary of Lorraine, mother to this Mary, was appointed regent of the kingdom, and it was during her administration that the troubles first began to break out under pretence of religion, as we shall hereafter see.

I shall not dwell any longer on this review of the kingdoms of the North in the sixteenth century; having already examined the terms in which Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain stood with each other, I have thereby acquired a sufficient introductory knowledge to the interests of the North and South, and shall now examine more particularly into the state of Europe.



C H A P. XCIX.

Of GERMANY and the EMPIRE.

THE western empire still subsisted in name; but it had been for a long time only a burthensome title, as may appear from its having been refused by the ambitious Edward III. of England, when offered to him by the electors in 1348. Charles IV. who was looked upon as the law-giver of the empire, could not obtain permission of pope Innocent VI. and the barons of Rome to be crowned emperor in that city, till he had promised not to lie a night within

within the walls. His famous golden bull, by limiting the number of electors, restored some order in Germany, which had before been a continued scene of anarchy. This law was, at its first institution, considered as fundamental, but has since been frequently departed from. In his time all the cities of Lombardy were actually free and independent of the empire, excepting only in some particular rights. Every lord in Germany and Lombardy remained sovereign of his own territories during all the succeeding reigns.

The times of Wincelaus, Robert, Josse, and Sigismund, were times of darkness, in which there appeared no trace of the imperial dignity, except in the council of Constance, which was assembled by Sigismund, and in which that emperor shone forth in full glory.

The emperors had no longer any demesnes, having ceded them at different times to the bishops and cities, either to procure themselves a support against the power of the lords of great fiefs, or to raise money. They had now nothing left but the subsidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, and for defraying the expences of the vain ceremony of the emperor's coronation at Rome, which still subsisted. It was absolutely necessary therefore to elect a chief who was powerful of himself, and this first brought the sceptre into the house of Austria. A prince was wanting whose dominions might on the one hand have a communication with Italy, and on the other be capable of opposing the incursions of the Turks; and this advantage Germany found in Albert II. who was duke of Austria, and king of Bohemia

and Hungary; and this first fixed the imperial dignity in his house, and the throne became hereditary, without ceasing to be elective. Albert and his successors were chosen on account of the large dominions they possessed; and Rodolph of Hapsburg, one of the stocks of that house, had formerly been elected because he had none. The reason of this seeming contradiction is obvious; Rodolph was elected at a time when the houses of Saxony and Suabia had given reason to fear their becoming despotic, and Albert II. when the house of Austria was thought sufficiently powerful to defend the empire, and yet not to enslave it.

Frederick III. ascended the imperial throne by this title. Germany was in his time in a state of inability and peace. It was not so powerful as it might have been; and we have already seen that this prince was very far from being the sovereign of Christendom, as his epitaph imports*.

Maximilian I. while he was yet only king of the Romans, began his career in the most glorious manner, by the victory of Guinegatte, which he gained over the French in 1479, and the treaty he made with them in 1492, by which he secured the possession of the Franche Comté, Artois, and Charolois. But as he drew nothing from the Low Countries, which belonged to his son Philip the Fair, nor from the people of Germany, and very little from his dominions in France, he would never have been of any consideration in Italy, had it not been for the league of Cambray, and Lewis XII. who did every thing for him.

* See Chap. xcvi. in this Volume.

At first the pope and the Venetians prevented him, in the year 1508, from coming to Rome to be crowned emperor; and he took the title of emperor elect, as he could not be crowned emperor by the pope. We see him after the league of Cambray, and in the year 1513, receiving the daily pension of an hundred crowns from the English king, Henry VIII*. His German dominions furnished him with men to take the field against the Turk, but he wanted those riches with which France, England, and Italy, carried on their wars at that time.

Germany was become in reality a republic of princes and cities, notwithstanding that its chief in his edicts spoke in the strain of absolute master of the whole world. It had been divided in the year 1500 into six circles; and the directors of these circles being sovereign princes, and the generals and colonels paid by the provinces and not by the emperor, this establishment, by linking together all the several parts of the empire, secured the liberty of the whole. The imperial chamber, which had the passing of final judgment, being paid by the princes and cities, and not having its seat in the particular demesnes of the monarch, proved another support to the public liberty. It is true it could never carry its decrees into execution against powerful princes, unless seconded by the empire; but this very abuse of liberty was a proof of its real existence: this is so notorious, that the Aulic court, which was first formed in 1512, and was entirely under the direction of the em-

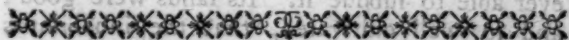
* See Chap. xcii.

perors, soon proved the strongest support to their authority.

Germany, under this form of government, was at that time as happy a state as any in the world. Inhabited by a warlike people, who were capable of the greatest military operations; there was no probability of the Turks being ever able to subdue it. Its lands were good; and so well cultivated, that the inhabitants were at least under no necessity, as formerly, of seeking for other settlements: at the same time they were neither so rich nor so poor, nor so united together, as to be in a condition to make the conquest of all Italy.

But what were at that time its pretensions upon Italy and the Roman empire? The same as those of the Othos and the imperial house of Suabia had been; the same which had cost such a deluge of blood, and which had undergone so many alterations since Julius II. who was patriarch as well as pontiff of Rome, had the imprudence, instead of rousing the antient Roman courage, to call in the assistance of foreigners. Rome had nothing left but to repent of her folly; for since that time there had always been a private war between the empire and the pontificate, as well as between the pretensions of the emperor and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of Cæsar was only a source of contested rights, undetermined disputes, exterior grandeur, and real weakness. These times were no longer those in which the Othos created kings, and imposed tributes upon them. If Lewis XII. had maintained a good understanding with the Venetians, instead of taking up arms against them, the emperors
IX 6 would

would in all probability never have set foot again in Italy. But from the divisions among the Italian princes, and the nature of the pontifical government, it unavoidably happened that a great part of this country was always to be a prey to foreigners.



CHAP. C.

CUSTOMS of the fifteenth and sixteenth CENTURIES, and the State of the LIBERAL ARTS.

WE find that there were few absolute sovereigns in Europe; the emperors before Charles V. had never ventured to aim at despotic power. The popes, tho' much more the masters of Rome than formerly, had much less power in the church; the crown of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the North, were elective; and an election necessarily supposes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the consent of their parliaments. Isabella of Castile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the estates of the kingdom. Ferdinand the Catholic, of Arragon, had not been able to abolish the authority of the grand justiciary of that kingdom, who looked upon himself as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a state purely monarchical, after the reign of Lewis

XI. A happy form of government, when a king like Lewis XII. appeared, who, by his love to his people, made amends for all the faults he committed, with regard to other nations.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the stop which had every where been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The custom of duels, however, was still continued.

The popes by their decrees, which were always wise, and, what is more, always beneficial to Christendom, when their own private interests were not concerned, had anathematized these combats; but they were still permitted by several of the bishops; and the parliaments of Paris sometimes ordered them, witness the famous one between Legris and Carrouges, in the reign of Charles V. There were several other duels fought by order of the courts. The same evil practice was likewise kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the sanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as essential; particularly that of confessing and taking the sacraments before they prepared for murder. The good Chevalier de Bayard always heard a mass before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always chose a second, who was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent search that neither of them had any spell about them; for nothing on earth was so credulous as a knight.

Some of these knights have been known to leave their own country, and go into foreign parts in search of a duel, without any other motive

motive than that of signaling themselves. Duke John of Bourbon, in the year 1414, caused it to be proclaimed "that he was going to England with sixteen other knights, to fight to extremity*, that he might avoid idleness and merit the favour of the fair lady whom he served."

Tournaments, tho' condemned likewise by the popes, were practised every where. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici*, or the French games; because one Geofroi de Preuilly had, in the eleventh century, published a body of rules to be observed in them. Upwards of an hundred knights had been killed in these games; but this only served to make them more in vogue.

It was thought that the death of Henry II †, who was killed at a tournament held in 1599, would have abolished this custom for ever;

* When a knight challenged all the world, he wore an emprise, consisting of a gold chain, or some other badge of love and chivalry. Sometimes this emprise was fixed up in a public place. When another knight accepted the challenge for a trial of chivalry, called the Combat of Courtesy, he gently touched the emprise; but if he was determined to fight the owner *à outrance*, to extremity, he tore away the emprise with force and violence.

† For the celebration of a general peace, Henry, among other festivities, instituted a tournament, or *Pas d'Armes*, in which he signaled himself personally with great address: at length, he sent a lance to the count of Montgomery, captain of the Scotch guard. They accordingly entered the lists, ran a tilt, shivered their lances, when a splinter running through the vizor of the King's helmet, penetrated through the eye into the brain: of this wound he expired in a few days.

but the idle lives of the great, long use, and the passions, revived these games at Orleans, in less than a year after the tragical death of Henry; when Henry of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier and a prince of the blood, lost his life likewise by a fall from his horse. After this an entire stop was put to tournaments; but a faint image of them remained in the Pas d'Armes, held by Charles IX. and Henry III. the year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew: for in those bloody times they always intermixed feasts and diversions with their barbarous proscriptions. This Pas d'Armes was not attended with any danger, as the combatants did not engage with sharp weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse in 1581. The word Tournament is therefore very improperly given by L'Etoile, in his Journal, to the shews exhibited on this occasion. The grandees did not fight at all; and what L'Etoile calls a Tournament was only a warlike ballet or interlude, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre, by a company of hired performers; and was a shew given to the court, and not given by the court itself. The games which still continued to go by the name of tournaments were only carousals.

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from the year 1560. With these games expired the antient spirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances. This kind of spirit was very prevalent in the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a knight in the true sense of the word, and
Charles

Charles aimed at being such *. They would give each other the lie in public, and afterwards meet together in the most friendly manner; and it is known that the emperor put himself into the hands of the king of France upon no other security than that of his word of honour, which the king was not capable of violating. There are several occurrences in the reigns of these two princes which favour greatly of the heroic and fabulous ages; but Charles V. approached nearer to our modern times in the refinement of his politics.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offensive and defensive weapons made use of in those days, were likewise entirely different from what they are at present.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms made use of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were spears of eighteen feet in length, and were used by the Swiss in the wars of Milan; but they were soon laid aside for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuse, or firelock, was become a necessary weapon against the steel ramparts by which the gendarmerie of those days were defended. No helmet or cuirass was proof against these. The gendarmerie, which they called the Battalion, fought on foot as well as on horseback: the French gendarmerie was in most estimation in the sixteenth century.

* Nevertheless the behaviour of Francis, when he received the last formal cartel of personal defiance from the emperor, was such as gives no great idea of his manhood.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The war-cry was almost every where laid aside.

As to the government of states, at this time, I find cardinals at the head of the administration in almost every kingdom. In Spain I see cardinal Ximenes, who ruled under Isabella of Castile during her life; and after her death was appointed regent of the kingdom, who, always clad in the habit of a Franciscan friar, placed his chief pride in treading under feet the Spanish grandeur; who raised an army at his own expence, and afterwards led it in person into Africa, and took the city of Oran; in a word, who had made himself absolute, till young Charles V. drove him from the helm of power, and obliged him to retire to his archbishopric of Toledo, where he died of grief.

In France, I see Lewis XII. governed by cardinal d'Amboise, and cardinal Duprat prime minister to Francis I. Henry VIII. of England was, for the space of twenty years, entirely under the direction of cardinal Wolsey, a man as vain-glorious as d'Amboise; and who, like him, wanted to be pope, and like him failed in his attempt. Charles V. made his preceptor, cardinal Adrian, who was afterwards pope, his prime minister in Spain; and cardinal Granvelle had afterwards the government of Flanders. Lastly, cardinal Martinus was master of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother to Charles V.

Tho' we see so many military states governed all of them by churchmen, this did not proceed merely from those princes being more ready to place their confidence in a priest, of whose

whose power they could stand in no apprehension, than in the general of an army, who might in time become formidable to them; but also, because the church-men were generally men of more knowledge, and more capable of managing public affairs than either the military officers or the courtiers.

It was not till this century that those cardinals, who were the king's subjects, took precedence of the chancellor of the kingdom. They disputed it with the electors of the empire, and yielded it to the chancellors in France and England; and this again is one of those contradictions which pride had introduced into the republic of Christendom. By the registers of the English parliament we find that the lord chancellor Warham had precedence of cardinal Wolsey till the year 1516.

The title of majesty began now to be assumed by kings, and the ranks of the several sovereigns were settled at Rome. The first place was, without contradiction, assigned to the emperor; after him came the king of France, without a competitor; the kings of Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Sicily, took rank in turns with the king of England; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland; and, last of all, Denmark and Sweden. Great disputes arose afterwards from this settling of the precedence. The kings, almost to a man, wanted to be equal in rank with each other; but not one of them attempted to dispute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preserved their rank while they lost their authority.

All the customs in civil life were different from ours; the doublet and short cloak was the common dress in all courts. The gentlemen of the law every where wore a long and close robe, which fell half-way down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris; one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. The men and women all rode on horseback.

Riches were now so much encreased, that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promised three hundred and thirty-three thousand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the son of Francis I. This was a larger sum than had ever yet been given by any one.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry was a long time famous for its magnificence. Their camp was called the *camp of cloth of gold*; but this momentary parade, this stretch of luxury did not imply that general magnificence, nor those useful conveniencies which are so common in our times, and which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The hand of industry had not then changed their sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and the mud-walls still remained in the streets of Paris. The houses in London were still worse built, and the manner of living there, harder. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horseback; princesses themselves travelled in no other manner, or covered with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather; and this dress they

they wore even when they went to the palace. This custom continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. The magnificence of Francis I. Charles V. Henry VIII. and Leo X. were only for days of public solemnity ; whereas, at present, the shews and entertainments which we see in common every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time, in the streets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches and plenty than the most brilliant ceremonies of the monarchs of the sixteenth century.

In the reign of Lewis XII. they first began to substitute gold and silver stuffs, in room of the costly furs they were formerly wont to wear. These stuffs were the manufactures of Italy, there being none made at that time in Lyons. Gold work was in general very clumsy, Lewis XII. having by an ill-judged sumptuary law forbidden its use throughout his kingdom ; so that the French were obliged to send to Venice for all their plate. By this means, the goldsmiths were all reduced to poverty ; and Lewis XII. at length wisely revoked this law.

Francis I. who in the latter part of his life became an oeconomist, prohibited the wearing of gold and silver stuffs, which prohibition was afterwards renewed by Henry II. but had these laws been strictly observed, they would have ruined the manufacture of Lyons. What chiefly determined the government to enact these laws was the consideration of being obliged to have all the silk from foreigners. In the reign of Henry II. none but bishops were permitted to wear silk.
The

The princes and princesses had the distinguishing privilege of wearing dresses of red silk or woollen stuff. At length, in the year 1563, none but princes and bishops were allowed to wear shoes made of silk.

All these sumptuary laws only shew that the views of the government were very narrow, and that the ministers thought it easier to put a check to industry than to encourage it.

Mulberry-trees were then cultivated only in Italy and Spain, and gold wire was made no where but at Milan and Venice; and yet the French fashions had already insinuated themselves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy. The Italian historians complain, that after the journey which Charles VIII. made into Italy, the people affected to dress themselves after the French fashion, and sent to France for all their ornaments.

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect to his person by a singularity of appearance. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers: but those of the long robe, who always keep to the antient customs, whatever they are, still continued to shave their beards, while the young military people affected an air of gravity and age. This is a trifling observation; but it claims a place in the history of customs.

But that which is more worthy the attention of posterity, and of far greater consideration than all the customs introduced by caprice, all the laws which time has abolished, or the disputes of crowned heads, which cease with them—

themselves, is the reputation of the arts, which will never cease. This reputation was, during the sixteenth century, the lot of Italy alone. Nothing more strongly calls to our mind the idea of ancient Greece; for as the arts flourished in Greece in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, so they did likewise in Italy, and almost all of them were carried to an height of perfection at the time that Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V. its coasts laid waste by the incursions of Barbarossa, and the heart of the country rent in pieces by the dissensions between the princes and the republics.

Italy had a Thucydides in Guicciardini, who wrote the wars of his time, as Thucydides did those of Peloponnesus; but none of its provinces produced any orators like Demosthenes, Pericles, and Æschines, the government not admitting of that kind of merit any where. The dramatic talent indeed, though far inferior to that which has since been found on the French stage, might be compared to that of Greece, which seemed revived here: and the *Mandragora* of Machiavel alone is perhaps worth all the comedies of Aristophanes. Machiavel was besides, an excellent historian, and a person of great parts, in which respect Aristophanes is by no means to be compared to him; and if, without being biassed by prejudice, we put Homer's *Odyssey*, and Ariosto's *Orlando* into the balance, the Italian will be found to carry the prize from both; though guilty of the same defect with them, that of an intemperate imagination, and a romantic credibility. Ariosto has compensated for this defect by such just allegories

legories, such nice satire, so thorough a knowledge of the human heart, so many comic graces, which are continually succeeding to the strongest strokes of terror, and, in a word, by such innumerable beauties of every kind, that he has found the secret of forming a monster that we cannot but admire.

With regard to the *Iliad*, let every reader ask himself what he would think if he was to read for the first time, this poem, and Tasso's *Jerusalem*, without knowing the name of the authors, or the time when those works were composed, and to judge only from the pleasure he felt. Could he do otherwise than give the preference to Tasso in all respects? Will he not find in the Italian more conduct, more interests, more variety, more justness, and a greater number of graces, with that delicacy which so enhances the sublime? In a few ages more, perhaps, they will be no longer placed in comparison.

It appears beyond contradiction, that painting was in the sixteenth century carried to a degree of perfection never known to the Greeks, who not only wanted that variety of colouring used by the Italians, but were also ignorant of the art of perspective and clair obscure *.

* It favours rather too much of presumption, to affirm the ancients were deficient in these respects; inasmuch as we know not the extent of their art: but that they were not ignorant of perspective, appears from some pieces of their painting, lately dug from the ruins of *Herculaneum*: and even if these had never seen the light, it would not have been difficult to disprove, from *Pliny* and other ancient authors, the common opinions entertained about the imperfections of the Greek painters.

Sculp-

Sculpture, which is a more limited art, and easier to be attained, was that in which the Greeks principally excelled; and it is the glory of the Italians to have come nearest of all others to their models. They have surpassed them in architecture; and, by the consent of all nations, nothing was ever comparable to the chief temple of modern Rome, which is the most beautiful, spacious, and noble edifice that ever appeared in the world.

Music was not thoroughly cultivated till after the sixteenth century; but we have the strongest reason to imagine that it is very far superior to that of the Greeks, as they have left no monument of this art by which we can gather that they sung in parts.

Ingraving upon copper-plate, which was invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, was an art entirely new, and at that time in its perfection. The Germans had the reputation of having invented printing, nearly about the time when engraving was known, by which single piece of service they encreased the knowledge of mankind. The English writers of the Universal History are mistaken in saying that Faust was condemned by the parliament of Paris to be burnt for a magician. It is certain that certain factors who came to Paris to sell the first books that were printed were accused of dealing in the black art, but this accusation had no consequences; and it is only a melancholy proof of the wretched ignorance in which men were then plunged, and which even this art of printing could not for a long time get the better of. The parliament in 1474 ordered all the books

books which had been brought to Paris by one of the factors from Mentz, to be seized; and Lewis XI. was obliged to forbid the parliament from meddling with the affair, and to pay the proprietors the price of their books.

It was not till the end of this glorious century that true philosophy began to beam upon mankind; Galileo was the first who made natural philosophy speak the language of truth and reason: Not long before, Copernicus had, on the borders of Poland, discovered the true system of the world. Galileo was not only the first good natural philosopher, but he wrote at the same time with as much elegance as Plato; and had this inestimable advantage over the Greek philosopher, that he wrote only of true and intelligible matters. The manner in which this great man was treated by the inquisition, towards the latter part of his life, would reflect eternal infamy upon Italy, had not the stain been partly effaced by the reputation of Galileo himself. Seven inquisitors, by a decree made in the year 1616, declared the opinion of Copernicus, which had been so clearly and so beautifully explained by the Italian philosopher, "Not only heretical in point of faith, but absurd in philosophy." This condemnation of a truth, which has since been demonstrated in so many ways, is a strong proof of the force of prejudice, and ought to teach those who have no other merit but their power, to be silent when true philosophy speaks, and not pretend to decide concerning what they do not understand. Galileo was afterwards condemned by this same tribunal to suffer imprisonment

ment and do penance, and was obliged to retract his opinion upon his knees. His sentence was indeed more mild than that of Socrates, but it reflected as much disgrace on the reason of the judges of Rome, as the condemnation of Socrates did on the understandings of the judges of Athens. It has always been the fate of mankind, that truth should be persecuted at its first appearance. Philosophy by being thus curbed could not make so great a progress in the sixteenth century as the polite arts.

The religious disputes which employed the minds of the people in Germany, in the North, and in France and England, checked the advancement of human reason, instead of furthering it. People who fought with blind fury could not find out the road to truth; and these disputes proved an additional malady in the human mind. The liberal arts continued to flourish in Italy, because the contagion of controversy had not found its way thither; and it happened that while the people of France, Germany, and England, were cutting the throats of each other, for things which they did not understand, Italy at rest from her troubles, after the sacking of Rome, by Charles V. cultivated the arts more than ever; and while religious wars spread ruin over other parts, at Rome, and in several other of the cities of Italy, architecture signalized itself by prodigies. Ten popes successively, and almost without interruption, contributed to the finishing the cathedral church of Saint Peter, and encouraged all the other arts. Nothing like this was seen in any

any other part of Europe. In a word, the reputation for genius belonged at this time to Italy alone, as it had formerly been the peculiar privilege of ancient Greece.

The END of VOL. III.



14 Ad i
THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CI.

OF Charles V. and Francis I. till the election of Charles to the empire, in 1519. Of the emperor Maximilian's project to get himself elected pope. Of the battle of Marignan Page 1

CHAP. CII.

Of Charles V. and Francis I. till the battle of Pavia 8

CHAP. CIII.

Francis I. taken prisoner. The taking of Rome. Solymán repulsed. Principalities conferred. Enquiry whether Charles V. aimed at universal monarchy. Solymán proclaimed king of Persia in Babylon 17

CHAP.

CHAP. CIV.

The Conduct of Francis I. His Interview with Charles V. Their disputes and wars. Alliance between the king of France and sultan Solymán. Death of Francis I. 28.

CHAP. CV.

Troubles in Germany. Battle of Mulberg: The greatness, disgrace, and abdication of Charles V. 39.

CHAP. CVI.

Of Leo X. and the Church 44.

CHAP. CVII. and CVIII.

Of Luther and Zuinglius 54.

CHAP. CIX.

The progress of Lutheranism in Sweden, Denmark, and Germany 67.

CHAP. CX.

Of the Anabaptists 72.

CHAP. CXI.

Sequel of the state of Lutheranism and Anabaptism 74.

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. CXII.

Of Geneva, and of Calvin 77

CHAP. CXIII.

Of Calvin and Servetus 81

CHAP. CXIV.

*Of king Henry VII. and of the change of religion
in England* 87

CHAP. CXV.

Sequel of affairs relating to religion in England 101

CHAP. CXVI.

Of religion in Scotland 109

CHAP. CXVII.

*Of religion in France, during the reign of Francis
I. and his successors* 111

CHAP. CXVIII.

Of the Religious Orders 123

CHAP. CXIX.

Of the Inquisition 141

CHAP.

CHAP. CXX.	
<i>Of the discoveries of the Portuguese</i>	154

CHAP. CXXI.	
<i>Of the Japan islands</i>	163

CHAP. CXXII.	
<i>Of Ethiopia or Abyssinia</i>	180

CHAP. CXXIII.	
<i>Of Columbus and America</i>	183

CHAP. CXXIV.	
<i>Of Fernando Cortez</i>	199

CHAP. CXXV.	
<i>Of the conquest of Peru</i>	209

CHAP. CXXVI.	
<i>Of the first voyage round the world</i>	218

CHAP. CXXVII.	
<i>The state of Asia at the time of the discoveries made by the Portuguese. Of China</i>	221

CONTENTS.

vii

CHAP. CXXVIII.

Of the Tartars

230

CHAP. CXXIX.

Of the Mogul

232

CHAP. CXXX.

Of Persia and its revolution, in the sixteenth century. Of its customs, manners, &c.

239

CHAP. CXXXI.

Of the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century. Its customs, government, and revenues

248

CHAP. CXXXII.

Of the battle of Lepanto

257

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Of the coast of Barbary

262

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco

265

CHAP.

C H A P. CXXXV.

Of Philip II. king of Spain 266

C H A P. CXXXVI.

Of the foundation of the republic of the United Provinces 279

C H A P. CXXXVII.

Sequel of the reign of Philip II. The misfortunes of don Sebastian, king of Portugal 296



A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. CI.

Of CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. till the Election of CHARLES to the Empire in 1519. Of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN's Project to get himself elected Pope. Of the Battle of MARIGNAN.

AT the time that Charles V. came to the possession of the imperial throne, the empire was no longer at the disposal of the popes, as it formerly had been, and the emperors had relinquished their claims upon Rome. These reciprocal pretensions resembled the empty titles of king of France, which the English monarchs still continue to assume, and of king of Navarre, which is still retained by the king of France.

The parties of the Guelphs and Gibellines were almost entirely forgotten. Maximilian had

acquired only a few towns in Italy, which he had taken from the Venetians in consequence of his success in the league of Cambray; but he fell upon a new method of bringing both Rome and Italy under the dominion of the emperors; which was, to get himself elected pope after the death of Julius II. as he was become a widower by the death of his wife, who was daughter to Galeas Maria Sforza, duke of Milan. There are still to be seen two letters¹⁵¹², written with his own hand; one to his daughter Margaret, governante of the Low Countries, and the other to the lord of Chievres, fully displaying this intention.

Who can tell what might have happened, if the imperial and pontifical crowns had been both placed on one head *? The system of Europe would

* Had Maximilian been elected pope, he would have resigned the imperial crown to his grandson Charles, as we learn from his own letter to his daughter Margaret, dutchess dowager of Savoy, and governante of the Low Countries. As the letter is curious and characteristic, we shall endeavour to translate it for the reader's amusement, from the barbarous French in which it is written.

"Most dear, and most beloved daughter, I have received the advice you sent me by Guillain Pingun, our wardrobe-keeper; an advice on which we have still more maturely deliberated, and we find no good reason why we should marry downright; but we have carried our deliberation, and will still further, being resolved never more to cohabit with a naked woman.

"And we to-morrow send bishop Gurck to Rome, to the pope, that some means may be found to agree with him, that he shall take us as his coadjutor, in order, that after his death, we may be assured of the papacy, and become a priest, and after be a saint; and after my death you will

of

would have undergone great changes, as it did, though in a different manner, under Charles V.

of necessity be constrained to pay me adoration, of which I shall be very proud.

" On this subject I sent a messenger to the king of Arragon, to desire he would help me to accomplish this aim; which he is content to do, on condition that I resign the empire to our common grandchild Charles, with which I am content also.

" The people and nobility of Rome have made an alliance against the French and Spaniards, and are twenty thousand fighting men; and they have assured me they will be for us, in order to make me a pope, on account of my station, and as being of the empire of Germany, and they will have neither Frenchman nor Arragonese, nor even a Venetian.

" I likewise begin to canvass among the cardinals, with whom two or three hundred thousand ducats would do me great service, considering the partiality which is already betwixt us.

" The king of Arragon has given his ambassador to understand, that he will lay his commands upon the Spanish cardinals, to facilitate our election to the papacy.

" I beg you will keep this affair a little while secret; though in a few days I am afraid every body will know of it; for it is hardly possible to transact such a great affair with secrecy, in which so many people are concerned, and so much money, interest, and canvassing required. Adieu. Given under the hand of your good father, Maximilianus, future pope; the 18th day of September.

" The pope has still his double tertian, and cannot live much longer.

" To my good daughter, the archduchess of Austria, dowager of Savoy, &c. to be delivered into her own hands."

In order to bribe the cardinals, Maximilian had negotiated a loan from the famous rich merchants of Augsbuurg, called the Fuggers, or rather Fouckars, to whom he was to have pawned the imperial ornaments, and made over one third of the papal revenues, until they should have been reimbursed.

1518 Immediately upon the death of Maximilian, when the affair of indulgencies, and Luther's schism, began to divide Germany, Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, of the Two Sicilies, and Navarre, and sovereign of the seventeen provinces of the Low Country, openly canvassed for the empire, at the time when Germany, threatened with an invasion from the Turk, stood in need of such a chief as Francis, or Charles of Austria. The imperial crown had never before been disputed by such potent princes. Francis I. who was elder than his competitor by five years, seemed the most deserving of it, by the great actions which he had lately performed.

Immediately after his accession to the crown of France, in 1515, the republic of Genoa had, through the cabals of its own citizens, put itself again under the French dominion; upon which Francis hastened into Italy, as his predecessors had done.

The first thing to be done was to conquer Milan, which had been lost by Lewis XII. and wrest it again from the unfortunate family of the Sforzas. In this enterprize he was joined by the Venetians, who wanted to recover Verona, which had been taken from them by Maximilian; and he had against him pope Leo X. an active and intriguing man, and the emperor Maximilian, now worn out with age, and incapable of doing any thing: but his most dangerous opponents were the Swiss, who were always at enmity with France, since their disputes with Lewis XII. and continually spirited up by Matthew Schärer, cardinal of Sion, and who

who at that time took the title of defenders of the pontiffs, and protectors of the Italian princes; titles which had for above ten years been more than imaginary.

The king, while he was marching towards Milan, continued to amuse them with negotiations; and the cardinal of Sion, on his side, who had taught this nation the arts of dissimulation and deceit, amused the king with vain promises, till the Swiss, having certain advice of the arrival of the military chest, thought they might at one stroke make themselves masters of this treasure and the king's person, and deliver Italy from its fears.

Accordingly five and twenty thousand Swiss, wearing St. Peter's key as a badge 1515 on their shoulders and breasts, and armed, part of them with the long spears already mentioned, and part with the large two handled swords, fell suddenly, with a great cry, upon the king's camp at Marignan. This was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had ever been fought in Italy. The French and Swiss, confounded with each other amidst the darkness of the night, waited for day-light to renew the combat. We know that the king slept upon the breech of a cannon, within fifty paces of one of the enemy's battalions. In this battle the Swiss always attacked, and the French stood upon the defensive; which is in my opinion a sufficient proof, that the French may, on some occasions, be possessed of that passive courage which is sometimes as necessary as the impetuous

• See the preceding chapter.

ardour by which they are generally distinguished *. It was particularly noble to see a young prince, of only one and twenty years of age, preserve a cool and steady conduct during so sharp and long an engagement. As the battle lasted so long, it was hardly possible for the Swiss to gain the victory, because the black bands of Germany, who were then with the king, formed an infantry as firm as their own, and they had no horsemen. It is even surprising that they were able, for two days together, to stand against the attacks of those large war-horses, which were continually falling upon their broken battalions. The old marshal de Trivulca called this battle the fight of the giants. It was generally agreed, that the honour of this victory was chiefly owing to the famous constable Charles of Bourbon, who was afterwards so ill rewarded, and carried his revenge to such extremities. The Swiss at length gave way, but without suffering a total defeat, and fled, leaving upwards of ten thousand of their countrymen on the field of battle, and abandoned the Milanese to the conquerors. ¹⁵¹⁵ Maximilian Sforza was carried prisoner into France, as Lewis the Moor had been, but on more gentle terms; for he became a subject, whereas Lewis was a captive; and this sovereign of the finest country in Italy, was suffered to live in France on a moderate pension.

* If our author intended to adduce this battle as a proof of that passive or patient courage in the French, he ought to have omitted that following sentence, in which he freely owns that the infantry of the French king consisted of the black bands of Germany.

Francis,

Francis, after this victory of Marignan, and the conquest of the Milanese, entered into an alliance with pope Leo X. and even with the Swiss nation, who at length chose rather to furnish the French with troops, than to fight against them. He obliged the emperor Maximilian, by dint of arms, to restore Verona to the Venetians, which they have ever since continued to possess. He procured the dutchy of Urbino for Leo X. which still belongs to the church: in short, he was at that time looked upon as master of Italy, and the greatest prince in Europe; and as a person the most worthy of the empire, which he stood for after the death of Maximilian. Fame had not as yet sounded the name of young Charles of Austria, which was one reason that determined the electors to give him the preference. They were apprehensive of being held too much in subjection by the king of France; whereas they did not so much fear the power of a master, whose dominions, though very extensive, lay at a considerable distance from each other. Charles then was elected emperor, notwithstanding that Francis I. 1519 had laid out four hundred thousand crowns in purchasing the suffrages.

C H A P. CII.

Of CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. till the
Battle of PAVIA.

EVERY one knows the great rivalship which from this time arose between these two princes; and indeed, how could they be otherwise than continually at war with each other? Charles, as sovereign of the Low Countries, had a claim upon Artois and several other towns; and as king of Naples and Sicily, beheld Francis I. ready to claim those dominions on the same title as Lewis XII. As king of Spain he had Navarre to defend, which he had usurped; and lastly, in quality of emperor, he could not but defend the great fief of Milan against the pretensions of the house of France. How many reasons were here for laying Europe waste!

Pope Leo X. at first endeavoured to hold the ballance between these two powerful rivals. But how could he do it? Whom was he to chuse for vassal, and king of the Two Sicilies, Charles or Francis? What would become of the ancient law made by the pontiffs in the thirteenth century, "That no king of Naples could ever be emperor?" Leo was not sufficiently powerful to enforce the execution of this law, which, however respected it might be at Rome, was not so in the empire. The pope then was very soon obliged to grant Charles V. that dispensation which he thought proper to ask, and to receive a vassal who made him tremble;

tremble; but no sooner had he granted it, than he heartily repented of what he had done.

That balance which Leo was for holding, was actually in the hands of Henry VIII. Accordingly the emperor and the king of France courted his friendship, and both of them endeavoured to gain over his prime minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey.

Francis I. began by settling that famous interview with the king of Eng- 1520
land, near Calais. After this, Charles left Spain to pay a visit to Henry at Canterbury, and Henry conducted him at his return as far as Calais and Gravelines*.

It was natural for the king of England to side with the emperor, as by joining with him, he had a prospect of getting back those provinces in France, which had formerly been the patrimony of his ancestors; whereas, by entering into an alliance with Francis, he could gain nothing in Germany, where he had no pretensions.

While he was thus spinning out time, Francis began this never-ending quarrel by seizing upon Navarre. And here, though I should never think of quitting sight of the sketch of Europe, for the sake of hunting after authorities to refute the assertions of some historians; yet

* Henry parted from the emperor at Canterbury, and that same day embarked at Dover for Calais, in order to meet the king of France; but, by that time, Wolsey is said to have been brought over to the interests of the emperor; indeed Henry, after his interview with Francis, returned the emperor's visit at Gravelines.

I cannot forbear observing how much Puffendorff is sometimes mistaken. He says, that this attempt upon Navarre was made in the year 1516, immediately after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, by John d'Albret, who had been driven from that kingdom; and adds, that Charles had always before his eyes his *plus ultra*, and was every day forming great designs. Now, here are a number of mistakes. In 1516 Charles was only fifteen years of age, and had not then assumed his device of *plus ultra*: lastly, it was not John d'Albret who invaded Navarre in 1516, after the death of Ferdinand, for John died himself in that very year: it was Francis I. then who made the transient conquest of this kingdom in the name of Henry d'Albret, not in 1516, but in 1521.

Neither Charles VIII. Lewis XII. nor Francis I. kept the conquests they made. Navarre was hardly subdued, when it was taken again by the Spaniards; and from that time the French were obliged to be continually fighting against the Spanish troops in all the extremities of the kingdom, on the borders of Fontarabia, Flanders, and Italy; and affairs remained in this situation till the beginning of our present century.

At the same time that Charles's Spanish troops were conquering Navarre, his German troops penetrated into Picardy, and his emissaries were raising the Italians in his favour.

Pope Leo, who was always fluctuating between Francis I. and Charles V. was at this time in the emperor's interest. He had had reason to complain of the French, for having endeavoured to take Reggio from him as a part of

the territories of Milan, and they had made their new neighbours their enemies by several unseasonable acts of violence. Lautrec, governor of Milan, had caused the lord of Pallavicini to be quartered, on suspicion of having attempted to raise an insurrection in the Milanese, and had given his forfeited estates to his own brother, de Foix. This caused an universal discontent, which the French administration took no care to appease, either by prudent laws, or sending over a necessary sum of money.

It availed them nothing that they had a number of Swiss in their pay; the imperial army had the same; and the famous cardinal of Sion, who was always so fatal to the kings of France, having found means to send those who were in the French army home to their own country, Lautrec, the governor of Milan, was soon driven from his capital, and afterwards quite out of the country. At this time died Leo X. just as his temporal monarchy was becoming strong, and the spiritual one falling to decay. 1521

The power of Charles V. and the wisdom of his council, now appeared in their full lustre. He had sufficient interest to get his preceptor Adrian elected pope, though a native of Utrecht, and in a manner unknown at Rome. His council likewise, which was far superior to that of Francis I. in abilities, artfully stirred up Henry VIII. against France, who hoped at least to be able to dismember that country, of which his ancestors had formerly been in possession. Charles made a voyage to England in person, to forward the armament,

and hasten its departure: soon afterwards he likewise contrived to detach the Venetians from their alliance with France, and bring them over to his interest; and, to complete the whole, a faction which he maintained in Genoa, assisted by his troops, drove out the French, and elected a new doge, who put himself under the emperor's protection. Thus, by his superior power and skill, did he hem in and press the French monarchy on all sides.

Under these circumstances Francis I. who lavished great sums on his pleasures, and kept but little money for his necessary affairs, was obliged to take a large grate of massy silver, with which Lewis XI. had surrounded the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, and which weighed near seven thousand marks. The money was certainly of more use to the state than to St. Martin, but a shift of this kind was a mark of pressing necessity. Some years before he had sold twenty new counsellors places in the parliament of Paris. This setting up of justice to auction, and carrying off the ornaments of the tombs, plainly shewed a great disorder in the finances. He now saw himself alone against all Europe; and yet so far was he from being discouraged, that he made resistance in every part, and provided so effectually for the security of the frontiers of Picardy, that the English could never force an entrance into France, though they had Calais, the key of the kingdom, in their hands*. He kept matters

* The duke of Suffolk, with a small number of English forces, being joined by a body of Imperialists, under the
count

upon an equal footing in Flanders, and suffered no encroachment on the side of Spain: in short, though he had no longer any place left in Italy, but the castle of Cremona, this resolute monarch resolved to go in person and reduce the Milanese, that fatal object of ambition with the kings of France.

But neither St. Martin's grate, nor the sale of twenty new counsellors places, were sufficient to answer so many different calls, and to provide for an attempt upon the Milanese, attacked as he was on all sides. The royal demesnes were therefore now for the first time alienated, and an augmentation made in the taxes of all kinds. This was one great advantage which the kings of France had over their neighbours: Charles V. could not carry his absolute authority to this length in his dominions; but this fatal power of ruining themselves was the source of numberless evils to France.

Among other causes of the misfortunes which befel Francis I. we may reckon his injustice to the constable of Bourbon, to whom he was

count de Bure, took Bray by assault, passed the river Soame, reduced Roye and Montdidier, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris. Had Henry been heartily engaged, and the emperor acted with vigour, perhaps all France might have been conquered; but the allied generals quarrelled, and parted; the emperor had disabled Wolfey, in promoting Adrian, and afterwards Julian de Medicis, to the papacy, and the cardinal threw cold water on the expedition. Besides, Henry himself began to open his eyes, and dread the great power of Charles, which it was certainly his interest to circumscribe,

indebted

indebted for the victory of Marignan. It was not thought sufficient to mortify him on all occasions, but Louisa of Savoy, dutchess of Angouleme, the king's mother, being desirous of marrying the constable, who was lately become a widower, and having been refused by him, resolved to ruin the man she could not wed; and preferred a suit against him, which was deemed highly unjust by all the lawyers of those times, and which no other but a powerful queen-mother could have gained.

This suit was for no less than all the possessions of the family of Bourbon. The judges suffered themselves to be prevailed on by the queen's solicitations, and, by a sentence of sequestration, stripped the constable at once of all his estates, who thereupon sent his friend, the bishop of Autun, to request the king at least to put a stop to the proceedings; but the king would not even see the bishop. Upon this the constable, who had already been strongly solicited by Charles V. to enter into his service, now, in a fit of despair and anger, accepted the offer. It would have been truly heroic in him to have continued to do his duty to his country, though ill treated; but there is another kind of heroism, that of revenge; unfortunately Charles of Bourbon made choice of the latter, quitted France, and entered into the emperor's service. Few men ever tasted the fatal pleasure of revenge more fully than himself.

The constable was immediately made generalissimo of the armies of the empire, and repaired to Milan, which had been entered by the French under admiral Bonnivet, his greatest enemy.

enemy. A general who knew the strength and weakness of all the troops of France could not but have a great advantage; but Charles had a still greater: almost all the Italian princes were in his interest; the people hated the French government; and lastly, he had the best generals in Europe in his service; such as the Marquis de Pescara, Lannoy, and John de Medicis, names famous even in these times.

Admiral Bonnivet could by no means stand in competition with these generals; and had he even been superior to them in abilities, he was far inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which besides were very ill payed: he was therefore quickly compelled to fly, and was attacked in his retreat at Biagrasse. The famous chevalier Bayard*, who, though he never commanded

* Pierre du Terrail, chevalier de Bayard, was a real knight-errant, and deemed the flower of chivalry, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Dauphine. His great grandfather's father fell at the feet of king John in the battle of Poitiers: his great grandfather was slain at the battle of Agincourt: his grandfather lost his life in the battle of Montlehery; and his father was desperately wounded in the battle of Guinegaste, commonly called the Battle of the Spurs. The chevalier himself had signalized himself from his youth by incredible acts of personal valour; first of all, at the battle of Fornova: in the reign of Lewis XII. he, with his single arm, defended the bridge at Naples against two hundred knights: in the reign of Francis I. he fought so valiantly at the battle of Marignan, under the eye of his sovereign, that, after the action, Francis insisted upon being knighted by his hand, after the manner of chivalry. Having given his king the slap on the shoulder, and dubbed him knight, he addressed himself to his sword in these terms: "How happy art thou, in having this day conferred the order

manded in chief, yet was truly deserving the surname of "The Knight without Fear or Reproach," was mortally wounded in this engagement, in which the French were put to the rout. Almost every reader knows, that when Charles of Bourbon, on seeing him in this condition, expressed his concern for him, the dying Bayard made him this reply; "It is not I who am to be pitied, but yourself, who fight against your king and country."

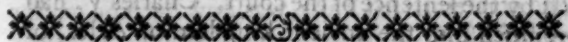
This prince's desertion had nearly proved the ruin of the kingdom. He had certain litigious claims upon Provence, which he might secure to himself by the force of arms, in the room of the real rights of which he had been bereft by the sentence of the court. Charles V. had promised him the ancient kingdom of Arles, of

order of knighthood on such a virtuous and powerful monarch. Certes, my good sword, thou shalt henceforth be kept as a relique, and honoured above all others, and never will I wear thee except against the infidels." So saying, he cut a caper twice, and then sheathed his sword. He behaved with such extraordinary courage and conduct on a great number of delicate occasions, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and held in universal esteem. It was at the retreat of Rebec, that his back was broke with a musket-shot. Perceiving himself mortally wounded, he exclaimed, "Jesus, my God, I am a dead man." Then he kissed the cross of his sword, repeated some prayers aloud, caused himself to be laid under a tree, with a stone supporting his head, and his face towards the enemy, observing, that he would not, in the last scene of his life, begin to turn his back on the enemy. He sent a dutiful message to the king, by the lord of Alegre; and having made a military will by word of mouth, was visited and caressed by the constable of Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara. He died upon the spot, in the forty-eighth year of his age,

which

which Provence would be the chief part. King Henry VIII. gave him one hundred thousand crowns per month, for the expences of this year's war. He had lately taken Toulon, and was now besieging Marseilles. 1524

Francis I. had doubtless great reason to repent of what he had done; but affairs were not as yet desperate; he had still a flourishing army on foot, with which he hastened to the relief of Marseilles, and having driven the enemy out of Provence, he fell again upon the dutchy of Milan. The constable then returned back to Germany, to raise fresh troops; and for some time during this interval Francis I. thought himself master of Italy.



C H A P. CIII.

FRANCIS I. taken prisoner. The taking of ROME. SOLYMAN repulsed. Principalities conferred. Enquiry whether CHARLES V. aimed at universal Monarchy. SOLYMAN proclaimed King of PERSIA in BABYLON.

WE now come to one of the most striking examples of those turns of fortune, which are in fact no other than the necessary concatenation of all events in the world. While Charles V. on the one side, was employed in Spain in regulating the ranks of his subjects, and forming the etiquette; on the other, Francis I. already become famous throughout Europe by his victory at Marignan, and as
courageous

courageous as the chevalier Bayard, accompanied by his heroic nobles, and at the head of a fine army, was in the midst of Milan. Pope Clement VII. who, not without good reason, stood in fear of the emperor, openly declared for the king of France; and John de Medicis, one of the greatest generals of that age, fought for him at the head of a chosen body of veteran troops, and yet he was defeated at Pavia; and notwithstanding he performed acts of valour which were alone sufficient to immortalize his name, was made a prisoner, together with the chief nobles of his king. To add to his misfortune, he was taken by the only French officer who had followed the duke of Bourbon; and this very man, whom he had condemned at Paris, was now become master of his life*. This gentleman, whose name was Pom-

* Francis in person, at the head of two thousand men at arms, charged with such impetuosity, that Pescara was unhorsed and dangerously wounded, and the whole body he commanded must have been ruined, had not he been succoured by the duke de Bourbon, who had already made a terrible carnage, and now fell upon the French men at arms with irresistible fury. All that the great officers now surviving could do, was to assemble and defend the person of their sovereign, who fought like a knight errant, sword in hand. La Pelisse, la Tremouille, Galeas de Sanseverino, and Bonnivet, fell by his side, and he was surrounded by the imperial cavalry; the officers of which perceiving by his armour, that he was some person of great rank, resolved to take him alive, and for that purpose slew his horse. In his fall he received a wound in the leg, notwithstanding which he started up, and still fought on foot with surprising prowess. Pomperant, who had accompanied the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, chancing to come up, and seeing the king in such a dangerous situation, drew his sword, and joining,

Pomperan, had at once the honour of preserving him from death, and making him his prisoner. It is certain that the duke of Bourbon, one of his victors, came that very day to pay him a visit, and to enjoy his triumph over a fallen enemy. But this interview was not the only misfortune which Francis had to encounter on that fatal

joining Francis, helped to keep off the soldiers who pressed upon him in order to take him alive : at the same time he desired that the duke of Bourbon might be called to receive the king as a prisoner. Francis, transported with rage, declared he would rather die than deliver his sword to a traitor ; then turning to Pomperant, " Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, (said he) to him I will surrender." That officer accordingly approaching, the king said to him in the Italian language, " Mr. de Lannoy, there is the sword of a king who deserves some commendation, seeing, before he parts with it, he has made use of it in shedding the blood of many of your army, and who is not a prisoner through cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knees, and respectfully kissed his hand ; then presented the king with his own sword, saying, " I beg your majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which hath this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen : it does not become the emperor's officer to leave a king disarmed, even though a prisoner." He was immediately conveyed to the viceroy's tent, where his wounds were dressed, and he was treated with all possible respect. Lannoy is said to have begged his majesty would see the duke of Bourbon, who at his request was admitted, and kneeling kissed his hand : but some historians assert that he positively refused to see the traitor. He ought not to have provoked the duke's resentment by acts of tyranny and injustice, which by the law of nature cancel the obligation of allegiance, for the duties of allegiance and protection are reciprocal. Next day Francis was conducted to the strong fortress of Pizighitone, where he remained for some time under the guard of Alrazon the Spanish governor of the place, who preserved towards him all the punctilios of decorum.

day.

day. Never was letter more true than that which this prince wrote to the queen, his mother, after the battle : " Madam, all is lost, our honour excepted." Every thing seemed to foretel his inevitable ruin. His frontiers were unguarded, his treasury exhausted, a general consternation prevailed throughout all orders of the state, and violent dissensions in the council of the queen, who was regent during his absence. Lastly, the king of England threatened France with an invasion, and to revive the fatal times of Edward III. and Henry V.

Charles V. without having as yet unsheathed his sword, kept a king and a hero prisoner in his capital of Madrid: and here Charles for once seems to have neglected his good fortune; for instead of entering France in person, to take advantage of the victory his generals had gained in Italy, he remained idle in Spain; and in room of seizing Milan for himself, he thought it necessary to bestow the investiture of that dutchy on Francis Sforza, that he might not give umbrage to the rest of Italy. Henry VIII. likewise, instead of joining with Charles to dismember France, became jealous of his rising greatness, and entered into a treaty with the queen regent. In a word, the captivity of Francis I. which to all appearance should have occasioned such great revolutions, produced only a ransom, mutual reproaches, the lye given, and idle challenges †, which threw a kind

† In the year 1528, the kings of France and England having declared war against the emperor, by the mouths of two heralds admitted to a public audience, Charles in his reply

a kind of ridicule on these terrible events, and seemed to degrade the two chief personages in Christendom.

It
reply declared, that Francis had broke his word, and charged the French herald to remind his master of the proposal which he (the emperor) had made two years before, namely, that their difference should be determined by single combat. Francis no sooner received this message, than he sent a written challenge to the emperor by an herald, who recited it aloud to him, and in public, at Valladolid. Charles not only accepted it without hesitation, but immediately dispatched a herald, called Bourgogne, to Paris with a written paper, proposing that the duel should be fought in a little island of the river that runs by Fontarabia. Bourgogne with much difficulty obtained an audience of Francis, seated on his throne, in the midst of his princes and nobility: but before he opened his lips, the French king told him he had nothing to do but give security for the field of battle. The herald assured him that he would; but desired permission to say what he had in charge from the emperor. The king declared he would hear nothing but the assignment and security of the place, and retired to another apartment, whither he was followed by Bourgogne, who observed, that if he would not hear him, he could not pretend to deliver the cartel, nor specify the place. He said he had a writing which would inform his majesty; but for his part he could not separate what might appear, superstitious from what was necessary; and he demanded, that he should either have the same permission which was granted to the French heralds, in Spain, or receive an authentic act of these transactions, for his own justification. This last was granted, together with a safe-conduct for his return: but still he continued to solicit an audience, protesting that the paper described the place of combat; that the king was bound in honour either to receive it with his own hand, or allow it to be published; and that it would be his fault, if the duel was not actually fought. In a word, such was the perseverance and industry of this officious messenger, that he would not leave the kingdom until he was threatened to be hanged, and even a gibbet erected for that purpose. Such is the account which Antonio de Vera gives

of

It is true, that by the unhappy treaty of Madrid, the captive king gave up Burgundy; but he soon afterwards was sufficiently powerful to refuse complying with this article of the treaty.

1526 He lost the lordships of Flanders and Artois; but that was only losing an empty homage. His two sons remained prisoners in his room, as hostages for his performance of the treaty; but he purchased their liberty afterwards for a sum of money: indeed their ransom cost two millions of gold crowns, which greatly distressed the kingdom at that time; and if we consider what it cost France to ransom Francis I. king John, and St. Lewis, and how much money was wasted by the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles, and the French king, and the sums expended in the wars against the English, we shall find it a subject of astonishment that Francis should find so many resources afterwards. These, however, were owing to the successive acquisitions of Dauphiny, Provence, and Brittany, and the annexing of the dutchy of Burgundy to the crown, and to the flourishing condition of the French trade, which helped in some measure to repair the misfortunes of the war, and the kingdom enabled to bear up against the great successes of Charles V †.

For-

of this transaction; from which it would appear that Francis I. notwithstanding his boasted heroism, and the advantages of person he had over Charles, was not at all inclined to this method of determination.

† It was not owing to any internal resources of commerce that France owed her safety at this period; but, as our author afterwards observes, to the embarrassments that hindered the emperor from improving his good fortune.

The

Fortune, which had thrown a king into his power, made him the next year master of the person of pope Clement VII. without his having had the least share in bringing it about, or indeed without his having so much as thought of it. The apprehension of his power had united against him the pope, the king of England, and the one half of Italy. The same duke of Burgundy who had been so fatal an enemy to Francis I. proved the same to Clement VII. He commanded on the frontiers of Milan, with an army composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans. This army had been victorious, but was very badly paid, and in want of every thing : he therefore proposed to his officers and men, to march to Rome and plunder that city by way of payment ; a plan of the self same kind with that of the Goths and Heruli of old. The soldiers gladly embraced the offer, and instantly began their march, notwithstanding a truce had been lately signed between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. They arrive before Rome, they scale the walls of the city, and the duke of Bourbon is slain in 1527 mounting one of the ladders. Rome, however, is taken, given up to plunder, and sacked ; and the pope, who had retreated for safety to the castle of St. Angelo, is taken prisoner there.

The taking of Rome, and making the pope prisoner, did not, however, render Charles any

The troubles of Germany excited by the progress of Lutheranism ; the irruption of the Turks in Hungary ; the dissensions of Italy ; the intrigues of the Venetians ; and the caprice of Henry VIII. king of England, who shifted occasionally from one side to the other, and kept both in alarm.

more

more the absolute master of Italy than the taking of Francis I. had procured him an entry into France. The scheme of universal monarchy then, which is generally attributed to this emperor, is as false and chimerical as that afterwards imputed to Lewis XIV. For so far was Charles from keeping Rome, or subduing all Italy, that he gave the pope his liberty for four hundred thousand gold crowns, (of which, however, he 1528 only received one hundred thousand) as he had before released the children of France for two millions of crowns.

It may appear surprising, that an emperor, who was master of Spain, of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, of Naples and Sicily, and lord paramount of Lombardy, and already in possession of Mexico, and whose subjects were then making the conquest of Peru for him, should have made so little advantage of his good fortune. But the first sums which had been sent him from Mexico, were swallowed up by the sea; and he received no settled tribute from America, as his successor Philip II. afterwards did. The troubles occasioned in Germany by Lutheranism perplexed him on one side, and on the other he was alarmed by the progress of the Turks in Hungary. He was obliged at the same time to resist the attacks of sultan Solyman and Francis I. to keep the German princes in subjection, to manage the Italians, and the Venetians; and to fix that wavering prince, Henry VIII. So that though he still continued to fill the first place on the theatre of Europe, he was very far from approaching to universal monarchy.

His

His generals likewise found it very difficult to drive the French out of Italy, who had penetrated in 1528, as far as the kingdom of Naples. The system of a balance of power was then established in Europe: for immediately after the taking of Francis I. the English and the powers of Italy entered into a league with France to counterbalance the emperor's power. They did the same upon the pope's being taken.

A peace was now concluded at Cambray, upon the plan of the treaty of 1529 Madrid, by which Francis had been set at liberty. It was at the signing of this peace that Charles gave up the children of France, and desisted from his pretensions upon Burgundy, for the consideration of two millions of crowns.

Charles now left Spain to go to Rome, and receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and to kiss the feet of him whom he had so lately detained a captive. He disposed of all Lombardy indeed as absolute master; for the invested Francis Sforza in the duchy 1529 of Milan, and Alexander de Medicis in that of Tuscany: he named a duke of Mantua, and obliged the pope to restore Modena 1530 and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but all this he did for a pecuniary consideration, and without reserving to himself any other right than that of lord paramount.

So many princes at his feet gave him that external air of grandeur which is so apt to deceive; but he was truly great in marching to drive Solymán out of Hungary, at the head of a hundred thousand men, assisted by his brother Ferdinand and all the protestant prin-

ces of Germany, who signalized themselves for the defence of Europe. This was the first beginning of his active life and personal glory. We now find him at once fighting against the Turks, preventing the French from passing the Alps, appointing a council, and returning again into Spain, in order to carry the war
 1535 into Africa, landing before Tunis, gaining a victory over the usurper of that kingdom, appointing a king of Tunis, tributary to Spain, and delivering eighteen thousand Christians from captivity, whom he brings home in triumph to Europe, and who succoured by his bounty, return each to his native country, and exalt the name of Charles V. to the skies. All the princes of Christendom now seemed little in comparison with him, and all other glory seemed lost in the superior lustre of his fame.

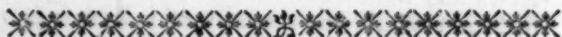
His good fortune also ordered it so that Solymán, who was a more formidable enemy than Francis I. was at that time employed in a war against the Persians. He had already taken
 1534 Tauris, from whence directing his march towards antient Assyria, he made himself master of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and of Curdistán, which is the antient Susiana, and entered the city of Bagdat, the new Babylon, in triumph. After this, he caused himself to be inaugurated king of Persia, by the caliph of Bagdat. The caliphs had for a long time been divested of every thing in Persia, excepting the honour of giving the turban to the sultans, and girding the scymetar to the side of the strongest power. Mahmoud, Jengis, Tamerlane, and Sophi Ismael, had accustomed the Persians to change masters. Solymán, after
 having

having taken the one half of Persia from Thamas, the son of Ismael, returned victorious to Constantinople. After his departure his generals lost a part of their master's conquests in Persia. Thus were things kept in balance; kingdom fell upon kingdom; the Persians attacked the Turks; the Turks Germany and Italy; and Germany and Spain fell upon France, and had there been any other nations further westward, these would have become so many new enemies to Spain and France.

Europe had experienced no violent shocks since the fall of the Roman empire; and no emperor since Charlemagne had ever shone with such glory as Charles V. The one holds the first rank within the memory of man as a conqueror, and the founder of states; the other, with as much power, had the most difficult character to support. Charlemagne, with the numerous armies trained by Pepin and Charles Martel, made an easy conquest of the enervated Lombards and the wild Saxons. Charles V. had always the kingdom of France, the Turkish empire, and the half of Germany to guard against.

England, which in the eighth century was separated from the rest of the world, became in the sixteenth a powerful kingdom, which it was always necessary to keep well with. But what renders the situation of Charles V. greatly superior to that of Charlemagne is, that having almost the same extent of country in Europe under his dominion, this country was always better peopled, in a more flourishing state, and abounded more in great men of every kind. There was not one great trading city at the first revival of the empire under Charlemagne: nor were any

names but those of the most powerful handed down to posterity. The single province of Flanders was of more value in the sixteenth century than the whole empire in the ninth : and Italy in the time of pope Paul III. is to Italy in the time of Adrian I. and Leo III. what the modern architecture is to the Gothic. I shall take no notice here of the liberal arts, for which this century might have vied with the Augustan age, nor of the happiness of Charles V. who could reckon so many great geniuses among his subjects ; this work being dedicated only to public affairs and the general sketch of the world.



C H A P. CIV.

The Conduct of FRANCIS I. His Interview with CHARLES V. Their Disputes and Wars. Alliance between the king of FRANCE and sultan SOLYMAN. Death of FRANCIS I.

THE conduct of Francis I. who on seeing his rival thus disposing of kingdoms, endeavoured once more to get possession of Milan, which he had solemnly renounced by two treaties, and for this purpose called in the assistance of Solyman, and his Turks, whom Charles V. had driven out of Europe, might be agreeable to good politics ; but it stood in need of great success to render it glorious.

This prince might have quitted his pretensions to Milan, the inexhaustible source of war, and the burying place of so many of his nation,

nation, as Charles had relinquished his rights to Burgundy, which were founded on the treaty of Madrid: he would then have enjoyed a happy peace, would have adorned, well governed, and improved his kingdom, much more than he did in the latter part of his life; and might have given full scope to those virtues he really possessed. He was great in that he was an encourager of the arts; but the unhappy desire he had to be duke of Milan, and vassal of the empire, whether the emperor would or not, proved very prejudicial to his glory. Being reduced to seek the assistance of Barbarossa, he was severely reproached by that corsair for not having properly seconded him, and was afterwards openly called a renegado, and a perjured wretch, in a full assembly of the imperial diet.

How fatal a contrast was it to cause a number of poor Lutherans, among whom were several Germans, to be burnt in a slow fire, at Paris, and at the same time to enter into an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, to whom he was obliged to excuse himself for this cruelty, and even to affirm that there were no Germans among those who had suffered. How can historians have the meanness to approve of these punishments, and to call them the effects of the pious zeal of a prince, given up to his passions and pleasures, and void even of the shadow of that piety they pretend to attribute to him! If this was a religious act, it was cruelly falsified by the prodigious number of catholic captives whom his treaty with Solymán gave up to the chains of Barbarossa,

on the coasts of Italy*. If it was an act of policy, we may by the same rule approve of the persecutions of the Pagans, in which so many Christians were sacrificed. Charles V. put no Lutheran to death; and he set at liberty eighteen thousand captives, instead of delivering them up to the Turks.

In the fatal expedition of Milan, it was necessary to pass through Piedmont; but the duke of Savoy refused the king a passage: upon which he attacked that prince at the time that the emperor was returning victorious from Tunis. Another cause for wasting Savoy by fire and sword, was, that the mother of Francis I. was of that family, and some pretensions upon certain parts of that state had long been a subject of discord. The wars of Milan in like manner arose from the marriage of Lewis XII. There is hardly any hereditary state in Europe which has not suffered by war on account of marriage. By this means the public law has become the greatest scourge of the people, as almost all the clauses in contracts and treaties have only been explained by the sword. The duke's dominions were ravaged, and this invasion of Francis was what procured Geneva its full liberty, and made it as it were the new capital of the reformed religion. It happened that this same king who put the innovators in religion to the most cruel deaths in Paris, who made public

* In consequence of the French king's alliance with the Turks, the famous Barbarossa of Algiers made a descent on the kingdom of Naples, reduced Castro and Brindisi, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and made slaves of the inhabitants.

processions to atone for their errors, who said that "he would not spare even his own children if they were guilty of the like," was every where else the principal support of those whom he endeavoured to root out of his own dominions.

Father Daniel is guilty of great injustice in saying that the city of Geneva at that time broke into open rebellion against the duke of Savoy. This duke was not its sovereign; it was a free imperial city, and like Cologne and many other cities shared in the government with its bishop. The bishop had ceded his rights to the duke, and these rights being contested, had been put in arbitration for twelve years before. This writer then should rather have observed that Geneva was at that time a small and poor city; and that since it became free, it has been twice as well peopled, industrious, and trading.

In the mean time, what fruits did Francis I. reap from so many enterprizes? Charles V. arrives from Rome, obliges the French to repass the Alps, enters Provence with fifty thousand men, advances as far as Marseilles, lays siege to Arles, while another of his armies lays waste Champagne and Picardy. Thus the fruit of this new attempt upon Italy was only exposing France itself to imminent danger.

Provence and Dauphiny were saved only by the wise conduct of the marechal de Montmorenci, as they have in our time been by another marechal of France. We may draw a great advantage I think from history by comparing times and events. It is a pleasure truly worthy of a good citizen to examine into the means by which

two victorious armies were driven out of the same state upon the same occasions. Those who live amidst the indolence of great cities, know little of the pains and efforts that are required to get provisions in a country which has hardly sufficient to maintain its own inhabitants, to find money to pay the troops, to establish the necessary credit, to guard the banks of rivers, and to dislodge an enemy from the advantageous posts they may occupy. But such details do not enter into our plan; and it is only necessary to examine them at the instant of action. They are materials of the edifice, which are no longer to be considered when the building is completed.

That which more particularly characterises the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I. and the shocks which they gave to Europe, is an odd mixture of openness and double dealing, frantic anger, and cordial reconciliation, the most brutal insults buried in an instantaneous oblivion, together with the deepest artifice and most generous confidence.

Could one expect to find Charles and Francis having a familiar interview with each other, like two neighbouring gentlemen, after the captivity of Madrid, after the lie given to the teeth, after reciprocal challenges, and duels proposed in the presence of the pope, in full consistory, after the French king's league with sultan Solymán; and, in short, after the emperor had been accused, as publicly as unjustly, of having caused the first dauphin to be poisoned, and even while the frontiers of both kingdoms were yet smoking with the blood of so many thousands slain?

And

And yet these two great rivals had an interview in the road of Aigue-mort*. This meeting had been mediated by the pope after the conclusion of a truce. Charles even came on shore, paid the first visit, and put himself into the hands of his declared enemy: this was the consequence of the spirit of the times. Charles always distrusted the promises of the monarch; but he trusted without scruple to the honour of the knight.

The duke of Savoy was for a long time the victim of this interview. These two monarchs, who at the same time that they met with so much familiarity, were always concerting measures against each other, kept possession of the duke's places; the king of France, to secure himself a passage upon occasion, into the dutchy of Milan, and the emperor to prevent him from it.

Charles V. after this interview at Aigue-mort made a journey to Paris, 1539, which is far more surprising than those of the emperors Sygismund and Charles IV.

At his return to Spain he heard that the city of Ghent, in Flanders, had revolted. How far this city had a right to maintain its privileges, and how far it had abused them, was a problem that force only could resolve. Charles impatient to reduce and punish it, for this purpose demanded of the king a passage through his dominions, who sent the dauphin and the

* A small town of Languedoc in France, which antiently stood near the sea, and had an harbour; but at present is two French leagues distant from it, and its harbour choked up.

duke of Orleans to conduct him as far as Bayonne, and went in person to meet him at Chatelleraut.

The emperor, who was fond of travelling, took a pleasure in shewing himself to all the people of Europe, and indulging in the glory he had acquired. This journey was a continued series of feasting and merriment, and was undertaken for the sake of hanging twenty-four poor citizens. He might easily have spared himself so much fatigue, by sending a few troops to the governante of the Low Countries; and it may even seem surprising that he had not left a sufficient number in Flanders to suppress this revolt; but it was the custom of those times to disband the troops immediately after a truce or a peace.

The design of Francis I. in receiving the emperor in his dominions with so much parade and civility, was to obtain from him at length a promise of the investiture of the dutchy of Milan; and it was in this idle view that he refused the homage offered him by the inhabitants of Ghent: but he neither got Ghent nor Milan.

It has been pretended that the constable de Montmorenci was put out of the king's favour for having advised him to be content with a verbal promise from Charles. I relate this trifling event because, if true, it shews the human heart. A person who has no one to blame but himself if he has followed evil counsel, is frequently unjust enough to condemn the author: but there was no reason to repent of not having exacted a mere verbal promise from Charles

V.

V. a promise in writing would not have been more binding.

Francis himself had promised under his hand to give up Burgundy, and yet he was very far from abiding by that promise. A prince seldom gives up a large province to his enemy without being forced to it by arms. The emperor afterwards owned publicly that he had promised the dutchy of Milan to one of the king's sons; but insisted, at the same time, that it was only on condition that Francis should evacuate Turin, which he still continued to keep.

The generous reception then which the king had given the emperor in France, so many sumptuous feasts, and all that shew of confidence and friendship on both sides, ended at last only in fresh wars.

While Solyman was still continuing to ravage Hungary, and while Charles V. to put the finishing hand to his glory, resolved to conquer the kingdom of Algiers as he had done that of Tunis, and failed in the undertaking, Francis I. renewed more strictly his alliance with Solyman. He sent two ministers privately to the pope, through Venice. These ministers were assassinated in their way by order of the marquis del Vasto, governor of Milan, under pretence that they were the emperor's subjects. Francis Sforza, the last duke of Milan, had some years before caused another of the king's ministers to be beheaded. How

1541

are we to reconcile these breaches of the law of nations with the generosity on which the officers of both princes piqued themselves? The war was now renewed with more animosity than ever, on the side of Piedmont, in the Py-

renes, and in Picardy. It was at this time that the king's gallies joined those of Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, the sultan's admiral, and viceroy of Algiers. The flower ¹⁵⁴³ de luce and the crescent now flew jointly before the city of Nice, which however held out against all the attempts of the French and Turks, who were commanded by the count of Anguien of the Bourbon family, and the Turkish admiral; and the famous Andrew Doria coming to its relief with his galleys, Barbarossa returned with his fleet to Toulon.

This is the Doria who may deservedly be reckoned the chief of all those who assisted the fortunes of Charles V. He had the glory of defeating his galleys before Naples when admiral in the service of Francis I. and while his country, Genoa, was still under the French dominion. Like the constable Bourbon he thought himself obliged by the court intrigues to go over to the emperor's service. He several times defied the sultan's fleets to combat; but his chief honour was the having restored liberty to his country, of which Charles V. permitted him to be sovereign. But he preferred the title of Deliverer to that of Master, and established the government such as it now subsists, and lived to the age of ninety-four in the greatest reputation of any man in Europe. After his death the Genoese erected a statue to his memory as deliverer of his country.

In the mean time the count of Anguien repaired the disgrace of Nice, by the victory which he gained over the marquis del Vasto at Cerizoles in Piedmont. There never was a victory more

more complete *, and yet the conquerors gained no sort of advantage from it. It was the fate of the French to conquer to no purpose in Italy, as the battles of Agnadello, Fornova, Ravenna, Marignan, and Cerizoles, will eternally witness.

Henry VIII. by an inconceivable fatality entered into an alliance against France with that emperor whose aunt he had put away in so shameful a manner, and whose nephew he had declared a bastard, and who had in revenge caused pope Clement VII. to excommunicate him. Princes can at the voice of interest equally forget injuries and benefits: but in this case it seems to have been rather caprice than interest that induced Henry VIII. to join Charles V.

Henry proposed marching to Paris with an army of thirty thousand men. He besieged Boulogne by sea, while Charles was advancing into Picardy. What now was become of the

* It was not without great difficulty that the duke de Enguien obtained leave to hazard a battle, on the issue of which the preservation of France in a great measure depended. When Blaise de Montluc prevailed upon the king to comply with the duke's request, the Count de St. Pol said to him, "Madman, thou art going to be author of the greatest advantage or the greatest misfortune which can happen to thy country."

The imperialists were more numerous than the French, by ten thousand men; yet they suffered a total overthrow, and great numbers of them were put to the sword. The fruit which Francis reaped from this victory was the reduction of Carignan, Montcallier, St. Damian, Vigon, Pont d'Esture, and the greater part of Montferrat, as well as the opportunity of detaching a body of troops from this army, to cover Picardy and Champagne, into which the emperor and king of England were on the point of penetrating.

balance

balance of power which Henry was so fond of holding? His only intent was to embarrass Francis I. and thereby prevent him from throwing any obstacles in the way of the marriage, which he had projected between his son Edward and Mary Stewart of Scotland, who was afterwards queen of France. What a reason was this for declaring war?

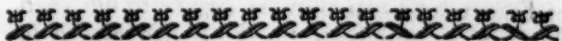
These new dangers destroyed all the fruits of the victory of Cerizoles. The French king was obliged to recal a great part of that victorious army for the defence of the southern frontiers of the kingdom.

France was now in greater danger than she had ever been. Charles was already advanced as far as Soissons, the king of England had taken Boulogne, and Paris itself began to tremble. Lutheranism now proved the safety of France, and was of more service to her than the Turks, on whom the king had placed so much dependence. The Lutheran princes of Germany all joined together in arms against Charles V. whom they began to fear would become despotic. Charles pressing France,
 1544 and pressed by the empire, concluded a peace at Crepi in Valois, to turn his arms against his German subjects.

By this peace he again promised the dutchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, the king's son, who was to be his son-in-law: but destiny would not permit a prince of France to have possession of this province; and the death of the duke of Orleans saved the emperor the confusion of once more breaking his word.

Francis I. soon afterwards purchased
 1546 a peace with England for eight hundred thousand

thousand crowns. These were his last exploits, and these the fruits of the designs he had all his life-time been forming upon Naples and Milan. He was in every thing the victim to the good fortune of Charles V. for he died some months after Henry VIII. of that almost incurable distemper † which had at that time been transplanted into Europe by the discovery of the new world. Such is the concatenation of events ! A Genoese pilot gave a new world to Spain. Nature had placed in the islands of these distant climes a poison which infects the springs of life, and by which a king of France was destined to perish. At his death he left a lasting dissention behind him, not between France and Germany, but between the houses of France and Austria.



C H A P. CV.

Troubles in GERMANY. Battle of MULBERG.
The Greatness, Disgrace, and Abdication of
CHARLES V.

THE death of Francis I. did not level the way to that universal monarchy which Charles V. is said to have aspired after. That

† The venereal disorder lately brought from Hispaniola to Europe by the soldiers of Columbus, who, by the bye, deserves a more honourable appellation than that of a Genoese pilot: for whatever he might have been originally, he certainly acted as a Castilian admiral when he discovered the West Indies, and was in all respects a very great man.

prince was still very distant from it: he not only had a formidable enemy in Henry II. who succeeded Francis on the throne of France; but at that time also the princes and cities of Germany, which had embraced the new religion, raised a civil war, and assembled a large army against him. It was rather the party of liberty than that of Lutheranism.

This emperor deemed so powerful was not able even with the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, to raise so large an army of Germans as the confederates could bring into the field. Charles was therefore obliged, in order to raise an equal force, to have recourse to his Spaniards, and to borrow money and troops of pope Paul III.

Nothing could be more compleat and glorious than the victory he gained over the army of the confederates at Mulberg. The elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse were among the number of his prisoners; the Lutheran party were thrown into the greatest consternation, the conquered were loaded with immense taxes, and, in short, all together seemed to render him despotic in Germany; but the same thing now happened to him as after the taking of Francis I. he lost all the fruits of his good fortune. Pope Paul, who had so much befriended him before his victory, withdrew his troops as soon as he saw him become too powerful; and Henry VIII. of England spirited up the languishing remains of the Lutheran party in Germany. The new elector of Saxony, Maurice, on whom Charles had bestowed the dutchy

dutchy of the conquered elector, soon declared against him, and even put himself at the head of the league.

At length this emperor, who had been so terrible to all Europe, is on the point of being made prisoner with his brother by the confederates, and is obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation and disorder to the desiles of Inspruc. At the same time the French king, Henry II. seized upon Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which have ever since remained in the house of France, as the reward of having secured the Germanic liberty. Thus we see that the grandees of the empire, and even the Lutheran religion itself have in all times owed their preservation to the kings of France. The same thing happened afterwards under Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III.

And now the possessor of Mexico is obliged to borrow two hundred thousand gold crowns from Cosmo duke of Florence to endeavour to recover Metz; and having compromised matters with the Lutherans, that he might be more at liberty to revenge himself on the French king, he laid siege to that city, with an army of fifty thousand men. This is one of the most memorable sieges we meet with in history, and has immortalized the reputation of Francis of Guise, who defended the town sixty-five days against the emperor's army, and at length obliged him to abandon his design, after losing one third of his forces.

The power of Charles V. was at that time a vast heap of honours and dignities, surrounded on all sides by precipices. The troubles he was engaged in all his life-time would never per-

permit him to form his large dominions into a strong and compact body, whose parts might all mutually assist each other, and supply him with a numerous army kept constantly on foot. This Charlemagne happily effected: but then his dominions lay all contiguous; and after having conquered the Saxons and Lombards, he had not a Solyman to repulse: he had no king of France to fight against, nor had he the powerful princes of Germany, and a pope still more powerful to suppress or fear.

Charles knew full well what kind of cement was required to raise an edifice equal in strength to the greatness of Charlemagne. It was necessary that his son Philip should have the empire; then, as the mines of Mexico and Peru made him richer than all the other kings of Europe put together, he might have arrived at that universal monarchy which is much easier imagined than attained.

In this view Charles employed his utmost endeavours to persuade his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, to cede the empire to Philip; but so disagreeable a proposal only served to set Ferdinand and Philip at variance for ever.

At length, wearied with so many efforts, grown old before his time, and undeceived in every thing, after having attempted every thing, he resigned his crowns*, and renounced the society

* Charles published an act of his abdication in the Latin tongue; then he sent the imperial ornaments to his brother Ferdinand, took leave of all the ambassadors that attended his court, thanked his officers, and recommended them to his

ciety of mankind at the age of fifty-four, a time of life in which the age and ambition of other men are in their full vigour, and when many inferior princes begin to appoint their ministers, and enter upon the career of their greatness.

Before I proceed to take a view of the influence which Philip II. had over one half of Europe, the great power of the English under their queen Elizabeth, and what was the fate of Italy, in what manner the republic of the United Provinces was established, and the dreadful condition to which the kingdom of France was reduced, I judge it necessary to speak of the revolutions which happened in religion, as this had had a principal share in all affairs, either as a cause or pretence ever since the time of Charles V.

I shall then give a sketch of the conquests of the Spaniards in America, and of those made by the Portuguese in the Indies; miraculous events of which Philip II. reaped the whole benefit, and by which he became the most powerful monarch in Christendom.

his son Philip; repaired to Zealand, from whence he sailed to the port of Laredo, in Biscay, and set out for the place of his retreat, which was the monastery of St. Justus, situated on the frontiers of Castile; in the province of Estremadura, a most romantic valley, surrounded with agreeable hills. Here he lived seemingly happy, as a private person, about eighteen months, and died in the year 1558, at the age of fifty-seven. Some authors alledge that he lived long enough in this retreat, to repent heartily of his abdication. But this is no other than a surmise.

CHAP. CVI.

Of LEO X. and the CHURCH.

YOU have taken a survey of that vast chaos in which the Christian states of Europe were confusedly plunged, from the time of the downfall of the Roman empire. The political government of the church, which in all appearance ought to have united these divided parts, was unhappily a fresh source of confusion, hitherto unknown in the annals of the world. The church of Rome and that of Greece were at continual variance, and by their disputes had opened the gates of Constantinople to the Ottoman power.

The empire and the pontificate, which were continually in arms against each other, had laid waste Italy, Germany, and almost all the other states of Christendom. The mixture of these two powers, which were always opposing each other either secretly or publicly, proved the source of everlasting dissensions. The feudal government had made sovereigns of several bishops and monks. The limits of their dioceses were different from those of the state; the same city was Italian or German as to its bishop, and French as to its king. You have seen in what manner the secular jurisdiction was in every thing opposed to the ecclesiastic, except in those dominions where the church was, and still is, supreme; how every secular prince endeavoured to render his government independent of the see of Rome, without being able to effect it. You have seen the bishops sometimes

times opposing the pope, and at others uniting with him against crowned heads; in a word, that the whole republic of the Latin communion was almost always unanimous in point of doctrine, and perpetually at variance in every other respect.

After the detestable, but successful pontificate of Alexander VI. and after the military, and still more happy reign of pope Julius II. the popes might with justice consider themselves as the masters of Italy, and the influencers of the rest of Europe. No other Italian power possessed larger territories, except the king of Naples, who was still a feudatory of the papal crown.

Under these favourable circumstances, the twenty-four cardinals, who at that time composed the whole college, raised to 1513 the pontificate John de Medicis, great great grandson to the famous Cosmo de Medicis, who was a private merchant, and the father of his country.

John de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X. was made cardinal when he was only fourteen, and elected pope before he was thirty-six years old. His family was then returned again to Tuscany, and Leo had soon interest enough to place his brother Peter at the head of the administration in Florence. He married his other brother, Julian, surnamed the Magnificent, to the princess of Savoy, who was likewise dutchess of Nemours, and made him one of the most powerful noblemen of Italy. These three brothers, who had been educated under Angelus Politianus and Calcondilas, were all of them truly worthy of such masters, and vied with

with each other in cultivating learning and the liberal arts; so as to deserve that this age should be called the Medicean age. The pontiff, in particular, united the most refined taste with an unparalleled magnificence. He encouraged great geniuses in all the arts by his bounty and engaging behaviour. His coronation cost one hundred thousand gold crowns. On this occasion he had the *Penula* of Plautus acted, and the glorious days of the Roman empire seemed revived under him. All austerity was banished from religion, which now acquired the respect of every one by the most pompous ceremonies. The barbarous stile of the Datary was entirely laid aside, to make room for the eloquence of the cardinals Bembo and Sadolet, at that time secretaries of the Briefs, men who imitated the latinity of Cicero, and seemed to adopt his sceptical philosophy. The comedies of Aristophanes and Machiavel, void as they are of modesty and piety, were frequently played at this court in presence of the pope and his cardinals, by young people of the best quality in Rome. The merit alone of these works (held in high esteem in this age) rendered them agreeable; and what might appear offensive to religion in them, was not perceived by a court wholly taken up with intrigues and pleasures, and which thought that religion stood in no danger from these trifling liberties. And indeed, as neither the doctrine nor the power of the church were here concerned, the court of Rome was no more offended at them than the ancient Greeks and Romans were at the jokes of Aristophanes and Plautus.

Though

Though Leo X. was perfectly absolute in serious affairs, he never suffered them to break in upon his more delicate pleasures. Even the conspiracy formed against his life by two of his cardinals, and the exemplary punishment he inflicted on them, made no alteration in the gaiety of his court.

The cardinals Petrucci and Soli, incensed against the pope for having taken the dutchy of Urbino from the nephew of Julius II. bribed a surgeon who used to dress a secret ulcer of the pope's, and the death of this pontiff was to be the signal of a revolution in several of the cities of the ecclesiastical state. The plot however was discovered, and several of those concerned in it put to ¹⁵¹⁷ death. The two cardinals were put to the torture, and afterwards condemned to die. Cardinal Petrucci was hanged in prison, and the other purchased his life with his riches.

It is very remarkable, that they were condemned by the secular magistrates of Rome, and not by their peers. The pope by this action seemed to invite all crowned heads to make the clergy subject to the ordinary courts of justice, but the holy see never thought of yielding to kings a right which it assumed to itself. How comes it that the cardinals, who have the electing of popes, have left them in possession of this despotic power, while the electors and the princes of the empire have so much curtailed the power of the emperors? the reason is, that these princes have dominions, and the cardinals have only dignities.

This melancholy event soon gave place to the customary amusements. Leo X. in order
to

to wipe away the remembrance of a cardinal condemned to die by the halter, created thirty new ones, most of them Italians, and of the same disposition with their master ; and though they might not have quite so good a taste, or so much learning, as the pontiff, they at least came very near to him in the indulgence of their pleasures. Their example was followed by most of the prelacy. Spain was at that time the only country where the church still adhered to a severity of manners, which had been introduced by cardinal Ximenes, a man of an austere and morose disposition, who had no taste but for absolute authority, and who, when regent of Spain, went always dressed in the habit of a cordelier, and was wont to say, that he could bind all the grandees of the kingdom to their duty by his cord, and crush their pride beneath his sandals.

In every other country the prelates lived with all the voluptuousness of princes ; some of them were in possession of eight or nine bishoprics at once. It is astonishing, at this time, to reckon the number of benefices enjoyed by some of them at that time ; such as cardinal Wolsley and the cardinal of Lorraine, and many others ; but this multitude of church-livings heaped on a single person, had no worse consequences then, than the number of bishoprics now held by the electors or prelates of Germany.

All writers, both protestant and catholic, greatly inveigh against the general depravity of manners in those times. They tell us, that the prelates, curates, and monks, led the most easy and happy lives ; that nothing was more common than for prelates to bring up their children

children in a public manner, after the example of Alexander VI. It is certain, that there is yet extant the will of one Croui, at that time bishop of Cambray, in which he leaves several legacies to his children, and reserves a sum "for the bastards which he hopes God will be pleased to give him, in case he should recover from his illness." These are the very words of the will. Pope Pius II. had long before that declared in writing, "That, for very good reasons, priests had been forbidden to marry; but that, for still better reasons, it ought to be allowed them." The protestants have carefully collected facts, which prove, that in several of the states of Germany, the people obliged their ministers to keep mistresses, that their wives might remain in greater security: but still it must be owned, that this was no reason for authorising so many civil wars, nor for killing other men because the priests got children.

But that which most disgusted the public, was the granting of general and particular indulgences, absolutions, and dispensations, at all prices. This kind of apostolic tax was uncertain and unlimited before the time of pope John XXII. who first settled it, and reduced it to a code of the canon-law. A deacon or sub-deacon who had been guilty of murder, was absolved, and had permission to hold three benefices for twelve livres tournois, three ducats, and six carlines, which is about twenty crowns. A bishop and an abbot might commit murder for about three hundred livres, and the most unnatural or indecent acts had their stated price. Bestiality was assessed at two hundred and fifty livres; dispensations might be purchased,

chased, not only for sins actually committed, but even for those which a person might have an inclination to commit. There has been found, in the archives of Joinville, a reverſionary indulgence for the cardinal of Lorraine, and twelve perſons of his retinue, by which each of them had the choice of any three ſins they choſed to commit. Le Laboureur, a very exact writer, ſays, that the dutcheſs of Bourbon and Auvergne, ſiſter to Charles VIII. had a right to claim abſolution for herſelf, and for ten perſons of her retinue, for all the ſins they ſhould commit, during their lives, upon forty-seven holidays in the year, excluſive of Sundays.

This ſtrange abuſe ſeems to have had its origin in the ancient laws of the European nations, and of the Franks, Saxons, and Burgundians. The court of Rome did not adopt this rating of ſins and diſpenſations till the times of anarchy, and when the popes no longer dared to reſide at Rome. No council ever made a tax upon ſins an article of faith.

Among theſe abuſes ſome were oppreſſive and others ridiculous. Thoſe who ſaid that the ſuperſtructure ſhould be repaired without totally deſtroying it, ſeemed to have ſaid all that could be offered in answer to the complaints of an incenſed people. The great number of maſters of families, who are continually labouring to ſecure a moderate competency for their wives and children; and the ſtill greater number of artificers and labourers who earn their bread by the ſweat of their brows; could not without concern behold thoſe lazy monks fattening in the miſt of luxury, and leading the lives of princes.

princes. It was answered, that the money expended upon this luxury returned again into the general circulation. The effeminate lives of these priests, far from disturbing the inward peace of the church, rather strengthened it * ; and their very excesses, had they even been carried to a greater length, would certainly have been less dangerous than the horrors of war, and the sacking of towns. It may here be objected, what is said by Machiavel, the celebrated doctor, of those who understand nothing but politics. He says in his discourse on Titus Livius, " That the excessive wickedness of the Italians of his time, was to be imputed to religion and the priests." But it is clear, that he cannot by this, mean the wars raised on account of religion, since there were none at that time ; he can only understand by these words the wickedness of Alexander VI. and his court, and the ambition of certain churchmen, which is very foreign to the doctrines, the disputes, persecutions, rebellions, and that bloody animosity among the divines, which produced so many murders.

We are told that the republic of Venice itself, whose government was esteemed the wisest in Europe, took great pains to indulge all its clergy in a life of pleasure and dissipation, to the end that by being less respected among the

* Our author seems to lay no stress on the force of bad example, exhibited by those who directed the consciences, and superintended the morals of the laity. What idea must the people, at that time overwhelmed in ignorance, have conceived, from the luxury, profligacy, and vice of its professors !

people, they might not have the power to raise commotions. There were, nevertheless, in all places men of exemplary purity of manners, pastors truly worthy of that title, and monks who, from their hearts, submitted to those vows of austerity which shock the effeminate mind: but these virtues are buried in obscurity, while luxury and vice lord it in splendor.

The pleasures which surrounded the voluptuous court of Leo X. could not escape attention; but at the same time it was easily perceived that this very court contributed to civilize Europe, and render mankind more sociable. After the persecution against the Hussites, religion no longer raised any troubles in the world. The inquisition indeed exercised great cruelties in Spain upon the Jews and Mahometans, but these were not such general misfortunes as subvert nations. The greatest part of the Christians lived in an happy ignorance; and there were not perhaps in all Europe ten gentlemen who had a bible. This book had not been translated into the vulgar tongue, or at least the translations made of it in a few countries were entirely unknown.

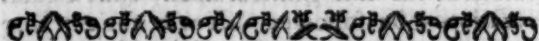
The higher clergy, wholly occupied in temporal matters, knew how to enjoy their good fortune, and never troubled themselves with religious disputes. It may be said, that pope Leo X. by the encouragement he gave to learning, furnished arms against himself. I have been told by an English nobleman, that he had seen a letter from cardinal Polus, or Pole, to this pope, in which, while he is felicitating his holiness upon having extended the progress

progress of the sciences in Europe, he gives him to understand, that it was dangerous to make men too knowing. Leo X. was far from having any apprehensions from the change he saw in Christendom, of which his magnificence, and one of the noblest undertakings that could dignify a prince, were the principal causes.

His predecessor Julius II. under whose pontificate painting and architecture began to make such great advances, resolved that Rome should have a temple, which might not only surpass the famous one of St. Sophia at Constantinople, but be one of the most magnificent edifices yet erected in the world; and he had the resolution to undertake what he could never hope to see completed. Leo X. warmly pursued this noble scheme; it required immense sums, and his magnificence had already drained his treasury. Every Christian ought to have contributed to the raising this wonder of the capital of Europe; but the sums requisite for carrying on public works are not raised without great art or force. Leo X. had recourse, if I may be allowed the expression, to one of St. Peter's keys, which had on other occasions been made use of to open the coffers of the public, and fill those of the popes.

He pretended a war against the Turks, and ordered a sale of indulgences to be made thro' all the states of Christendom. An indulgence is a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, either in person, or for one's friends or relations. A public sale of this kind shews the spirit of the times. No one was surprised at it: there were offices for indulgences in every

part, and they were established in the same manner as the customs. Most of the collectors used to hold their offices in taverns. The preacher, the person who farmed them, and he who distributed them, had each a profit upon them. The pope gave part of the money arising from them to his sister, and yet nobody murmured at it. The preachers used to declare openly from the pulpit, "That if any one had even ravished the Holy Virgin, he might have absolution by purchasing these indulgences;" and the people listened to such speeches with the utmost devotion. But when the farm of this tax was given to the Dominican friars in Germany, the Augustines, who had long been in possession of it, became jealous; and the private interest of a few monks in a corner of Saxony, produced more than two hundred years of discord, rage, and misfortunes, among thirty kingdoms.



CHAP. CVII. and CVIII.

OF LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS.

YOU cannot but know that this mighty revolution in the human mind, and in the political system of Europe, was begun by Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, whom his superiors engaged to preach against those commodities which they could not dispose of. The dispute was at first between the two orders of the Augustines and Dominicans.

Had

Had any one told Luther at that time, that he would subvert the Roman catholic religion in almost one half of Europe, he would not have believed it. He went farther than he thought for, as is the case in all disputes, and in almost all transactions.

After having cried down indulgences, he next proceeded to examine the power of him who granted them. The veil was now partly drawn aside; the people were stirred up, and resolved to judge themselves of what had been so long the object of their implicit reverence. Not all the horrors committed by Alexander VI. and his family had raised the least doubt about the spiritual power of the pope; three hundred thousand pilgrims had come to Rome to attend his jubilee: but the times were changed, and the measure of iniquity was full. The pleasurable pontificate of Leo X. was punished for the crimes of Alexander VI. A reformation was first insisted upon, and a total separation soon followed. It was evident that men in power are not easily to be reformed; it was therefore their authority and wealth which were here aimed at, and to throw off the yoke of the Roman taxes. In fact, how could the pleasures of the court of Rome concern the people of Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, or Dresden? But it concerned them to be relieved from their exorbitant taxes, and to prevent the archbishop of Upsal from becoming master of a kingdom. The revenues of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and several of the rich abbeys, were alluring baits to the secular princes. The separation, which arose as it were of itself, and from very slight causes,

did, however, operate principally in bringing about the reformation so much desired, and which in the end has proved of so little effect. The manners of the court of Rome are become more decent indeed, and the clergy of France more learned; and it must be acknowledged that the clergy in general have been amended by the protestants, as one rival becomes more circumspect from the prying jealousy of another.

To bring about this great separation, nothing more was required than a prince capable of stirring up the people. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, surnamed the Wise, and the same who, after the death of Maximilian, nobly refused the imperial crown, was the declared protector of Luther. This revolution in the church began in the same manner as all those by which the people have deposed their sovereigns; namely, by first presenting petitions, then setting forth grievances, and lastly subverting the throne. There were no absolute marks of an intended separation in laughing at indulgences, in requiring to partake of both species at communion, in advancing some unintelligible things concerning justification and free-will, in aiming at the abolishment of the monkish orders, or in offering to prove that the holy scripture no where expressly mentions purgatory.

1520 Leo X. who in his own mind despised such kind of disputes, was obliged, as pope, to anathematize by bull all these propositions. He did not know that England in secret powerfully supported Luther. It has been said, that the best method to have made him

him change his opinion, would have been to have sent him a cardinal's hat: but the contempt he was held in proved fatal to the church of Rome.

Luther no longer kept any measures; he composed his book called *The Captivity of Babylon*, in which he exhorted all crowned heads to throw off the papal yoke, and inveighed strongly against private masses; and this work was so much the more applauded, as he therein greatly condemned the public sale of these masses. They had been first brought into vogue by the Mendicant monks of the thirteenth century, and were purchased by the people in the same manner as they still are, whenever it is required. This was no more than a small contribution raised for the subsistence of the poor religious, and officiating priests; a kind of trifling fee, which could by no means be grudged to those who live only by alms and the altar, and which at that time amounted in France to about two sols of the current money, and not quite so much in Germany. Transubstantiation was condemned as a term not to be found in the scriptures, nor in the writings of the primitive fathers. The followers of Luther pretended, that the doctrine which teaches that the bread and wine is annihilated while the form still remains, had not been universally held by the church till the time of pope Gregory VII. and that this doctrine had been first taught and explained by a Benedictine monk, called Paschasius Rather, in the ninth century. They turned over all the dark archives of antiquity, in search of reasons for separating themselves from the church of Rome, founded on myste-

ries which human weakness can never dive into. Luther retained some part of the mystery, and rejected the other; he owned that the body of Jesus Christ was in the consecrated elements, but in such manner, said he, as fire may be said to be in heated iron; the fire and the iron subsist together. This manner of confounding the body of Christ with the bread and wine, is called by Osiander, impanation, invination, and consubstantiation. Luther contented himself with saying, that the body and blood of our saviour was in, above, and beneath, *in, cum, sub.*

The Dominican monks, assisted by the pope's nuncios in Germany, ordered all Luther's books to be burnt, and the pope issued a fresh bull against him. Luther in return burnt the pope's bull and the decretals in the public market-place at Wittemberg. This action shews the boldness of the man, and at the same time that he was already grown very powerful.

1520 This new reformer had even then a great part of Germany in his interest, who, grown weary of the papal greatness, did not stand to examine nicely into scholastic propositions.

In the mean time these questions became greatly multiplied. The dispute about free-will, another stumbling-block in the way of human reason, mingled its inexhaustible stream of absurd quarrels with the torrent of theological animosity. Luther himself denied the doctrine of free-will, which nevertheless has since been received by his followers. The universities of Louvain and Paris wrote in defence of it; and this latter suspended a dispute it was then

then engaged in, viz. whether there were three Magdalens, or only one Magdalen, to condemn Luther's propositions.

Aristotle was necessarily drawn into this dispute, as the schools were at that time his disciples; and Luther having asserted that Aristotle's doctrine was of no use to the understanding the scriptures, the holy faculty at Paris condemned this assertion as erroneous, and proceeding from a madman. The most idle theses were mingled with the profoundest disputations, and the mutual hatred of both parties was kept alive by false imputations, gross abuses, and reciprocal anathemas.

There is no reading, without a mixture of contempt and pity, the manner in which Luther treats all his opponents, and particularly the pope. "Little pope, little popey, you are an ass, a little ass; walk softly, it is slippery, you may break your legs, and then it will be said, what the devil is all this? the little ass of a popey is crippled; an ass knows that he is an ass, a stone knows that it is a stone; but these little asses of popes do not know that they are asses." These mean vulgarisms, which would now-a-days be so disgusting, did not at all displease the grovelling minds of those times; and Luther, with all this lowness of a barbarous stile, triumphed in his country over the politeness of the court of Rome.

Capricious destiny, which sports with the world, ordered it so that Henry VIII. of England engaged in this dispute. He had been educated by his father in the idle and absurd sciences of those days.

The fiery and impetuous spirit of young Henry had greedily imbibed the subtleties of the schools. He now resolved to draw his pen against Luther; but before he began, he desired pope Leo's permission to read the books of this arch heretic, which had been forbidden to all Christians, under pain of excommunication. Leo granted him his request; and the king wrote a book, in which he explained the writings of St. Thomas, and defended the seven sacraments against Luther, who then allowed of three only, which were afterwards reduced to two. This book was written in great haste, and sent to Rome. His holiness, charmed with a work which is now scarcely read by any one, compared it to the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, and conferred the title of Defender of the Faith on king Henry and his successors. But on whom did he bestow this title? On the very man who, a few years afterwards, was to become the most implacable enemy of the church of Rome.

Luther had few followers in Italy; that ingenious nation was too much taken up with pleasures and intrigues to engage in these disputes; nor did the Spaniards, though naturally an active and busy people, interfere with them. The French likewise, though with the same turn as both these nations, and moreover with a strong taste for novelty, meddled with neither party. In short, the only theatre of this war of the imagination was in Germany, and in the Swiss nation, who were not at that time looked upon as the most cunning people in the world, and are thought very circum-spect. The learned and polite court of Rome

never

never suspected that those whom she looked upon as a set of barbarians, could, armed with the bible as with a sword, wrest from her the one half of Europe, and stagger the fidelity of the other.

It is a great question in politics, whether Charles V. at that time emperor, ought to have embraced the reformed religion, or have opposed it. By throwing off the papal yoke, he at one blow revenged the four hundred years oppression which the empire had undergone from the pontifical crown, and the insults it had offered to the imperial diadem ; but at the same time he run the risk of losing all Italy. It was necessary for him to keep fair with the pope, who was to join him against Francis I. Moreover, the subjects of his hereditary dominions were all of them catholics ; and he is even reproached with having beheld with pleasure the rise of a faction, which gave him an opportunity of raising taxes and troops in the empire, and crushing both catholics and protestants beneath the weight of absolute power. At length he thought himself engaged, in politics and honour, to declare against Luther, although perhaps he was of the same opinion with him at the bottom, in relation to some articles, as was suspected by the Spaniards after his death.

He therefore summoned Luther to appear and give an account of his doctrine before the imperial diet of Worms, or, in other words, to come and declare whether he maintained the tenets which had been condemned by the church of Rome. Luther obeyed the summons, and appeared with a safe-conduct from the emperor, exposing

exposing himself boldly to the same fate with John Hus; but this assembly being wholly composed of princes, he trusted to their honour. He spoke before the emperor 1521 and the diet, and defended his doctrine with great courage. It is said that Charles V. was strongly solicited by Aleandro, the pope's nuncio, to cause Luther to be arrested, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted him, in the same manner as Sigismund, contrary to public faith, had given up John Hus; but Charles made answer, "That he would not, like Sigismund, do any thing he should have reason to be ashamed of."

Luther, notwithstanding he had the emperor, the king of England, the pope, and all the bishops and monks against him, was not in the least dismayed; but hidden in a strong hold in Saxony, from thence he braved the emperor, exasperated one half of Germany against the pope, answered the king of England as he would an equal, and strengthened and extended his new-raised church.

The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, earnestly wished the extirpation of the Romish church; Luther thought this a proper time to abolish private masses, and he set about it in a manner which, in times of greater knowledge, would not have met with extraordinary approbation. He pretended that the devil had appeared to him, and reproached him with saying private masses, and with consecrating. The devil, he said, proved to him that it was an idolatrous custom; and then he concluded his tale with saying, that he acknowledged the devil to be in the right, and that he ought to be believed.

Accord-

Accordingly mass was laid aside in the city of Wittemberg, and soon afterwards in all the other places of Saxony. The images were pulled down; the religious of both sexes left their cloisters; and in a few years Luther himself was married to a nun named Catharine Bore. The priests of the old communion reproached him with not being able to live without a wife, and Luther accused them of not being able to live without mistresses. These mutual reproaches were very different; the catholic priests, accused of incontinence, were obliged to own that they transgressed the whole church discipline; whereas Luther and his followers had only made a change in it.

The law of history obliges us to do justice to the greater part of those monks who left their churches and their cloisters to enter into matrimony. It is true they resumed a liberty of which they had before made a sacrifice, and they broke their vows; but they were not libertines in their lives, nor could any one reproach them with giving offence by their behaviour. By the same impartial rule we are under a necessity of remarking, that Luther and his monks, by contracting marriages which were useful to the state, were no more guilty of a violation of their vows, than those are, who, having made profession of poverty and humility, continue in the enjoyment of vain-glorious riches.

Among the number of things alledged against Luther, it was said by several, by way of irony, that he who had taken the devil's advice in overthrowing mass, shewed his gratitude to him by abolishing the practice of exorcisms,
and

and aimed at levelling all the bulwarks which had been raised to keep out the enemy of mankind. It has been remarked since, that in all those countries where exorcisms have been laid aside, they have no longer heard of witchcraft, or persons possessed by the devil; and it has been said, both in words and writing, that the devils knew little of their own interest, in taking refuge among the catholics, who alone have the power of commanding them. It has also been observed, that there is a prodigious number of magicians and possessed people in the Romish communion, even to this day. However, this is too serious a subject to divert one's self with; for it was certainly a very melancholy affair, that proved the ruin of so many families, and the punishment of a number of unfortunate wretches, as it is a great happiness to mankind, that the courts of justice, in the more enlightened countries, no longer give ear to idle stories of fascinations and magic. Those of the reformed religion renewed this stumbling-block above two hundred years before the catholics, for which they were accused of striking at the foundations of the Christian religion; and it was objected to them, that possessions by demons, and witchcrafts, are expressly admitted by the holy scriptures; that Christ himself drove out evil spirits, and in a particular manner sent his apostles to do the same in his name. To this powerful objection the protestants made the same answer, as all prudent magistrates do at this time; that God permitted some things in former times which he does not permit at present; and that the church stood in need of miracles at her first institution, which,
now

now that she is perfectly established, she has no longer occasion for.

The first country, next to Germany, into which this new sect, known by the name of the primitive church, extended itself, was Switzerland. Zuinglius, curate of Zurich, went still farther than Luther; for he admitted neither of impanation nor invination. He would not allow that God entered into the bread and wine, much less that the whole body of Christ was wholly and entirely in every morsel and drop of the elements. In France they gave him the name of Sacramentarian, which appellation was at first extended to all the protestants of his sect.

Zuinglius drew upon himself the abuse of all the clergy of his country. The affair was brought before the magistracy; and the senate of Zurich examined the cause in the same manner as if it had related to an inheritance. It was then put to the vote, and the majority were for the reformers. The people were waiting in crouds for the senate's 1523 decree, when the town-clerk came out and acquainted them that Zuinglius had gained his cause; upon which they in an instant became of the senate's religion. Thus a village of Switzerland fate in judgment upon the church of Rome. Happy people after all! whose simplicity referred that to its magistrates, which neither they, nor themselves, nor Zuinglius, could by any means be perfect judges of.

A few years afterwards, the magistracy of Berne, which town is the same 1528 in Switzerland as Amsterdam is in the United Provinces, entered upon a more solemn trial of this

this cause; and the senate, after hearing both sides for the space of two months, condemned the Romish religion. The decree was received without difficulty by the whole canton; and a pillar was erected, on which this solemn sentence was engraven in letters of gold, and it has ever since continued in full force.

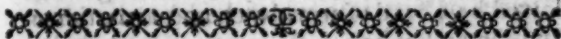
The senates of Berne and Zurich had now given the people a new religion; but at Basil the people imposed it upon the senate. There were at that time thirteen Swiss cantons; the five smallest and poorest of these, namely, Lucerne, Zug, Switz, Uri, and Underwald, which remained firm to the catholic communion, began a civil war against the others. This was the first religious war between the catholics and those of the reformed religion. The curate 1531 Zuinglius put himself at the head of the protestant army, and was slain in the engagement. He was deemed an holy martyr by his own party, and an execrable heretic by the opposite one. The catholics after their victory caused his body to be quartered by the executioner, and afterwards thrown into a fire. These were only the preludes to those extremes of fury into which both parties afterwards run.

The famous Zuinglius*, in establishing his sect, seemed more zealous for the cause of liberty than that of religion. He held it sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness,

* Zuinglius insisted upon free-will, whereas Luther adhered to grace. Calvin adopted the doctrines of grace and predestination, consequently Calvinism was different from the religion of Zuinglius.

and

and that Cato, St. Paul, Numa, and Abraham, enjoyed an equal portion of felicity. His religion was afterwards called Calvinism, Calvin having given it his name, as Americus Vesputius gave his to the new world, first discovered by Columbus. Thus, in the space of a few years, there arose three new churches; that of Luther, that of Zuinglius, and the church of England, all separated from the centre of union, and governed by their own laws. The church of France, though it had never broke with its head, was nevertheless looked upon at Rome as a separate member, with regard to several points; such as the superiority of councils, the fallibility of the chief pontiff, some of the episcopal rights, the power of legates, the nomination to church-livings, and the tributes paid to the holy see. The great society of Christendom resembled in one respect the heathen empires, which were in the beginning very poor republics; these republics in time became rich monarchies; and these monarchies afterwards lost some of their provinces, which became republics.



C H A P. CIX.

The Progress of LUTHERANISM in SWEDEN,
DENMARK, and GERMANY.

DENMARK and all Sweden embraced the Lutheran religion. The Swedes listened chiefly to the dictates of revenge in throwing
off

1523 off the episcopal yoke of the Romish church. They had long been oppressed by their bishops, especially by the archbishops of Upsal, who were primates of the kingdom; and they were still full of indignation at the remembrance of the cruelties which had been committed three years before by the last archbishop Troll. This prelate, who was minister and accomplice of Christian II. surnamed the Nero of the North, and the tyrant of Denmark and Sweden, was a monster of cruelty, as detestable as Christian himself. He had obtained a bull from the pope against the senate of Stockholm, who had opposed his depredations, and Christian's usurpations; but every thing was now quiet, and the two tyrants, Christian and his archbishop, had sworn upon the gospel to forget what had passed. The king gave an entertainment in his palace to two of the bishops, all the members of the senate, and ninety-four of the principal noblemen. The tables were all covered, and they were in the midst of their festivity and joy, when Christian and the archbishop arose from table and left the room, but presently returned again followed by a band of armed men and executioners; and the archbishop holding the pope's bull in his hand, gave orders to put all the guests to death. They ripped open the breast of the grand prior of the order of Jerusalem, and plucked out his heart. The tyrants concluded their bloody feast by a massacre of all the common people, without distinction of age or sex. These two monsters, who deserved to perish by the same punishment which they inflicted on the grand prior, died in their beds. Christian

lian, however, was driven from the throne. The famous Gustavus Vasa delivered his country from this tyrant, as we have already shewn under the article of Sweden; and the four estates of the kingdom having de- 1523
creed him the crown, he was one of the foremost to exterminate a religion which had been made the means of committing such execrable crimes.

Lutheranism then was soon established without opposition in Sweden and Denmark, immediately upon the tyrant's being driven from the throne of these two kingdoms.

Luther now saw himself the apostle of the North, and enjoyed his glory in peace. In the year 1525 the dominions of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hesse, and the cities of Strasburg and Frankfort embraced his doctrine.

It is certain that the Romish church stood in great need of reformation; this was acknowledged by pope Adrian himself, who succeeded Leo X. and it is as certain, that if there had not been some superior in the Christian world, to determine the sense of the holy writings, and the particular tenets of religion, there would have been as many sects as there are men able to read. For, after all, the divine law-giver has given us but few written rules, and his disciples have been very sparing in their instructions; and those they have delivered are done in such a manner, as make them very difficult to be understood of themselves, almost every word being liable to a dispute.

But the protestants of Germany, who were for following the letter of the gospel, exhibited

bited a strange scene some few years afterwards, by dispensing with an acknowledged law which seemed established beyond the reach of attack. I mean the law by which a man is allowed only one wife, which is a positive institution, and on which depends the peace and happiness of all the states and private families of Christendom.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who was the second protector of Lutheranism, wanted to marry a young lady named Catherine de Saal, while his first wife Christina of Saxony was yet living; and what is perhaps more extraordinary, it appears from some original papers relating to this affair, that he conceived this design upon a scruple of conscience. Here is one of the wonderful examples of the weakness of the human mind. This prince, who was in other respects a wise man, and a good politician, seemed to think seriously that he might transgress a law, the justness of which he could not but acknowledge, provided he had the permission of Luther and his companions. He delivered a remonstrance then to the heads of the church, setting forth, that the princess of Saxony, his wife, "was ugly, had offensive smells, and was frequently drunk." After this, he generously confesses in his remonstrance, that he had frequently fallen into the sin of fornication, and that his constitution required these pleasures. But what is not altogether so generous, he at the same time artfully hints to his doctors, that if they refused to grant him the dispensation he requires, he may possibly ask it of the pope.

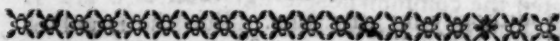
Luther upon this assembled a small synod at Wittemberg, consisting of six of the chief protestant

testant ministers. They were sensible that they were about to strike at a law that was observed even by those of their own sect. The examples of polygamy formerly given by Christian princes, had ever been looked upon by all sober Christians as a great error. And tho' the emperor Valentinian the elder, had married Justina while his wife Severa was yet living; and several kings of France had had two or three wives at a time, the transgression of a law is no authority for any one. But the synod of Wittemberg did not consider marriage as a sacrament, but only as a civil contract; and declared that the church allowed a divorce, though the gospel forbade it; and moreover that the gospel in no place expressly enjoins the having no more than one wife: but, in short, the scandal appeared so plain, that they were glad to conceal it as much as possible from the eyes of the people. In fine, this permission for polygamy was signed, and the king was married to his mistress, even with the consent of the lawful wife herself.

Thus a thing which the popes had never dared to attempt, whose excessive power Luther had so severely attacked, was done by him, who had no power at all. This dispensation of his was at first kept private; but time reveals all secrets of this nature. This example has not indeed been followed since; but the reason is, that a man seldom keeps two wives at the same time in his house, on account of the rivalry between them, which would occasion continual domestic strifes, and render three persons miserable. The law which permits a plurality of wives among the eastern people, is the least regarded of any
by

by private persons. They have indeed several mistresses; but perhaps there are not four Turks in all Constantinople that have a number of wives.

It would have been happy for the world if the innovations in religion had produced only scandals of this peaceable nature; but Germany became the theatre of the most bloody tragedies.



C H A P. CX.

Of the ANABAPTISTS.

TWO men, natives of Saxony, whose names were Storck and Muncer, making use of some passages in scripture, where it is said that no man is a disciple of Christ, unless he has received the inspiration of the holy spirit, pretended to be inspired themselves.

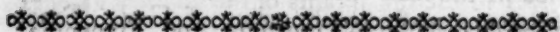
These were the first enthusiasts we 1525 hear of in these times; they insisted that all children should be baptised over again, because Christ did not receive baptism till he was an adult; from this doctrine they acquired the name of Anabaptists. They declared themselves inspired, and sent to reform the Romish and Lutheran communions, and destroy every one who opposed the gospel they preached; founding their assertions on these words in holy writ, "I am not come to bring peace into the world, but a sword."

Luther had been successful in stirring up the princes, noblemen, and magistrates of Germany against

against the pope and the bishops. Muncer stirred up the peasants against them all. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that mankind are all born equal, saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It must be acknowledged that the demands made by the anabaptists, and delivered in writing in the name of the husbandmen and labourers, were extremely just; but it 1523 was letting loose so many wild bears, to make even a reasonable manifesto in their name. The cruelties which we have already seen exercised by the commons of France and England in the time of Charles VI. were now revived in Germany, and carried to a greater height of fury by the spirit of fanaticism. These tribes of savage beasts, while they preached up equality and reformation, committed the most dreadful ravages in all the places where they came, from Saxony to Lorrain; but at length they met with the common fate of all rioters who have not a skilful leader. After having committed the most shocking disorders, they were at length exterminated by the regular troops. Muncer, who had set himself up for a new Ma- 1525 homet, perished upon a scaffold at Mulhausen. Luther, who had no actual share in these excesses, but who was nevertheless the primary cause of them, though unwillingly, by having been the first who levelled the bounds

of submission, lost no part of his credit or reputation, but still continued to be esteemed a prophet in his own country.



C H A P. CXI.

Sequel of the State of LUTHERANISM and ANABAPTISM.

THE emperor Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, were no longer able to stop the progress of the protestants. The diet of Spires in vain drew up moderate articles of pacification. Fourteen towns, and several princes of Germany, protested against the edict of Spires; and it was this protest which occasioned the name of protestants to be afterwards given to all the adversaries of the Romish church: Lutherans, Zuinglians, Oecolampadians, Carlostadians, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Puritans, and the high church and low church parties in England, all go under this general denomination. These altogether form an immense republic, composed of divers factions, which are all united against Rome their common enemy.

The Lutherans presented their confession of faith at Augsburg; and this confession, to which one third of Germany adhered, has since been their constant guide. The princes of this party already began to cabal together against the power of Charles V. as well as against the court of Rome; but no blood was as yet spilt in the empire on account

of Luther, or his cause. The anabaptists, still carried away by their blind rage, and whom the exemplary fate of their leader, Muncer, had not in the least intimidated, continued to lay Germany waste in the name of God. Fana-ticism had never before produced a fury equal to this in the world. The peasants, who all thought themselves prophets, and knew nothing more of scripture than that it commanded them to massacre without pity all the enemies of the Lord, gained the upper hand in Westphalia, which was then the country of stupidity, and made themselves masters of the city of Munster, and expelled its bishop. They at first intended to establish a theocracy like that of the Jews, acknowledge no other master than God: but one Matthew, who was the chief prophet among them, having been killed, a journeyman taylor, called John of Leyden, from being born in the city of Leyden in Holland, assured them that God had appeared to him, and appointed him king: and he made them believe all that he said.

The ceremony of his coronation was conducted with the greatest magnificence. There are still to be seen some pieces of the coin, which he struck with his arms on them, which were two swords placed across, in the same manner as the pope's keys. Thus become king and prophet at the same time, he dispatched twelve apostles to declare his reign through all lower Germany. As to himself, after the example of the kings of Israel, he had several wives, and actually married seventeen at once. One of these having dropt some expressions against his authority, he cut off her head in presence of the

others, who, either through fear or superstition, danced along with him around the bleeding trunk of their murdered companion.

This king-prophet had one virtue which is frequently found in robbers, and tyrants ; this was courage : he defended Munster against its bishop, Waldeck, with intrepid bravery, for the space of a whole year ; and though reduced to the last extremities of famine, 1535 rejected all accommodation. At length he was taken fighting, by the treachery of his own people ; but even in captivity he still retained his unshaken pride. The bishop demanding of him how he had the insolence to make himself king ; this haughty prisoner demanded of him in his turn, by what right a bishop had the insolence to be a temporal lord. I was elected by my chapter, replied the bishop ; and I by God himself, replied John of Leyden. The bishop, after having carried him about for some time from town to town, and shewn him as we shew a monster, caused his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers. But the punishments inflicted upon the king and his followers did not suppress the enthusiasm of this sect. Their brethren in the Low Countries were very near surprising the city of Amsterdam : but the conspirators being discovered, were all put to death. The sect, however, still subsists, but entirely different from what it was in its first origin : the descendants of these bloody fanatics are the most peaceable of men, wholly employed in their manufactures and trade, and of an industrious and charitable disposition. So extraordinary a change is almost without example ; but as they make no figure in the world,
it

it is hardly thought worth while to enquire whether they are changed or not, nor whether they are wicked or virtuous.



C H A P. CXII.

Of GENEVA, and of CALVIN.

AS the anabaptists deserved to have the alarm sounded against them from every part of Europe, the protestants, on the contrary, gained the greatest commendation in the opinion of the people, by the manner in which they established their new religion in many places. The magistrates of Geneva ordered public disputations to be held during the 1535 whole month of June, to which they invited the catholics and protestants of all countries. Four senators committed to writing whatever was said of consequence for and against. After this, the great council of the city examined with the utmost care the result of these disputes. The assemblies of Zurich and Berne had acted much in the same manner, though not so juridically, nor with so much deliberation and ceremony. At length the council condemned the Romish religion; and this inscription is still to be seen in the town house, graven on a brass table: "In remembrance of the divine goodness, which hath enabled us to shake off the yoke of antichrist, to abolish superstition, and to recover liberty."

78. Of GENEVA and CALVIN.

Accordingly, the Genevans recovered their realliberty. The bishops who, after the example of many other German prelates, disputed the right of sovereignty over Geneva, with the duke of Savoy and the people, was obliged to fly and leave the government to the citizens. There had for a long time been two parties in the city, the one protestant, and the other catholic. The protestants called themselves Egnots, from the word *Eidgnossen*, allied by oath. The Egnots prevailing, gained over some of the opposite faction to their communion, and expelled the rest. From hence it came, that those of the reformed religion in France had the name of Egnots, or Huguenots, given them; an appellation for which the greater part of the French writers have since invented many idle origins.

This religion of the Genevans was not absolutely the same with that of the Swiss nation; but the difference was very trifling, and their communion has never sustained any injuries from it. The famous Calvin, whom we look upon as the apostle of Geneva, had no part in this change: he retired some time after to this city, but was at first excluded, because his doctrine did not at all agree with the established one; however, he returned back afterwards, and set himself up for the protestant pope.

His true name was Chauvin: he was born at Noyon*, in the year 1509. He understood Latin and Greek, and was well versed in the wretched philosophy of his age. He was a

* A city of the Noyonnois in the isle of France, about 54 miles N. E. of Paris.

better

better writer than Luther, but not so good a speaker: they were both of them laborious and austere, but rough and passionate; both full of ardour to signalize themselves, and gain that ascendant over the minds of others, which is so flattering to self-love, and which makes a kind of conqueror of a divine.

Those ignorant catholics who only know in general that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin were each of them married, and that Luther permitted the landgrave of Hesse to have two wives, imagine that these first founders of the reformed religion worked themselves into the good opinion of the people by flattering insinuations, and that they freed mankind from a heavy yoke, to impose a very light one upon them; but the contrary is the truth. They were men of the most rigid manners, and all their words were dipt in gall. If they condemned celibacy in the priests, and set open the gates of the convents, it was only to turn all society into a convent. Shews and entertainments were expressly forbid by their religion; and for upwards of two hundred years there was not a single musical instrument allowed in the city of Geneva. They condemned auricular confession, but they enjoined a public one; and in Switzerland, Scotland, and Geneva, it was performed the same as penance. There has been no gaining mankind, at least hitherto, by proposing to them only the simple and the easy; the master who is most rigid, is always the most listened to. These reformers deprived men of their free-will, and every one flocked to them. Neither Luther, Calvin, nor any of the others were agreed concerning the

eucharist: one, as I have already observed, saw God in the bread and wine, in the same manner as fire in an heated iron; another like the pidgeon, in which the Holy Ghost is said to reside. At first Calvin had a dispute with such of the Genevans who communicated with leavened bread, as he was for having unleavened bread used. He took refuge in the city of Straßburg, for he could not return to France, where fires were already lighted up in every part; and Francis I. suffered the protestants to be burned, while he was making an alliance with their brethren in Germany. Having married the widow of an anabaptist at Straßbourg, he afterwards returned to Geneva, and took the sacrament with leavened bread, as others did; and soon acquired as great reputation in that city as Luther had done in Saxony.

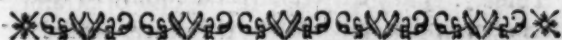
Here he framed the tenets and discipline that are now observed by all those we call Calvinists in Holland, Swisserland, and England, and which have so long divided the minds of the people in France. Helikewise established synods, consistories, and the office of deacon; regulated the form of prayer and preaching; and even instituted a consistorial jurisdiction, that has a right of excommunication.

Calvin's religion is quite agreeable to a republican spirit; and yet he himself was of a tyrannical disposition.

We have an instance of this in the persecution he raised against Castalion*, a man of much

* Sebastian Castalion, or Castilion, was a regent in the college of Geneva, from whence he was exiled, because he main-

much greater learning than himself, whom he out of jealousy expelled from Geneva; and in the cruel death which he a long time afterwards caused to be inflicted upon the unfortunate Michael Servetus.



C H A P. CXIII.

Of CALVIN and SERVETUS.

MICHAEL Servetus, a learned physician of Villanueva in Arragon, merited the peaceable enjoyment of the reputation which was due to him for having long before Hervey discovered the circulation of the blood; but he neglected an useful art for dangerous knowledge. He wrote concerning Christ's prefiguration in the word, of the hypostasis, or personality of the word, of the beatific vision, of the angelic substance, and a book *de manducatione superiori*. He partly adopted the antient tenets of Eusebius and Arius, which prevailed in the East, and were in the sixteenth century em-

maintained that the song of Solomon was an impure poem, and ought to be erased from the canon of the scripture. He was likewise accused of endeavouring to weaken the authority of the word of God, in affirming, in his annotations on the first epistle of the Corinthians, that St. Paul had taught those of his disciples who had attained to a high degree of perfection, a more sublime theology than that he left in his writings. Castalion was well versed in the dead languages, and made a Latin version of the Bible, which has been condemned for want of simplicity, and an affectation of classical latinity.

braced by Lelio Socini, and afterwards received in Poland, England, and Holland.

He was of so open a disposition, that he wrote from Vienne in Dauphiny, where he lived for some time, to Calvin concerning the Trinity. They carried on their dispute by letters for some time; but Calvin from disputation proceeded to invectives, and from these to a theological hatred, which is of all others the most implacable. Calvin had treacherously procured some sheets of a work which Servetus was privately printing; these he sent to Lyons, together with the letters he had received from him, an action which is alone sufficient to disgrace him for ever with society; for that which is called the spirit of society, is infinitely more strict than all the synods in the world. Calvin caused Servetus to be accused by one of his emissaries. What a part for an apostle to act! Servetus, who was very sensible that in France every innovator was condemned without mercy to the stake, found means to make his escape, while they were preparing matters for his trial. Unfortunately for him he passed through Geneva in his way; which being known to Calvin, he informed against him, and caused him to be apprehended. But as the Genevans had a law, which ought to be imitated in all states, that the informer shall surrender himself prisoner, together with the person accused; Calvin caused the information to be given by one of his followers, who served him in the quality of a domestic.

When he saw his adversary in confinement, he loaded him with every kind of insult and evil treatment that base minds are wont to do,
when

when they get the upper hand. At length, by continually pressing the judges to employ the credit of those he pointed out to them, and by proclaiming in person, and by his emissaries, that God demanded the execution of Michael Servetus, he had him burnt alive, and took a cruel pleasure in being a witness to his sufferings, he, who, if he had set a foot in France, would have been sent to the stake himself, and who had so loudly exclaimed against all persecution.

Our indignation and pity must be still increased, when we consider that Servetus in the works he published, plainly acknowledged the eternal godhead of Christ; and that Calvin, in order to ruin him, had produced some private letters, written a long time before, by this unfortunate man to some of his friends, wherein he expressed himself somewhat too freely.

This deplorable catastrophe did not happen till the year 1555, twenty years after the council of Geneva had made its decree against the Romish religion: but I give it a place here, in order to furnish a better insight into the true character of Calvin, who afterwards became the apostle of Geneva, and of those of the reformed religion in France. But the most ample amends are now made to the ashes of Servetus. Several learned pastors among the English protestants, and even some of the greatest philosophers, have embraced his opinion, and that of Socinus: they have even gone farther than either of them: their religion consists in the adoration of one God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. And here we only give a relation of facts and opinions, without entering into any controversy, or disputing

against any person, reverencing what we ought to reverence, and confining ourselves wholly to historical fidelity.

The finishing stroke to this picture of Calvin may be found in a letter written with his own hand, which is still preserved in the castle of Bastie-Roland, near Montelimar: it is directed to the marquis of Poët, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated Sept. 30, 1561.

“Honour, glory, and riches, shall be the reward of your pains; but above all do not fail to rid the country of those zealous scoundrels, who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus, the Spaniard.”

The faults of mankind are frequently allied to virtues. This harshness of Calvin's was joined to the greatest disinterestedness; for at his death the whole of his possessions was not worth more than one hundred and twenty gold crowns. His indefatigable application shortened his days; but it rendered his name famous, and procured him great reputation.

There are letters of Luther's, which breathe as turbulent and uncharitable a spirit as those of Calvin. The catholics say, they cannot conceive how the protestants could acknowledge such men as apostles: to which the protestants reply, that they do not invoke as saints the authors of the reformation; that they are neither Lutherans, Zuinglians, nor Calvinists; that they profess to follow the doctrine of the primitive church; that they do not canonize the passions of Luther and Calvin; and that the ferocity of their characters ought no more to

to make against their tenets in the minds of protestants, than the manners of Alexander VI. and Leo X. or the barbarities of certain persecutions, should prejudice the Romish religion in the minds of catholics.

This is a truly prudent reply; and moderation seems at present to have taken place of the antient fury in both parties. Had the same spirit of bloodshed and cruelty always prevailed in religion, Europe would be only a vast burying place. But the spirit of philosophy has at length blunted the edge of the sword; yet mankind were obliged to suffer two hundred years of mad cruelty to arrive at these days of ease and tranquility.

These commotions, which, by the events of war, restored so large a portion of the church possessions into secular hands, did not enrich the theologians who were the promoters of those wars. They had the fate of those who found the charge, but do not partake of the spoils. The pastors of the protestant churches had inveighed so loudly against the riches of the clergy, that they imposed a kind of law of decency upon themselves, which prevented them from accumulating what they had so much condemned; and almost every crowned head kept them strictly to the letter of this law. The Calvinist and Lutheran pastors have in most places had such provision made for them as is necessary for their support, without allowing of luxury. The revenues of the monasteries have been almost all of them placed in the hands of the government, and applied to the use of hospitals. The only rich bishopricks remaining in Germany, whose possessions have not suffered diminution, are those of Lubeck.

and Osnabrug. You will see, in casting your eye over the sequel of these revolutions, the whimsical but pacific agreement in the treaty of Westphalia, by which this bishoprick of Osnabrug is become alternatively Lutheran and Catholic. The reformation has been more favourable to the clergy in England, than it has been to the Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, Swisserland, and the Low Countries. In England the bishopricks are all very considerable; the livings afford a very handsome support; and the country curates there are much better provided for than they are in France. All the advantage reaped by the government and the laity was from the dissolution of the monasteries. There are several entire parishes in London, which were formerly only one convent, but are now peopled with several numerous families. In general, every nation where convents have been converted to the use of the public, for, has, humanly speaking, been considerable gainers, without any person being injured: in fact, nothing is taken from a society which no longer exists; and there was no injury done but to a few temporary possessors, who left no descendants behind them to complain of what they had been stripped of. It was the injustice of a day, which has been productive of a benefit that will last for ages.

In the mean time, before this confusion could be properly reduced to order, the two parties of Lutherans and Catholics set all Germany in flames. The gospel religion, as it was called, was already, (in the year 1555) established in twenty-four cities and eighteen small provinces of the empire. The Lutherans wanted to humble

ble the power of Charles V. and he on his side pretended to root them out of the empire. Alliances were made, and battles fought on both sides; but here we must follow the changes wrought in the minds of men, with respect to religious affairs, and see in what manner the church of England was first established, and the schisms which happened in that of France.



C H A P. CXIV.

Of King HENRY VIII. and of the Change of Religion in ENGLAND.

EVERY one knows that the separation between England and the see of Rome was caused by an amour of Henry VIII. What neither St. Peter's pence, nor the reservations and provisos, nor the annates, nor the levying of taxes, nor the sales of indulgences, nor five years of exactions, all of them constantly opposed by acts of parliament, and the murmurings of the people, could ever bring to pass, was produced at length, or at least was first occasioned by a sudden love fit; and this mighty monument of the papal power, which had been so long, and so furiously shaken by public hatred, was brought to the ground by the first stone which was flung against it.

Henry VIII. a man by nature sensual, violent, and obstinate in his desires, had among many other mistresses one named Anna Bullen, the daughter of a private gentleman of his kingdom. This young lady, whose free and sprightly carriage

riage seemed to promise very little resistance, had still the prudence not to yield entirely; by which she so inflamed the king's passion, that he resolved to make her his wife.

He had been married for above eighteen years to Catherine of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and aunt to Charles V. who had brought him three children, of which there was one still living, this was the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England. How then was he to procure a divorce, or annul his marriage with a person like queen Catherine, whom he could not reproach with harshness, ill conduct, nor even that morose humour which is so frequently found in women of strict virtue? This princess was first married to prince Arthur, eldest son to Henry VII. who dying a few months after their nuptials, Henry procured a dispensation from pope Julius II. and made a contract of marriage between her and his second son, this Henry VIII. who, as soon as he came to the crown by his father's death, was solemnly espoused to her. A considerable time afterwards he had a bastard by one of his mistresses, named Blunt. But he then had only conceived a dislike to his marriage, and no scruples of conscience; but as soon as he fell so passionately in love with Anna Bullen, and found that he could not obtain her without marriage, he instantly began to feel a remorse of conscience, and shuddered to think how much he had offended God, by having lived eighteen years with Catherine as his wife. This prince, who still acknowledged the authority of the see of Rome, applied to Clement VII. to annul pope Julius' bull, and declare his marriage with Catherine
of

of Spain, contrary to all laws divine and human.

Clement VII. the bastard son of Julian of Medicis, had lately seen the city of Rome sacked by the army of Charles V. and having but very lately made peace with this prince, he was still apprehensive that he would get him deposed, on account of his illegitimacy. He therefore could by no means think of declaring his aunt a concubine, and her children bastards, who had been so long acknowledged legitimate. Nor could he, as pope, own that his predecessor had no title to grant a dispensation. And, on the other hand, it would have been sapping the very foundation of the papal power, to acknowledge that there were any laws which the popes might not break through if they thought fit.

Lewis XII. had indeed caused his marriage to be dissolved; but his was a very different case from the present. Lewis had had no children by his queen, and pope Alexander VI. who ordered this divorce, was connected in interest with that monarch.

Francis I. strongly supported Henry's cause at Rome, both as his brother-in-law and ally, and likewise as the enemy of Charles V. whose power was already grown formidable. The pope, thus pressed between the emperor and these two kings; and being, as he expressed himself in one of his letters, "between the hammer and anvil," had recourse to negotiations, delays, promises, and denials, in hopes that Henry's passion would not last so long as an Italian negotiation; but here he was deceived; and the English monarch, who unfortunately happened to be a theologian, made

his

his divinity subservient to his passion. He and his doctors had recourse to the Levitical law, which forbids any one "To uncover the nakedness of his brother's wife, or to marry his wife's sister." The Christian states have long wanted, and still continue to want good positive laws. In their jurisprudence, which is yet barbarous in many respects, and composed of the ancient customs of five hundred petty tyrants, they are frequently obliged to have recourse to the laws of the Romans and Hebrews, like a man who has wandered out of the road, and is enquiring his way. They search in the Jewish code for rules to direct the practice of their tribunals.

But if we are to follow the Jewish matrimonial law at all, we should follow it in every thing. We should condemn to death every one who draws near to his wife at certain seasons which happen to the female sex; in a word, we should obey a number of injunctions, which are not made either for our climates or our manners, and are even contradictory to the new law.

This, however, was the least of the many errors committed by those who pretended to judge concerning Henry's marriage, upon the principles of the Levitical law. They industriously concealed from themselves, that in Deuteronomy, one of these very books in which, according to our weak understandings, God sometimes appears to command contradictions, in order to exercise the obedience of mankind, a man is not only permitted, but even enjoined to marry his brother's widow, in case she has no children; and that the widow had a right to summon her husband's brother to fulfil this law; and

and in case of a refusal, to loose his shoe from his foot, and throw it in his face.

It afforded an extraordinary and curious spectacle to behold the king of England, on one side, soliciting the several universities of Europe to be favourable to his passion, and the emperor, on the other, pressing them as warmly for their decision in favour of his aunt, and the king of France between both standing up for the Levitical law against that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the breach irreparable between Henry of England and Charles V. The emperor lavished benefices upon those Italian doctors who wrote for the validity of Catherine's marriage; and Henry paid those as bountifully who gave their opinions in his favour. Time has at length unveiled these mysteries; and in the accounts of one of the king's private agents, named Crook, we find the following articles: "To a Servetian monk one crown; to two other monks two crowns; to the prior of St. John fifteen crowns; to John Marino, the preacher, twenty crowns." By this we find that the price was different, according to the credit of the suffrage; and yet this purchaser of theological decisions, after he turned protestant, declared in defence of his proceedings, that he had never bought a single opinion, nor given any sum of money, till after the decree was signed. At length the universities of France, and particularly the Sorbonne, came to a resolution, that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was unlawful, July 2, and that Julius had not power to 1530
dispense with the Levitical law.

Henry's agents went so far as to call in to their assistance the opinions of the Jewish rab-

bins; who acknowledged, that by the Deuteronomical law, a man was commanded to marry his brother's widow; but, said they, this law related only to the country of Palestine, and it is the Levitical law which ought to be observed in England. The universities and rabbins of the Austrian territories were of a quite different opinion; these, however, were not consulted.

Henry, thus provided with decisions, which he had purchased at a reasonable rate, pressed by his mistress's importunities, wearied with the pope's continual subterfuges, encouraged by Francis I. and depending on the support and authority of the clergy and universities of his own kingdom, and absolute master of his parliament, caused his marriage to be annulled by

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

1533 The queen, after having with becoming boldness and modesty maintained her just rights, and objected to the authority of the court in such a manner, as not to furnish any dangerous weapons against herself, retired from the capital, and left her bed and throne to her rival; and this favourite mistress, who was already advanced two months in her pregnancy, when she was declared a wife and a queen*, made her public entry into London with a pomp as much superior to the customary magnificence on those occasions, as her present exalted station was above her former fortunes.

Pope Clement VII. could not now avoid revenging the affront offered to Charles V. and

* It might be imagined from hence that Anna Bullen was with child by Henry before she was married to him, but the contrary is truth, for they were wedded privately some months before her coronation.

the prerogatives of the holy see; and accordingly issued a bull against Henry VIII. This bull lost him the kingdom of England; for Henry, almost at the same time, got himself declared supreme head of the church of England by his clergy, and the parliament afterwards confirmed this title, and abolished the pope's authority throughout the kingdom, together with his annates, Peter's pence, and provisional grants. The nation chearfully joined in taking a new oath to the king, called the oath of supremacy: and thus was the whole credit of the popes, which had lasted for so many centuries, overthrown as it were in an instant, and without contradiction, notwithstanding the desperate outcries of all the religious orders.

Those who pretended that no great kingdom could break with the pope without manifest danger, now saw, that a single blow was sufficient to overthrow this venerable colossus, whose head was of gold, and his feet of clay. In fact, the taxes which the court of Rome had so long imposed on the English, were founded only on that people's willingness to be laid under contribution; but as soon as they resolved to be no longer so, it was found that a power founded only on force is nothing in itself.

The king made his parliament grant him the annates or first-fruits, which used to be collected by the popes. He created six new bishoprics, and ordered a visitation of all the convents in his name. In the accounts of this visitation, which are still to be seen, we find some scandalous excesses carefully exaggerated, some false miracles greatly multiplied, and some
fictitious

fictional relics, which were said to have been made use of in several convents, to increase the devotion of the people, and bring in offerings. Several wooden figures were burnt in one of the market-places in London *, which it was said the monks made to move by
 1435 means of springs.

But the people could not, without a mixture of horror and concern, behold the ashes of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whom the English nation still revered, committed to the flames, together with these instruments of pious fraud. The king appropriated the rich shrine in which they were contained, and which was curiously adorned with jewels, to his own use. If Henry with justice reproached the monks with their extortions, he gave them equal reason by his proceedings to charge him with rapine. All the convents were suppressed; and such of the religious, who, on account of their age, could not enter into the world again, had either places assigned for their retreat, or pensions allowed them. Their revenues were all placed in the king's hands: according to a calculation made by Burnet, they amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling; but this is exaggerating matters. The amount in effects and ready money was very considerable. With
 1536 these spoils Henry founded and endowed six new bishoprics, and one college, bestowed large rewards on some of his servants, and converted the remainder to his own use.

This very prince, who had written so warmly in defence of the pope's authority, against Lu-

* Smithfield,

ther, became now an irreconcilable enemy to the see of Rome. But the same zeal, which had instigated him to oppose so vehemently the opinions of that arch heretic and reformer, still induced him to adhere to the doctrine, tho' he had changed the discipline of the Romish church.

He wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either Lutheran or Sacramentarian. He still preserved the invocation of saints, but under certain restrictions. He ordered the holy scriptures to be read to the people in the vulgar tongue, but would go no farther. It was equally a crime to believe in the pope, and to be a protestant; and he alike condemned to the flames those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion of Germany.

The famous lord chancellor More, and one bishop Fisher, were sentenced by the parliament, agreeable to the rigour of the late laws, to be beheaded, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, which was, in other words, acknowledging Henry VIII. for pope of England; for Henry always made use of the sword of the law to cut off those who proved refractory.

Pope Paul III. who succeeded to Clement VII. thought to save Fisher's life by sending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block. The king afterwards set a price upon the head of cardinal Polus, or Pole, who had taken refuge at Rome, and inhumanly caused the mother of this prelate to be put to death

death by the hands of the executioner, without the least regard to her great age, or the royal stock from which she was descended. All this he did because they refused to acknowledge him as the English pope.

The king having understood that there was at that time in London a learned Sacramentarian, called Lambert, resolved to have the glory of disputing with him before a grand assembly, summoned for that purpose at Westminster. The end of this disputation was, that the king gave his antagonist his choice, either to be of his opinion, or to be hanged. Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed. The English bishops, who were still catholics, though they had renounced the jurisdiction of the pope, were animated with such a furious zeal against the heretics, that when they condemned any of them to be burnt, they granted forty days indulgence to every person who brought wood to build the pile.

All these massacres were carried on by acts of parliament; and this shew of justice, which is perhaps more detestable than the oppressive violence which defies all laws, was in a great measure the means of preventing civil wars. There were insurrections in some of the counties, but London, awed by its fears, remained perfectly quiet.

Thus did Henry VIII. by his policy and severity, render himself absolute master of his people. His will became the sole law of the kingdom, and those nominal laws by which they judged between subject and subject, were so imperfect, that at that time a person was sentenced

sentenced to death upon the deposition of a single witness; and it was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the English, following the example of other nations, enacted as a law, that no person should be condemned without the deposition of two witnesses.

Anna Bullen still enjoyed her triumph, under the protection of the king's authority. It is said that her ruin was secretly plotted by some of the friends of Rome, who hoped, that if they could bring about a separation between her and the king, the daughter of Catharine of Spain would succeed to the crown, and restore the religion which had been abolished in favour of this rival. The king, who was lately become amorous of Jane Seymour, one of the queen's maids of honour, greedily received the reports brought him against his wife. He was violent in all his passions, and now, without blushing or hesitation, accused his consort of adultery before the house of peers. The parliament, which at that time was only the creature of the king's will, gave sentence against the queen; but upon such slight evidence, that if a private person was to part with his wife on no stronger conviction of her guilt, he would pass for a very bad man. At the same time they condemned her brother to lose his head, on pretence of having committed incest with her, though without the least proof. Two other persons were executed for having used some complimentary expressions to her, which might be spoken to any woman, and which the most virtuous queen might hear, when, in a gaiety of humour, she indulges the persons about her in the freedom of conversation.

tion : and a musician was likewise hanged, who had been prevailed upon to depose in court that he had partaken of her private favours, and who was never confronted with her. The letter which the unfortunate queen wrote to her husband, before she went to the scaffold, is a strong proof of her innocence and resolution : “ Your majesty has ever loaded me with favours and dignities, says she ; from a private woman you raised me to the rank of a marchioness, from a marchioness to be a queen ; and now from a queen, you are this day pleased to make me a saint.” In a word, Anna Bullen was sent from a throne to a scaffold, by the jealousy of a husband who had no longer any affection for her. She was not the only one of twenty crowned heads, who had met with a tragical end in England, but she was the first who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. The tyrant (for I can give him no other name) caused himself to be divorced from his wife before he put her to death, and by that means declared his daughter Elizabeth a bastard, as he had before illegitimated his first daughter Mary.

The very next day after the queen’s execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the following year, after having brought him a son.

Henry soon contracted a new marriage with Anne of Cleves, of whom
1539 he became enamoured by a flattering picture, which the famous Hans Holbein had drawn for her. But when he saw her in person, he found her so different from her picture, that in six months after he resolved upon a third divorce.

To

To bring this about, he told his clergy, that he had never consented in his heart to marry Anne of Cleves. No one could have had the impudence to make use of such a reason, without being very sure, that those to whom it was offered would be mean enough to allow its validity. The bounds of justice and shame had been long broken through, and the clergy and parliament made no scruple of granting him a sentence of divorce; after which he married his fifth wife, Catharine Howard, who was one of his own subjects. Any other person than Henry would have been weary of continually exposing the real or pretended infamy of his family; but he, on the contrary, being informed that the queen, before her marriage, had had several gallants, ordered her to be beheaded for past faults, which 1542 ought not to have been remembered, and which, at the time of their commission, did not merit so severe a punishment.

After being thus stained with the blood of two wives, and branded with the infamy of three divorcements, he caused a law to be passed, equally shameful, cruel, ridiculous, and impossible to be executed; which was, that any person being privy to the gallantry of the queen, and not making the same known, should incur the penalties of high treason, and that every woman about to be married to a king of England, not being a virgin, is bound to declare the same under pain of the like punishment.

It was said by way of jest on this act, (if there could be any jesting in such a court) that the king ought to marry a widow; which he

accordingly did, in the person of Catharine Parr, his sixth wife, who was very near experiencing the fate of Anna Bullen and Catharine Howard; not for any affair of gallantry, but for happening to differ sometimes from the
1543 king in matters of religion.

Some princes who have changed the religion of their kingdoms have become cruel and tyrannical, from the opposition and rebellion of their subjects: but Henry was cruel by nature, and a tyrant in his government, his religion, and his family. Yet this man died in
1555 his bed, and Henry VI. the most sweet tempered of all princes, was dethroned, imprisoned, and assassinated.

This king's last illness furnishes us with a singular instance of the power of the English laws, so long as they remain in force, and of the strict observance which has in all times been paid to the letter, rather than spirit of those laws. No person dared to acquaint Henry with his approaching end, because, a few years before, he had made the parliament pass a law, declaring it high treason in any one who should foretell the death of the king. This law, as cruel as it was absurd, could not be founded on the pretence of the troubles arising about the succession, since the succession had already been settled in favour of prince Edward; it was therefore only the effect of the tyrannical disposition of Henry VIII. his fear of death, and the general opinion which still prevailed concerning the art of knowing futurity.

C H A P. CIV.

Sequel of Affairs relating to RELIGION in
ENGLAND.

DURING the reign of Edward VI. son to Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, the English were protestants, because the sovereign and his council were such, and because the spirit of reformation had already begun to take root. The church of England was at that time partly Lutherans and partly Sacramentarians; but no one was persecuted on account of their belief, except two poor anabaptist women, whom archbishop Cranmer, a violent Lutheran, insisted upon having burnt, not foreseeing that he himself was one day to undergo the same fate. The young king refused for a long time to give his assent to the condemnation of these poor wretches; and when at length obliged to sign the warrant for their death, he shed a flood of tears. It was not sufficient to shed tears on such an occasion, he ought to have persisted in refusing to sign. But he was then only fourteen years of age, and could not be supposed to have any steady resolves, either with respect to good or evil.

Those who at that time went under the denomination of anabaptists in England are the ancestors of the pacific quakers, whose religion has been the object of so much ridicule, while at the same time we cannot forbear having an esteem for their manners. These anabaptists differed widely in point of doctrine, and still more in conduct, from the German anabaptists.

tists, that uncivilized and brutal rabble, who, as we have already seen, carried the fury of wild fanaticism as far as it was possible for human nature to do, when left to itself. The English anabaptists had not yet any settled body of doctrine among them, as indeed no sect raised from among the common people can have, till after a length of time; but it is very extraordinary, that though they made a profession of being Christians, without the least pretence to any kind of philosophy, they were in fact no other than deists; for they owned Jesus Christ only as a man to whom God had been pleased to impart a greater portion of pure knowledge, than to the rest of mankind who lived at the same time. The most learned of them affirmed, that the term SON OF GOD signified no more with the Hebrews than a good, or virtuous man, as the son of Belial, or Satan, did a wicked man; and that most of the tenets which have been taken from the scriptures are philosophic subtleties, which have been made use of to cover plain and natural truths. They denied the history of the fall of man, the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and consequently that of the incarnation. They absolutely rejected the baptism of children, and conferred a new one upon adults; several of them even looked upon baptism as only an old eastern form of ablution adopted by the Jews, and afterwards revived by John the Baptist, and which was never put in practice by Christ upon any of his apostles. It was in this point that they principally resembled the quakers who have come after them; and this dislike to the baptism of children was the chief thing which pro-

procured them the appellation of anabaptists. They pretended to adhere closely to the letter of the gospel, and thought that dying for their sect was dying for Christianity; and in this they differed essentially from the deists, or God-worshippers, who established their private opinions more than ever in the midst of so many public sects.

These latter, who were more attached to Plato than Jesus, and who were philosophers rather than Christians, being tired with the numberless and unhappy disputes about religion, somewhat too rashly rejected both divine revelation, which they found too much perverted by mankind, and human authority, which had been still more abused. They spread themselves throughout all Europe, and have increased in a surprising manner, without having formed themselves into either sect or society, or having ever rebelled against any power. This religion is the only one in the world that never had an assembly; very little has been written concerning it; it is peaceable, and has spread through every part without the help of communication. Formed originally of philosophers, who, by following the light of nature only, without instructing each other, have wandered in an uniform manner; from them it spread itself among the middling rank of people, who lead a life of ease consequent upon a limited fortune, and has since ascended to the great in all countries, but seldom has come down to the common people. England is, of all other countries in the world, that, wherein this religion, or rather philosophy, has with time taken the deepest root, and spread the most universally.

Here it has communicated itself even to the artificers and country people, and the inhabitants of this island are the only people who have begun to think for themselves; but the number of these country philosophers is very inconsiderable, and will always continue so; for hard labour and argumentation agree but ill together, and the common people in general neither make a good nor bad use of their understandings.

A fatal atheism also began to arise in most places in Europe from these theological divisions. It is said that there were a greater number of atheists in Italy at that time than elsewhere. The Italian philosophers were not led into these excesses by the disputes about doctrine, but rather by those irregularities into which almost all the courts of Europe, and that of Rome likewise, were fallen. In reading the Italian writings of those times with attention, we may perceive in several of them, that the authors being too forcibly struck with the monstrous excess of wickedness of which they speak, refused to acknowledge a divine being who could permit such crimes, and thought in the same manner as Lucretius did in times of the like wretched kind. This pernicious opinion prevailed among the great both in England and France; but it was of short duration in Germany and the North, and there is no reason to apprehend that it will make any great progress: sound philosophy, morality, and the interests of society, have now in a manner exterminated it; but at that time it was kept alive by religious wars, when an enthusiastical multitude were led by atheistical chiefs.

Edward

Edward VI. died in the midst of these calamitous times, and on his death-bed declared his cousin, lady Jane Grey, who ¹⁵⁵³ was descended from Henry VII. heiress to his kingdom, in prejudice to his sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Spain. Jane was accordingly proclaimed in London; but Mary's right, assisted by a faction, got the ascendancy after a very slight contest. Mary then confined her rival in the Tower, together with the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards had so glorious a reign.

Much more blood was spilt on the scaffold than in the field, upon this occasion. Jane Grey, her father, father-in-law, and husband, were all condemned to lose their heads. This was the second queen who had been publicly executed in England. She was only seventeen years of age, and had been compelled to accept the crown; every thing pleaded in her favour, and Mary ought to have dreaded a too frequent example of passing from the throne to the scaffold; but no consideration could stop her. This princess was as cruel as Henry VIII. and as cool and deliberate in her barbarities as her father was rash and fiery. In a word, she was a tyrant of another species.

Wholly devoted to the communion of the church of Rome, and still smarting with the sense of the indignity put upon her mother, she began, by dint of art and bribery, to get together a parliament of catholics. The lords, who most of them knew no other religion than that of their sovereign, were easily won; and the same thing now happened in regard to religion which we have already seen happen in political matters,

matters, during the wars between the factions of the white and red rose. The parliament then alternately passed sentence against the houses of York and Lancaster. In the reign of Henry VIII. they persecuted the protestants; while Edward VI. was on the throne, they protected and encouraged them, and at Mary's command they condemned them to the stake. It has been frequently asked, why this dreadful punishment by fire is inflicted by Christians on those who happen to think differently from the established church, while the most atrocious crimes meet with a milder death? Bishop Burnet gives us this reason; that as it was the general belief that all heretics were condemned to be everlastingly burning in hell, tho' their bodies did not go thither before the resurrection, they thought to imitate the divine justice, by delivering their bodies to the flames in this world.

1553 Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had assisted Henry VIII. in his first divorce, was condemned to this horrid death, not so much for having been the instrument of that act, as for being a protestant. This prelate was weak enough to abjure his opinion: and Mary had the pleasure of sending him to the stake, after having brought infamy upon his character; but he resumed his courage in the midst of the flames, declared that he died a protestant, and did that in reality which we find only written, and that perhaps fictitiously, of *Mucius Scaevola*. He thrust into the flames that hand which had signed his abjuration, and held it there till it was quite consumed; then sunk down into the fire and expired: an action to the full as in-

trepid, and infinitely more praise-worthy, than that which is attributed to Mutius. The Englishman punished himself for that which he thought a weakness in him, whereas the Roman did it only because he had failed in an intended assassination.

It is said that about eight hundred persons were burnt during Mary's reign. One woman, who was big with child, was delivered in the flames, and some of the spectators being moved with compassion, snatched the infant out of the fire, which the catholic judge ordered to be cast back again. In reading these abominable deeds, we can hardly think that we were born in a society of men, but rather amongst those beings which are represented to us in the midst of a gulph of torments, waiting in eager expectation to hurry mankind into them.

Among all those whom Mary's cruelty condemned to be burnt alive, not one was accused of rebellion against their lawful sovereign; they all suffered for religion: and while Jews were allowed to exercise their religion without interruption, and even indulged with privileges, Christians consigned their Fellow-christians to the most shocking death, only for differing from them in certain articles!

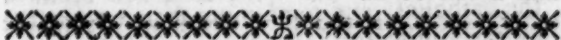
Mary died in peace, but despised by her husband Philip II. and her own 1559 subjects, who still upbraid her with the loss of Calais, and her memory will for ever be held in detestation by all who are not of a persecuting soul.

To catholic Mary succeeded the protestant queen Elizabeth. The parliament now be-

came protestant again, together with the whole nation, which has ever since continued so. Religion was now fixed on a solid foundation; and the liturgy, which had been first begun in the reign of Edward VI. was established under the same form as it now subsists. The religion of the church of England consists, in general, of the Romish form of church government, with some fewer ceremonies than are used by the catholics, and some more than are practised by the Lutherans. It allows confession without enjoining it, and holds that God is in the Eucharist, though without transubstantiation. It was necessary in politics, that the crown should retain the supremacy: accordingly a woman became the head of the church.

This woman had more understanding, and a better mind, than either her father Henry VIII. or her sister Mary. She avoided persecution as industriously as they had encouraged it. Having perceived at her first coming to the crown, that the preachers of both parties were the trumpets of discord in their pulpits, she issued an ordinance forbidding all preaching for the space of six months, without an express licence signed by herself, in order to prepare the way for a general harmony. This new precaution kept those within bounds who thought they had a right, and might possibly have the power of stirring up the people. No one suffered persecution, or was even called to account on the score of belief; but those who acted against law, or raised commotions in the state, were severely dealt with, according to laws. The great principle which was so long mistaken by mankind, was now firmly established in all minds

minds in England, that it is the province of God alone to judge the hearts of those who offend him, and of men to suppress those who rebel against a government established by men. You will, in the course of this history, find what you ought to think of Elizabeth, and especially what idea you ought to form concerning the English nation.



C H A P. CXVI.

OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND.

THE troubles which beset religion in Scotland were reflected back upon it from England. It was about the year 1559, that certain Calvinists first insinuated themselves into the favour of the people, whom it is always necessary to gain in the first place. They are open and artless, and of their own accord take the bridle that is held out to them, till some powerful person comes, who seizes it, and guides them as is most for his own advantage.

The catholic bishops were presently ready to condemn the few heretics who first appeared in the kingdom, to the flames; for this inhuman practice was as common in those days in Europe as it now is to hang a thief.

There happened at that time in Scotland what must necessarily happen in every country where there are the least remains of liberty. The sufferings of an old priest, whom the archbishop of St. Andrew's had condemned to be burnt, made a number of proselytes; and these making use of their

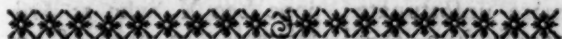
1559 their liberty, boldly circulated their new tenets, and opposed the archbishop in his cruelties. Several of the Scotch nobility acted, during the minority of Mary Stewart, in the same manner as those of France did afterwards during the minority of Charles IX. By their ambition they added fresh fuel to the flames which had been lighted up by religion, and much blood was spilt, as it had been in other places on the like occasion. It would have been much better for the Scotch, who were then the poorest and most indolent people in Europe, to have applied themselves by labour and industry to till their barren and ungrateful soil, or at least to have procured that subsistence they stood in need of by fishing, than to have drenched their miserable country in blood for foreign opinions, and the interest of a few ambitious men among them; but they added this new misfortune to that of their natural indigence.

The queen regent, mother to Mary Stewart, thought to stifle the reformed religion in its infancy, by sending for troops over from France; but by this very step she confirmed the change she proposed to prevent. The parliament of Scotland, fired with indignation to see their country filled with foreign troops, obliged the regent to send them home, suppressed the Romish religion, and established the Genevan confession of faith throughout the kingdom.

Mary Stewart, who was widow to the French king Francis II. was a princess of weak talents, and seemed born only for love and gallantry: being obliged by Catharine de Medicis, who
feared

feared her beauty, to quit France and return to Scotland, she found only a wretched kingdom, rent in pieces by fanaticism. You will see in what manner she added to the miseries of her country by her own follies.

Calvinism has at length gained the entire ascendancy in Scotland, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Romish bishops then, and the bishops of the church of England since. It is now almost entirely suppressed in France; at least it is no longer tolerated there. Thus, since the sixteenth century, there has been one continued chain of revolutions in Scotland, England, Germany, Swisserland, Denmark, and France.



C H A P. CXVII.

OF RELIGION in FRANCE, during the Reign of FRANCIS I. and his Successors.

THE French were, ever since the time of Charles VII. looked upon at Rome as schismatics, on account of the pragmatic sanction made at Bourges, conformable to the council of Basil, which had so strenuously opposed the papal power. The chief object of this pragmatic sanction was the custom of elections among the clergy, a custom, which, in better times, had tended to the encouragement of virtue and sound doctrine, but had likewise proved the cause of numberless disputes. It was very pleasing to the people on these two accounts;

accounts : to rigid minds it had the appearance of the remains of the primitive church, and the universities found in it a recompence for their labours. The popes, however, notwithstanding that this pragmatic sanction had suppressed the annates and other exactions of the see of Rome, still continued to receive them. We are informed by Fromentau, that in the seventeen years reign of Lewis XII. the popes had raised in the diocese of Paris alone, the exorbitant sum of three millions three hundred thousand livres of the current coin of those times.

When Francis I. in the year 1515, engaged in his Italian expeditions, which were in the beginning as glorious as those of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. and in the end proved still more unfortunate; pope Leo X. who at first opposed him, stood afterwards in need of his assistance, and became likewise necessary to him.

1515 Chancellor Duprat, who was afterwards made cardinal, in conjunction with pope Leo's ministers drew up that famous concordate, by which, as it was said, the king and his holiness gave each other what neither of them had a right to. The king obtained the nomination of vacant benefices, and, by a private article, the first year's revenue was given to the pope, in consideration of his relinquishing his right of mandates, reservations, reverfions, and forestalments, rights which the see of Rome had for a long time challenged. The pope, immediately after the signing the concordate, published a bull, in which he reserved the annates to his own use. On this occasion the university of Paris, who by this bull was deprived

deprived of one of its rights, assumed a privilege, which even an English parliament would not venture to pretend to, and published an ordinance prohibiting the printing of the king's concordate, or paying any obedience to it. And yet the universities were not ill-used by this agreement between the king and the pope, since the third part of the benefices in the kingdom were left in their disposal, with a right of suing for them during four months of the year, viz. January, April, July, and October, which were called the graduates months.

The clergy, especially those of the colleges, who were deprived of the right of nominating their bishops, murmured at it; but they were soon pacified by the hopes of obtaining benefices from the court. The parliament, who had no favours to expect from the court, maintained with unshaken firmness the ancient customs and liberties of the Gallican church, of which it was the defender, and respectfully opposed several letters of jussion; and, when at length compelled to register the concordate, entered a general protest that it was only done in obedience to the king's repeated commands.

But while the parliaments were thus remonstrating, and the universities complaining against this concordate, they seemed to have forgot an essential service which Francis I. had done the nation by granting the annates to the pope. They had before his time been paid after an exorbitant rate, in the same manner as in England, and he lessened them. At present they do not amount to above four hundred thousand franks, one year with another, and these are gained again in trade; but at length it became
the

the cry of the whole nation to pay no annates at all to Rome.

The first years succeeding the concordate proved very troublesome times in several dioceses; when the king named one bishop, the canons named another, and the parliament, in virtue of the writs of error, always decided in favour of the clergy. These disputes would have occasioned civil wars in the time of the feudal government. At length Francis took from the parliament the cognizance of affairs relating to bishoprics and abbeys, and transferred it to the great council of the kingdom. In time every thing became quiet, and the people were as much accustomed to the concordate, as if it had always subsisted; and the complaints of the parliament ceased entirely, when in 1558 the king obtained of pope Paul III. an indulto in behalf of the chancellors and members of the parliament, empowering them to do that in a less degree which the king does in a greater, namely, to confer benefices during their lives; and the masters of requests had the same privileges.

In all this affair, which occasioned so much uneasiness to Francis I. it was absolutely necessary for him to make himself obeyed, if he was desirous that Leo X. should fulfil his political engagements with him, and assist him in recovering the dutchy of Milan.

It may easily be perceived, that the intimate connection which subsisted between them at that time, would not permit the king to let a religion be formed in his kingdom, which was repugnant to the interests of the papal see. The council was of opinion, that every innovation
in

in religion brought after it innovations in the state. Politicians sometimes deceive themselves by judging from an example which strikes them. The council was right, if it had in view the troubles occasioned in Germany, which it helped to foment itself; and perhaps might on the other hand be wrong, if it considered the ease with which the kings of Sweden and Denmark had established the Lutheran religion in their dominions. It might have looked farther back, and seen more striking instances. The true religion had been introduced almost every where without any civil wars; in the Roman empire by an edict of Constantine's, in France by the will of king Clovis, in England by the example of a petty king of Kent, named Ethelbert, and in Poland and Hungary from the like causes. It was not much more than a century since the first of the Jagellonian race, who reigned in Poland, had embraced Christianity, and made all Lithuania and Samogitia do the same, without the antient Gepides having once murmured. And though the Saxons had been baptized in torrents of blood by Charlemagne, it was only because he wanted to subject, and not instruct them. If they had cast an eye on the whole continent of Asia, they would have seen a number of Mahometan states peopled with both Christians and idolaters, who lived in harmony together; a number of different religions established in India, China, and other places, without the force of arms; and if they had recurred to the first ages, they would have still met with the same examples. It is not that a new religion is dangerous or bloody in itself, but as the ambition of the great
makes

makes use of such religion to attack the established authority. Thus, for instance, the Lutheran princes of Germany took up arms against the emperor, who was aiming at their destruction; but Francis I. and Henry II. had no princes nor nobles in their dominions, whom they had reason to stand in fear of.

The court, which became divided under the succeeding unhappy minorities, was perfectly united in its obedience to Francis I. Accordingly this prince only suffered the heretics to be persecuted, without being the author of their persecution himself. The bishops and the parliament lighted the fires, and he did not extinguish them.

He was very indifferent about religion himself; he made alliances with the protestants of Germany, and even with the Mahometans, to oppose Charles V. and when his allies, the Lutheran princes of Germany, accused him with having put their brethren in France to death, who had been guilty of no disturbances in that kingdom, he threw the whole blame upon the common judges.

We have seen what horrible cruelties were exercised by the judges in England, under Henry VIII. and queen Mary. The French, who are esteemed a more humane people, far surpassed them in the barbarities they committed under the name of religion and justice.

It is necessary to know, that in the twelfth century one Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, whose devotion and errors are said to have given rise to the sect of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, having retired with some few poor people, whom he maintained by his charity, into the uncultivated and desert vallies which lie
between

between Provence and Dauphiny, he officiated as father and pontiff to them; and instructed them in the tenets of his sect, which in several points resembled that of the Albigenses, of Wickliff, John Hus, Luther, and Zuinglius. These men, who lived a long time unknown to the rest of the world, employed themselves in tilling the barren lands they inhabited, and, by incredible labour, made them fit for corn and pasture; which plainly shews how much we deserve to be accused of negligence, if there remain any uncultivated lands in France. They purchased some inheritances in Cens and the parts adjacent, and by their industry gained a comfortable support for themselves, and enriched their lords, who never found the least reason to complain of them. In the space of two hundred and fifty years, their numbers increased to near eighteen thousand souls. They peopled thirty villages, exclusive of hamlets, and all this by the work of their own hands. There were no priests amongst them, no disputes about worship, no law-suits, but decided all their differences amongst themselves. Those who went into the neighbouring cities, knew that there were such things as a mass, or bishops. They worshipped God in their own jargon, and their assiduous labour rendered their lives innocent. They lived in this happy and tranquil state for upwards of two centuries, which is to be attributed to their neighbours having been wearied out by the war against the Albigenses. When the human mind has been for a long succession of time hurried away to the last excess of rage and fury, it softens at length into forbearance and indifference: this

may alike be observed in every individual, and in whole nations. These Vaudois were in the enjoyment of this peaceful calm when the reformers of Germany and Geneva learnt that they had brethren in these parts; and immediately sent ministers among them, for so they called the curates of the protestant churches: and now the Vaudois came to be too well known. By the new edict against heretics they were condemned to the flames; and the parliament of Provence, in 1540, denounced this punishment against nineteen of the principal inhabitants of the village of Merindol, at the same time ordering their woods to be destroyed, and their houses razed to the ground. The Vaudois, struck with consternation, sent a deputation to cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, who was then at his bishopric. This illustrious sage, who was a true philosopher, as being a humane man, received them with kindness, and interceded in their behalf; upon which Langeai, the commandant in Piedmont, put a stop to the execution, and Francis I. granted them his pardon, on condition they would abjure their errors; but they could not be brought to renounce a religion they had imbibed from their earliest infancy. Their obstinacy exasperated the parliament of Provence, which was composed of men of a fiery zeal; and John Meynier d'Oppede, at that time its first president, who was more violent than the rest, continued the prosecution.

The Vaudois at length revolted; this exasperated d'Oppede to such a degree, that he represented their fault in the blackest light to the king, and procured his permission to put the sentence

sentence in execution, after it had been suspended for upwards of five years. For this purpose it was necessary to have troops, which were accordingly sent for by d'Oppede and Guerin the advocate-general. It is very clear that these poor people, whom the famous orator Maimbourg calls a rebellious mob, though they were somewhat too obstinate in adhering to their opinion, were not in the least disposed to revolt, since they did not offer to defend themselves, but fled on all sides, crying out for mercy; while the old men, women, and children, who could not fly so fast as the rest, were butchered without mercy by the soldiers.

D'Oppede and Guerin flew from village to village, killing all they met, burning their houses and granaries, and destroying all the standing corn and trees, and pursued the flying inhabitants by the light of the flames. There remained about sixty men and thirty women in the walled town of Cabrieres, who yielded upon promise of having their lives spared; but as soon as they surrendered themselves, they were all put to the sword: some women who had taken refuge in a neighbouring church, were, by d'Oppede's orders, dragged from thence, and shut up in a barn, which was set on fire. Two and twenty villages were burnt to the ground; and after the flames were extinguished, the country, which before wore the face of plenty, and was so well inhabited, appeared a perfect desert, in which nothing was to be seen but dead bodies. The few who escaped took refuge about Piedmont. Francis I. was struck with horror on hearing of these cruelties. The sentence which he had permitted to be executed,

men-

mentioned the death only of nineteen heretics, and d'Oppede and Guerin had caused thousands to be massacred. The king, on his death-bed, recommended to his son to see justice done on the authors of this barbarity, the like of which had never been committed by any civil magistrates.

Accordingly Henry II. gave his consent for the lords who had been ruined by the destruction of these villages, and the butchery of their people, to bring their complaints before the parliament of Paris. When the trial came on, d'Oppede had sufficient interest to get himself cleared, by throwing the whole blame upon the advocate-general Guerin, whose single life was the only atonement made for the blood of so many hundreds.

These executions however did not stop the progress of Calvinism; one party employed fire and faggot, and the other diverted themselves with singing Marot's version of the psalms to ridiculous tunes, agreeable to the genius of the French nation, which is at all times light, and sometimes very cruel. Margaret queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. and all her court, were Calvinists, as was one half of the king's court. What had first begun among the common people had now communicated itself to the great, as is almost always the case. They preached in private, and they disputed publicly; and these disputes, about which no one at present either in court or city gives himself any concern, because they are now grown old, exasperated all minds at that time, because they were new. Even in the parliament of Paris itself, there were some members who were well-

well-wishers to what was called the reformed religion. This assembly was always opposing the pretensions of the church of Rome, which this new heresy likewise aimed at overthrowing; and the austere and republican spirit of some of the counsellors, led them to favour a sect which, by the severity of its tenets, condemned the debaucheries of the court. Henry II. being displeased with the conduct of several of the members of this venerable body, came one day upon them unexpectedly in 1554 the great hall where they were sitting, at the very time that they were deliberating upon methods for moderating the persecution against the Huguenots, and ordered five counsellors to be put under arrest. One of these, named Anne du Bourg, who had spoken with the most freedom, signed his confession of faith in the Bastile, which was found to agree in many articles with that of the Calvinists and Lutherans. There was at this time an inquisitor in France, though the office of the inquisition itself, which has been always held in horror by the French, was not established. This inquisitor, whose name was Mouchi, together with the bishop of Paris and the commissaries of the parliament, tried and condemned du Bourg, notwithstanding the old established law, by which a member of parliament could only be tried by the courts of parliament assembled; a law which has always subsisted, been always claimed, and almost always proved useless; for nothing is more common in the history of France, than to find members of the parliament tried by other courts. Anne du Bourg then was executed

1559 cuted in the reign of Francis II. The cardinal of Lorrain, who governed the state with a high hand, was resolved upon his death ; and this priest and magistrate was hanged, and his body afterwards burnt in the place of the Grève. He was of a disposition rather too inflexible, but was an upright judge, and a man of approved virtue.

Martyrs make proselytes. The sufferings of such a man gained more converts to the reformed religion than all the writings of Calvin. A sixth part of the kingdom of France were Calvinists under Francis II. as one third of Germany at least were Lutherans under the emperor Charles V.

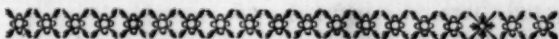
There was then only one choice left, which was, to follow the example of Charles V. who concluded his many wars by allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, or that of queen Elizabeth, who, while she protected the established religion, left every one to worship God agreeable to his own principles, provided due obedience was paid to the laws of the kingdom.

This is the practice at present in almost all those countries which were formerly laid waste by religious wars : a long and fatal experience having shewn it to be the most salutary method of governing.

But this method cannot be adopted unless the laws are firmly established, and the rage of faction has subsided. France was continually a prey to the most bloody factions, from the time of Francis II. till the glorious reign of Henry the Great. In these disastrous times the laws were little known, and the fanatic spirit which survived the furies of war, brought
this

this monarch to an untimely end in the midst of profound peace, by the hand of a madman and a fool, who had made his escape from a cloister.

Having thus acquired a competent idea of the state of religion in Europe during the sixteenth century, it now remains to say something concerning the religious orders which opposed the new opinions, and of the inquisition, which laboured to exterminate all the protestants.



C H A P. CXVIII.

Of the RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE monastic life, which has done so much good and so much harm in the world, which has been one of the main props of the papal power, and which gave birth to the person who suppressed that very power in one half of Europe, merits our particular attention.

It has been believed by a number of protestants and others, that the several bodies of church-militia, together with their different habits, ways of living, occupations, and rules, were all invented by the popes, as so many armies devoted to the service of the holy see, in all the states of Christendom. It is certain that the popes have often made use of them, but they did not invent them.

In the earliest ages of antiquity, there were among the eastern people certain men; who

withdrew themselves from the world to live together in retirement. The Persians, Indians, and Egyptians especially, had several communities of Cenobites, or monks independent of those who were dedicated to the service of the altar, but among the Greeks and Romans there were none. Their colleges of priests were particularly set apart for the service of their temples, and a monastic life was wholly unknown to these people. The Jews had their Essenians and Therapeust. The Christians have imitated them.

St. Basil *, in the beginning of the fourth century, instituted his order in a barbarous province, on the borders of the Black Sea; and his rules were followed by all the eastern monks. He invented the three vows, to which

* St. Basil the Great was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the year 326. He was educated under the famous Libanius at Antioch and Constantinople, and finished his studies at Athens, where he contracted friendship with St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and Julian the Apostate. He afterwards visited the monasteries in Syria, Egypt, and Lybia, and became so enamoured of a monastic life, that he retired to a solitary place in the province of Pontus in Cappadocia. There, being joined by his brothers and several friends, he composed the rules of an order, and was the first institutor of a monastic life in that country. In the sequel he was elected bishop of Cæsarea, and persecuted by the emperor Valens, because he would not communicate with Eudoxus, and embrace the doctrine of the Arians. He had many disputes about Arianism and the nature of the Hypostasis, composed a variety of works, and was, of all the Greek fathers, the most pure, sublime, and elegant writer.

all the recluse submitted. St. Benedict*, or St. Bennet, established his order in the sixth century, and was the patriarch of the western monks.

It was for a long time a consolation to mankind to find asylums open for the reception of those who were desirous of flying from the oppressive government of the Goths and Vandals. Almost every one who was not lord of a castle was then a slave: the tranquillity of a cloister afforded a happy retreat from tyranny and war. By the feudal laws of the West indeed a slave could not be admitted a monk without the consent of his lord, but the convents had a method of eluding this law. The small remains of learning left among the barbarians were preserved in these convents. The Benedictine monks transcribed several books, and by degrees many useful inventions arose from the cloisters. Moreover, these religious communities employed themselves in cultivating

* St. Benedict was born about the latter end of the fifth century, in the dutchy of Spoleto in Italy, and studied at Rome. At the age of seventeen he retired to the desert of Sublaco, at the distance of forty miles from that city, and lived three years in a frightful cavern. He was afterwards elected abbot of a neighbouring monastery, but being disgusted with the manners of the monks, he once more retired to solitude, where he was in a little time joined by such a number of disciples, that he built twelve monasteries. Understanding there was a temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino, he went thither, converted the inhabitants, demolished the idol, built two chapels on the mountain, and laid the foundation of the famous monastery of Monte Cassino. There he composed his rule, and founded the order of the Benedictines, who in a little time spread themselves all over Europe.

the land, and singing the praises of the diety; they lived a life of sobriety, they were hospitable to strangers, and by their examples, in some measure helped to soften the ferocity of those barbarous times; but a complaint was soon made, that riches had corrupted what virtue had instituted; a reformation then became necessary. Every age produced men in all countries, who, animated by the example of St. Bennet, were desirous of becoming founders of new congregations.

The spirit of ambition is almost always accompanied with enthusiasm, and imperceptibly mingles itself with the most rigid devotion. He who entered into the ancient order of St. Bennet became a subject; but he who founded a new institution raised to himself an empire. From hence arose the multitude of clerks, canons-regular, and religious of both sexes. Every one who attempted to found a new order was well received by the popes, because they all became immediately subject to the holy see, by throwing off as much as possible all subjection to their bishops. Most of these orders have generals residing at Rome, as in the center of Christendom, who from this capital dispatch the orders they receive from the pontiff to all corners of the world.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost all the states of Christendom were overrun by men, who were become aliens in their own country, and subjects of the pope. Another great abuse was, that these immense families encreased at the expence of the human species. It is a certain truth, that before convents were suppressed in one half of Europe, they

they contained upwards of five hundred thousand persons. The country-places were depopulated, the settlements in the new world were destitute of inhabitants, and the scourge of war daily destroyed a number of valuable lives. As it is the business of every wise ruler to encourage the increase of his subjects, it is doubtless acting contrary to that noble principle to countenance such a multitude of people of both sexes, who are lost to a state, and who bind themselves by oath to do all in their power for the destruction of the human species. It were to be wished, that some retreat was appointed for old age; but this so necessary institution is almost the only one which has not been attended to. Our cloisters are filled with those who are hardly arrived at the age of maturity, and who are allowed to part with their liberty for ever, at a time when, in other nations, they are not permitted to have the disposal of their own fortunes.

It cannot be denied that the convents have produced many instances of shining virtues. There are few monasteries which do not contain some noble minds, who do honour to human nature. Too many writers have taken a malicious pleasure in enumerating the dissolute manners and vices which have sometimes sullied the purity of these asylums of devotion. It is certain that the secular state abounds with many more instances of vice, and that the greatest crimes have not been committed in monasteries alone; but they are more remarkable there on account of their evident contradiction to the established rules. No state can have been always free from impurities; therefore we

should here consider only the general good of society, and in this light we cannot but lament that so many noble talents have been buried, and so many virtues lost in retirement, which might have been useful to the world. The small number of convents at the beginning did great service. A few in proportion to each state would have been truly respectable; but by being over-multiplied they fell into contempt, infomuch, that the priests who were at first equal with the bishops, are now in comparison to them the same as the common people are to princes.

In this great multitude of religious orders the Benedictines always held the first rank. Wholly taken up with their power and riches, they took no part in the scholastic disputes of the sixteenth century, and looked upon the rest of the monks as the old nobility do upon the new. The monks of Cluni, Citeaux, Clervaux, and several others, were branches of the original stock of St. Bennet, and in the time of Luther were known only by their great wealth. The rich abbeys of Germany lived quietly in the respective states, without intermeddling in controversy; and the Benedictines of Paris had not then employed their leisure hours in those learned enquiries, by which they have since gained so great reputation.

The Carmelites, who were transplanted into Europe from the Holy Land, in the fifth century, desired no more than to have it acknowledged that Elias was their founder.

The Carthusian order, which was instituted at Grenoble, towards the end of the eleventh century, and which was the only one of the an-

ancient orders which did not stand in need of reformation, was a very small body, and though too rich indeed for men who had divorced themselves from the world, still continued, notwithstanding their wealth, in the strict observance of fasting, silence, prayer, and solitude. They led a life of tranquility, amidst the general tumults which distracted the rest of the world, of which they hardly heard the rumour; and knew nothing of the mighty sovereigns of the earth but by name when they prayed for them. Happy would it have been if such pure and steady virtues could have been of any service to the world!

The Premonstratenses, or Norbertins, founded by St. Norbert* in the year 1120, made very little noise in the world, by which they were so much the more valuable.

The Franciscans, or Cordeliers, were the most numerous and stirring of any of the other orders. Francis d'Assisi†, who first founded
this

* This saint was born in the dutchy of Cleves, in the year 1082, son of the count de Gennep, and related to the emperor Henry V. who appointed him his almoner, or chaplain, and offered him the archbishopric of Cambray, which he refused. Tired of a court life, he resigned his benefices, sold his patrimony, and distributed his money to the poor; then he went teaching and preaching from place to place, until St. Bernard gave him a solitary valley, called Premontré, where he founded the order of canons regular. He was afterwards forced to accept the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, and thither translated his canons, whose austere life astonished the canons of that see, and had well nigh excited a rebellion against their founder.

† He was a native of Assisi, in the ecclesiastical state, and bred up to business; but he renounced all property, made

this order in the year 1210, was esteemed by them as a man superior to all the rest of human kind. They compared him to Christ himself, and pretended that he performed many more miracles. He performed no inconsiderable one indeed in having founded this great order, which increased to such a degree, that, at a general chapter, which he held during his life time at Assisi, in the year 1219, he saw five thousand deputies from the convents of his institution. And at this time, notwithstanding the prodigious number of convents which have been taken from them by the protestants, they have still seven thousand houses for monks under different denominations, and above nine hundred convents for women. In some of their late chapters, they reckoned about one hundred and fifteen thousand men, and twenty-nine thousand women; an intolerable nuisance in countries where there is an evident decrease of the human species.

These men were violent in all their pursuits. They were preachers, divines, missionaries, mendicants, and spies. They traversed the globe from one end to the other, and were

profession of evangelical poverty, retired to the woods, and subjected himself to such hideous mortifications, that his countrymen looked upon him as a lunatic: his father brought him back to his house and confined him; but finding him averse to any temporal employment, he carried him before the bishop, and there Francis stript himself naked. He founded his order in the year 1206, and by the whole tenour of his conduct appears to have been a miserable fanatick.

globe

every where at open enmity with the Dominicans. Their chief theological dispute with these latter is concerning the birth of Christ's mother. The Dominicans affirm, that she was subject to the power of the devil, like the rest of mankind; and the Cordeliers insist, that she was wholly exempt from original sin. The Dominicans rest their opinion on that of St. Thomas*; and the Franciscans hold their tenets to be the same with those of John Duns†, a Scotchman, improperly called Scotus, and known to his cotemporaries by the title of the Subtile Doctor.

The political disputes between these two orders arose from the prodigious credit and influence acquired by the Dominicans.

The latter of these orders, which was instituted some little time after that of the Franciscans, was inferior to these in numbers, but was much more powerful on account of the office of master of the pope's palace at Rome,

* This was the famous St. Thomas d'Aquinas, descended from the counts d'Acquins. He was intitled, *the Angel of the School, the Angelical Doctor, and the Eagle of Theology*. His treatises on sylogysm, sophysm, and demonstration, contain an abridgment of the whole dialectic art of Aristotle; and have been deemed a compleat body of logicks.

† Jean Duns, alias Duns Scotus, born at the Town of Duns in Scotland. He professed the order of St. Francis, and flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. For his profound knowledge, and the perspicuity with which he explained the greatest difficulties in philosophy and theology, he was denominated *Doctor Subtilis*, and piqued himself on opposing the opinions of St. Thomas. Hence arose the two sects of Scotists and Thomists.

which, ever since the time of St. Dominick *, their founder has been appropriated to this order, and the office of inquisition, of which one of their fraternity is always president ; and for a long time their generals had the sole nomination of all the inquisitors in Christendom. The popes, who have this nomination at present, always continue the meeting of this office in the convent of Minerva, which belongs to the Dominicans ; and this order still appoints monks inquisitors to thirty-two tribunals in Italy, without reckoning those of Portugal and Spain.

As to the Augustins, they were originally a society of recluses, to whom pope Alexander IV. in 1254, gave a body of rules. Though the pope's sacristan was always chosen from their order, and that they had the sole right of preaching and selling indulgences, they were neither so numerous as the Franciscans, nor so powerful as the Dominicans ; and are very little known at present in the secular world, otherwise than by having had Luther for one of their order.

I purposely pass over a great number of different communities, as this general plan will not allow me to make a review of every regiment in this monastical army. But the order of Jesuits, which was founded in Luther's time,

* Dominique de Guzman was born a gentleman in Spain, with all the seeds of bigot-zeal, and fanaticism, which produced the most shocking fruit of cruel persecution. He accompanied Simon de Montfort in his expedition against the Albigenses, among whom this Spanish fanatic exercised the most inhuman barbarities. Being appointed inquisitor in Languedoc, he there laid the foundation of his order, which pope Honorius approved in the year 1216.

demands

demands a particular attention. The Christian world has exhausted itself in the praise and dispraise of this order, which has insinuated itself every where, and has every where had enemies. A great many people think that it owed its foundation to a stretch of politics; and that St. Ignatius designed by this institution to subject the consciences of all crowned heads to his order, to give it the mastery over the minds of the people, and form it into a kind of universal monarchy.

Ignatius de Loyola, however, was very far from having any such design; and indeed was never in a condition to form any such pretensions. He was a private gentleman of Biscay, a man of no learning, but born with a romantic turn, fond of books of chivalry, and greatly addicted to enthusiasm. He served as a soldier in the troops of Spain, at the time that the French, who vainly attempted to recover Navarre out of the hands of its usurpers, were besieging the castle of Pampelona in 1521. Ignatius, who was then about thirty years of age, was one of those who defended that castle, and was wounded in the assault. A book of the lives of the saints which had been given him to read when he was upon recovery, and a vision which he fancied he saw, determined him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From that time he devoted himself to the mortification of his appetites and passions; and it is reported that he passed seven days, and as many nights, without tasting meat or drink; a thing which is hardly credible, but shews a weak imagination, and a very robust constitution. Ignorant as he was, he went about preaching through
all

all the villages. Every one knows the rest of his adventures, that he watched his arms all night, caused himself to be dubbed the Virgin Mary's knight, offered combat to a Moor who had spoken disrespectfully of this lady whom he served, and left it to his horse to decide the affair, who took a different road from the Moor's steed. After this he resolved to go and preach the gospel among the Turks, and was got as far as Venice on his way, when reflecting that he could not speak Latin, a tongue, which by the way, was of very little service among the Turks, he returned at the age of thirty-three, and put himself to school at Salamanca.

Being imprisoned by the inquisition for having taken the direction of consciences, and making pilgrims, upon recovering his liberty, he went to finish his studies at Paris, where he fell into company with some of his own nation, (Spaniards,) who were, like himself, poor and destitute of any settled habitation. They joined company, and repaired to Rome in the year 1537, where they presented themselves to pope Paul III. in the character of pilgrims, who were desirous of making a journey to Jerusalem, in order to form a private community. Ignatius and his companions were men of some merit, wholly disinterested, self-denying, and full of zeal. We must acknowledge that Ignatius himself was fired with the ambition of becoming the head of an order. This species of vanity, in which the ambition of commanding had a great share, became strongly rooted in a heart which had made a sacrifice of all its other passions, and operated the more powerfully as it was connected with some virtues. If Ignatius had

had not had this passion, he would have followed the example of his companions, and entered into the order of the Theatins, which had been lately founded by cardinal Cajetan. But the good cardinal in vain solicited him to become a member of his community; the desire of being a founder himself prevented him from entering into any other order.

The travelling to Jerusalem, being at that time attended with great danger, Ignatius found himself obliged to remain in Europe. Having learnt a little of the grammar, he applied himself to the teaching it to children. His disciples seconded his design with great success; but this very success proved the source of many troubles: the jesuits met with formidable rivals in the universities, where they were received; and the towns where they taught, taking part with the universities, became the theatres of humberless divisions.

But if the desire of instructing, which charity dictated to this founder, was productive of many fatal events, on the other hand his humility and that of his followers, who would never accept of any church dignities, was the means of raising his order to its present pitch of greatness. Most crowned heads chose jesuits for their confessors, that they might not be obliged to purchase absolution with a bishoprick; and the place of confessor has frequently been found of more importance than a bishop's see. It is a private office whose power increases in proportion to the prince's weakness.

At length Ignatius and his followers, who found great difficulty in procuring a bull from the pope for the establishment of their order, were

were advised to add to the three common vows, a particular one of obedience to the pope ; and this fourth it was which afterwards gave rise to those missionaries who carry the religion and glory of the supreme pontiff to the farther extremities of the world. Thus did a person, the least versed in politics of any of his time, give birth to the most political of all monastic orders. In matters of religion, enthusiasm always lays the first stone ; but art completes the building.

We have since seen the Jesuits holding the reins of government in most courts in Europe, raising a great name by their learning, and the education of youth ; going to China to new-model the sciences, converting Japan for a time to Christianity, and giving laws to the people of Paraguay. There are at present upwards of eighteen thousand of this order in the world, all subject to one perpetual and absolute general, and preserved in union with each other, solely by that obedience which they have vowed to a single person. Their government is become the model for an universal monarchy. Some of their convents are very poor, and others very rich. Don John de Palafox, bishop of Mexico, wrote thus to pope Innocent X. about one hundred years after the first institution of this order. " I have found almost all the riches of these provinces in the hands of the Jesuits. They have two colleges, which are in possession of three hundred thousand sheep, six large sugar works, of which some are worth near a million of crowns, and several very rich silver mines, so considerable that they might suffice a prince superior to all the sovereigns of the

the earth." These complaints may seem exaggerated, but were certainly founded in truth.

This order met with great obstacles before it could establish itself in France, and nothing less could be expected. It had taken its rise and grew considerable under the house of Austria, by whom it was still protected. The Jesuits, in the time of the league, were pensioners to Philip II. The other religious orders, who all of them took a part in these troubles, except the Benedictines and Carthusians, fed the fuel of discord only in France; but the Jesuits blew the coals from their seminaries in Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, even to the heart of Paris, which a succession of happier times afterwards extinguished.

Nothing can appear more contradictory than the public odium with which these people have been loaded, and the confidence they have acquired; that spirit which has banished them from almost every country, and restored them again with glory; the prodigious number of their enemies, and the esteem of the people. But we have met with instances of the same contradiction in the mendicant orders. In all numerous societies devoted to religion and the sciences, there are always some turbulent and fiery spirits, which make themselves enemies, and others, who by their learning acquire reputation. Some, who by their insinuating behaviour, raise parties and factions, and others, who by a sound policy make advantage of the genius and labour of the others.

The fathers of the oratory in France are a new order entirely different from any of the rest. Their community is the only one which makes
no

no vows, and where repentance never enters. Their retreat is always voluntary. The rich live at their own expence, the poor are supported by the order. They enjoy a freedom becoming men, and with them virtue is never disgraced by superstition or meanness.

There is a powerful emulation between these several orders, which has frequently broke out in a furious jealousy. The hatred between the white and the black friars ‡, continued with the utmost fury for several ages. These two orders were naturally enemies to each other, as has been elsewhere observed. Each order seemed to rally under a different standard: what is called the spirit of the community inspired all societies.

Those orders which were devoted to the relief of the poor, and the service of the sick, have always been of the least note, though not the least esteemed. What can be more noble in the world than the sacrifice made by the tender sex, of their youth and beauty on these occasions; who, though frequently of the most distinguished birth, stoop to do the meanest offices in the hospitals, for a number of miserable wretches, whose appearance is mortifying to human pride, and shocking to delicacy? Those who have separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, have but faintly imitated this noble and generous charity.

This useful community is however very small. There is another community of a more heroic kind; for so I think we may term the order of

‡ The Dominicans and Franciscans,

Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, which was instituted in the year 1120, by a gentleman named John de Matha. These monks have devoted themselves for five centuries past to the releasing of christian slaves from the fetters of the Moors, and pay for their ransoms out of the revenues of their order, and the alms they receive, which they gather themselves, and carry in person into Africa.

No one can complain of an institution of this kind; but it is a general complaint, that the monastic life has deprived society of too many of its members. The nuns in particular are all of them dead to their country, and the tombs they inhabit during their lives are in general very poor. A young woman who gains her livelihood by working with her needle earns much more than is laid out upon the maintenance of a nun. In short their fate might claim our pity, if the number of convents of men who are immensely rich could raise our envy. But it is evident that their great numbers would depopulate the state; for this reason the Jews never had any female essenis, or therapeutes. There is no one retreat set apart for virginity in all Asia; and the Chinese and Japanese alone have female bonzes: but who knows whether these are absolutely useless in their generation? There were never more than six vestals in ancient Rome, and these were allowed to quit their retreat and marry after a stated time.

Policy seems to require that a necessary number only should be set apart for [the service of the altar, and the other purposes relating to it. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, there are
not

not above twenty thousand clergy. In Holland, which contains two millions of inhabitants, there are not a thousand; and again these persons thus consecrated to the service of the church, being almost all of them married, help to furnish their country with subjects, whom they bring up in a virtuous and prudent manner.

In the year 1700, the number of clergy in France, both secular and regular, was reckoned to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand, which far exceeds the ordinary number of soldiers. The clergy in the ecclesiastical state made a body of thirty-two thousand, and the monks and young women confined in convents, amounted to near eight thousand. Of all the catholic states, this is the one in which the number of secular clergy exceeds the most those of the monks; but it is a certain means of being always weak, to maintain forty thousand churchmen, and only ten thousand soldiers.

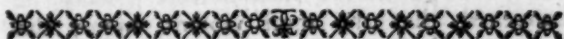
There are more convents in France than in all Italy together. The number of both sexes shut up in convents in this kingdom, at the beginning of the present century amounted to upwards of ninety thousand. In Spain there are not above fifty thousand, if we rely upon the account taken by Gonfales de Avila, in the year 1623: but then this country is not above half so populous as France; and after the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, and the transplanting of so many Spanish families into America, it must be allowed that the number of convents in Spain form a kind of mortality, which insensibly destroys the nation.

In Portugal there are somewhat more than ten thousand religious of both sexes. This
country

country is nearly of the same extent with the ecclesiastical state, and yet the number of those who inhabit the cloisters there are in a greater proportion.

It has been proposed in almost every kingdom to restore to the state a part of the members which it is deprived of by monasteries. But those who have the management of the administration, are seldom affected by a distant prospect of utility, however obvious, especially when this future advantage is ballanced by a present difficulty.

The religious orders are likewise all of them against such an alteration. Every superior who finds himself at the head of a little state is desirous of encreasing the number of his subjects; and frequently a monk, tho' heartily tired of the confinement of a cloister, has still the imaginary good of his order at heart, in preference to the real good of his country.



C H A P. CXIX.

Of the INQUISITION.

AS a militia of five hundred thousand monks fighting for the word, under the standard of Rome, could not prevent one half of Europe from throwing off the yoke of that see, neither was the inquisition of any other service than to make the pope lose the seven United Provinces, and to sentence a number of unhappy wretches to the flames to no purpose.

We

We may remember that this tribunal which pretends to a right of judging the thoughts of men, was first erected by pope Innocent III. in the year 1200, during the war against the Albigenſes; and that, without paying the leaſt regard to the biſhops, who are the only proper judges in trials of doctrine, it was intruſted to the management of a few Dominicans and Cordeliers †.

Theſe firſt inquiſitors had the power of ſum-moning all heretics before them, of pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication, of granting indulgencies to every prince who ſhould do his endeavours to deſtroy ſuch as they condemned, of receiving penitents again into the church, and laying ſuch taxes upon them as they pleaſed, and of requiring from them a certain ſum in money, as a pledge for the ſincerity of their repentance.

By the caprice of events, which throws ſo many contradictions into human politics, it happened that the moſt violent enemy the popes ever had proved the moſt ſtrenuous protector of this tribunal.

The emperor Frederic II. whom the pope had ſometimes accuſed of being a Mahometan, and at others of atheiſm, thought to clear himſelf of this reproach, by taking the inquiſition under his protection; and in the year 1244 publiſhed four ediſts at Pavia, by which he commanded the ſecular judges to deliver up to the flames all ſuch as ſhould be condemned by the office of inquiſition, as obſtinate heretics;

† See Chap. I. Vol ii.

and imprison for life those whom it should declare penitent.

But this stroke of policy in Frederick did not secure him the more from persecution; and the popes have since made use of these very arms he furnished them with to attack the rights of the empire.

In 1225 pope Alexander III. established the inquisition in France, during the reign of St. Lewis. The father guardian of the Franciscan order at Paris, and the provincial of the Dominicans were appointed chief inquisitors. Agreeable to Alexander's bull, they were to consult the bishops before they passed sentence; but they shewed no regard to this injunction. So extraordinary a juridical power given to men who had made a vow of retiring from the world, filled both clergy and laity with indignation. A Franciscan inquisitor assisted at the trial of the knights templars; but the general dislike which people of all ranks shewed to these monks soon reduced their power to an empty name.

In Italy the popes had more credit, because though their authority was despised in Rome, and they themselves for a long time banished from thence, they were still at the head of the Guelph faction, against that of the Gibellines; and they made use of the inquisition against the partisans of the empire: for in 1302, pope John XXII. caused Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, to be arraigned before the monks of the inquisition, for no other crime than his attachment to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The fidelity of a vassal to his lord paramount was declared heresy. The houses of Este and
Mala-

Malatesta were proceeded against in the same manner, and for the same cause; and if punishment did not follow sentence, it was only because the pope found it easier to get inquisitors than to raise armies.

As this tribunal grew more powerful, the bishops were more strenuous in reclaiming those rights which properly belonged to them, and which this office had deprived them of. The popes sided with the inquisitors, who exercised their authority in all its latitude in almost all the states of Italy, while the bishops were no other than their assistants.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, viz. in 1289, the inquisition was received in Venice; but as in all other places it is dependent only on the pope, in Venice it was subject to the senate, who had the wise precaution to take from the inquisitors the fines and confiscations. It thought to moderate their zeal by taking from them the temptation of enriching themselves by their sentences: but as the ambition of exercising the power of office is frequently as prevalent a passion in the human mind as avarice itself, the inquisitors went such lengths, that the senate a considerable time afterwards, viz. in the sixteenth century, ordered, that for the future, the inquisition should never proceed to trial without three senators being present. By this and several other political regulations, the authority of this tribunal was reduced to nothing in Venice, purely by being eluded.

A kingdom where it should seem that the inquisition would have established itself with most ease, and with the greatest power, was the very one where it could never gain admittance

tance ; I mean the kingdom of Naples. The sovereigns of this state, and those of Sicily, looked upon themselves entitled; in virtue of the concessions made to them by the popes, to execute ecclesiastical jurisdiction within their own territories ; and there being always a dispute between the king and the pope about the nomination of the inquisitors, there were none appointed ; and for this one time the people were benefited by the quarrels of their masters. There were, however, fewer heretics in Naples and Sicily than elsewhere. This peaceful state of the church in those kingdoms may serve to shew that the inquisition was not so much the bulwark of the true faith, as a scourge invented for the torment of mankind.

It was afterwards admitted into Sicily, after having been received in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1478 : but in this island, still more than in Castile, it was a prerogative appertaining to the crown, rather than a Romish tribunal ; for in Sicily the king is pope.

It had been a long time settled in Arragon ; but there, as well as in France, its power was very weak and circumscribed ; and it remained as it were in oblivion without functions and without order.

It was not till after the conquest of Granada that this tribunal displayed its power in Spain, and exercised its functions with an authority and rigour that had never been practised by any of the other courts of justice. The Spaniards at that time must certainly have had something more austere and mercyleless in their disposition than any other people whatever ;

witness the studied cruelties they practised upon the inhabitants of the new world they had discovered, and the excessive barbarities they committed in the exercise of a jurisdiction which the Italians, who were the first projectors, carried on with much greater lenity. The popes erected this tribunal with a political view, and the Spanish inquisitors added cruelty to it.

Mahomet II. after having subdued Constantinople and Greece, suffered the vanquished to follow their religion in peace; his successors did the same: and the Arabians, while they were masters of Spain, had never compelled the Christian inhabitants to embrace the Mahometan religion. But after the taking of Granada, cardinal Ximenes was resolved that all the Moors should become Christians, either through a motive of zeal, or from the ambition of adding a new set of subjects to the primacy. This attempt was a direct violation of the treaty upon which the Moors had surrendered themselves, and therefore it required time to bring it to bear. But Ximenes wanted to convert the Moors in as short a time as his sovereign had taken Granada. Accordingly they were preached to, they were persecuted, they revolted, were subdued, and at length obliged to receive baptism; and Ximenes gave to fifty thousand of them the mark of religion, in which not one of them believed.

The Jews, who were included in the treaty made with the king of Granada, experienced no greater indulgence than the Moors had done. There were great numbers of this people then in Spain, who were there as they are every where,

where, the brokers in trade; a profession which is so far from producing a spirit of sedition, that it can subsist only among those of a pacific disposition. There are above twenty-eight thousand Jews, now licensed by the pope in Italy, and near two hundred and eighty synagogues in the kingdom of Poland. The city of Amsterdam only contains about fifteen thousand; though every one must allow that it can carry on its trade without them. In short, the Jews were not more dangerous in Spain; and the taxes which might have been laid upon them would have furnished the government with certain resources. It is therefore very difficult to reconcile the persecution raised against them with the rules of sound policy.

The inquisition proceeded against them as well as the Moors. We have already remarked that a great number of Jewish and Mahometan families chose rather to quit Spain, than be subject to the severity of this tribunal, by which Ferdinand and Isabella lost many valuable subjects; since those were certainly the least to be feared of their sect who preferred flight to rebellion. Those who remained behind pretended to become Christians; but the chief inquisitor, Torquemada, represented these feigned proselytes to the queen Isabella as persons whose estates ought to be confiscated, and their lives taken away.

This Torquemada, who was a dominican friar, and had been lately made a cardinal, first gave the Spanish inquisition that juridical form, so repugnant to all the laws of humanity, which it has ever since retained. In the space of fourteen years he tried near eighty thousand persons,

and burnt six thousand, with all the parade and ceremony of the most august festival. What we read concerning the nations who sacrificed human victims to their deity, are nothing in comparison with these executions, which were accompanied with all the ceremonies of religion. The Spaniards were not at first sufficiently struck with horror at these cruelties, because, only their ancient enemies, the Jews, were the sufferers; but in a short time they themselves proved the victims: for when Lutheranism began to make a noise, the few natives who were suspected of favouring it were sacrificed without mercy.

The very form of these trials afford an infallible means of destroying whomsoever the judges pleased. The accused is never confronted with his accuser; and the greatest encouragement is given to every one who will inform against another. A public criminal branded by the law, a child, or a prostitute, are esteemed serious accusers. The son may be an evidence against his father, and a wife against her husband. In short, the accused person is obliged to give evidence against himself, and to guess and acknowledge the crime imputed to him, of which he is frequently ignorant.

So unheard-of a proceeding made all Spain tremble. A general distrust took possession of all minds; there was no longer any friendship nor society. One brother stood in fear of another, and the father suspected his son. From hence taciturnity became the character of a people who were born with all the vivacity which a warm and fruitful climate could inspire.

pire. Those of the common people who had most cunning, strove to be bailiffs to the inquisition, under the title of familiars, chusing rather to be its attendants than stand in danger of its censures.

We may likewise attribute, as an effect of this dreadful tribunal, that profound ignorance of sound philosophy in which most of the Spaniards are still immersed, while the people of Germany, England, France, and even Italy itself, have brought to light so many important truths, and enlarged the sphere of our knowledge. Human nature is never so debased as when ignorance is armed with power.

But these effects of the inquisition, melancholy as they are, are but trifling in comparison with those public sacrifices, known by the name of *Auto da fe*, or acts of faith, and the horrors by which they are preceded.

A priest clad in his surplice, and a monk who has made a vow of meekness and humility attend in vast subterraneous dungeons to see their fellow creatures put to the most excruciating tortures. After this a stage is erected in a public place, whither all the condemned are led to the stake, attended with a train of monks and friars, who sing psalms, perform a mass, and murder their fellow creatures. An inhabitant of Asia, who should chance to arrive at Madrid the day of such an execution, would not be able to determine whether it was a rejoicing, a religious ceremony, a sacrifice, or a butchery; and it is indeed all these together. The kings, whose presence alone is in other nations sufficient to confer pardon on a criminal, assist bare-headed at this spectacle, on a

seat somewhat lower than that of the inquisitors, and behold their subjects expiring in the flames. Montezuma has been reproached with sacrificing the captives taken in war to his Gods; but what would he have said had he been spectator of an *Auto da fé*?

These executions are now become less frequent than heretofore. But as reason cannot without great difficulty penetrate where fanaticism is established, it has not yet been able to suppress them entirely.

The inquisition was not introduced into Portugal till the year 1557, when that country was no longer under the Spanish dominion. At first it met with all the resistance which its very name was sufficient to produce; but at length it was established with the same power as at Madrid. The chief inquisitor is nominated by the king, and confirmed by the pope. The private tribunals of this office, which has the title of Holy given it, are subject in Spain and Portugal to the tribunal of the capital. The inquisition observed the same severity in both these states, and the same assiduity in signaling their power.

In Spain, after the death of Charles V. it had the boldness to arraign and try Constantine Pontius, that emperor's confessor, who ended his days in the dungeon. After his death he was burnt in effigy at an *Auto da fé*.

John de Braganza having delivered his country, Portugal, from the Spanish yoke, was desirous likewise of freeing it from the inquisition: but all he could do was to deprive the inquisitors of their right to confiscations. In return, they declared him excommunicated after his death;

death ; and his queen was obliged to solicit absolution for his dead body, which was equally ridiculous and absurd : for this absolution was in fact declaring him to have been culpable.

When the Spaniards settled in America, they carried the inquisition over with them; and the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies, immediately after it was established by authority in Lisbon.

Every one has heard of the inquisition at Goa. As in other countries it is a restraint upon the rights of nature, in Goa it is directly contrary to policy ; for the Portuguese are settled in the Indies only for the sake of trade. Now commerce and the inquisition are two things which appear incompatible. Had it been admitted in London or Amsterdam, those cities would neither have been so well peopled nor so opulent. Accordingly, when Philip II. attempted to introduce it into the provinces of the Low Countries, the stop which was put to trade proved one of the principal causes of the revolution. France and Germany have fortunately been preserved from this scourge. These countries have experienced all the horrors of war, on account of religion ; at length these wars are at an end ; but the inquisition once established is of eternal duration.

It is not to be wondered at, that a tribunal which is so universally detested, should be accused of excesses of cruelty and insolence, which it never committed. We read in a number of books, that Constantine Pontius, Charles the fifth's confessor, was accused to the holy office of having dictated the emperor's will, in which there did not appear to be a sufficient number

of pious legacies; and that the confessor and the will were both of them condemned to be burnt; and at length, that Philip II. could with great difficulty prevent the sentence from being executed upon the will. This whole story is manifestly false. Constantine Pontius had not been Charles's confessor for a long time before he was imprisoned, and that monarch's will was held in great esteem by Philip, who was a prince of too great abilities and power to suffer such a disgrace to be thrown upon the beginning of his reign and his father's character.

We likewise find in several authors who have written against the inquisition, that Philip III. king of Spain, being present at an *Auto da fe*, and seeing several people burnt for Jews, Mahometans, and heretics, or suspected of being such, cried out, "These people are very unhappy, to suffer death because they could not change their opinions." It is very probable that a king might think in this manner, and that some such words might have escaped him. It is only very cruel that he would not save those whose fate he lamented. But it is farther added, that the chief inquisitors remembering these words, imputed them as a crime to the king, and had the abominable impudence to demand reparation for them, which the king was mean enough to agree to; and that this reparation made to the honour of the holy office consisted in having blood drawn from some part of his body, which the chief inquisitor ordered to be burnt by the hands of the executioner. Philip III. though a prince of a narrow understanding, was not so egregiously weak

weak as to submit to such treatment; nor is a story of this nature to be believed concerning any prince: it is found only in books of no authority, in a picture of the popes, and certain false memoirs printed in Holland, under a number of fictitious names. Besides, it shews great want of capacity, to asperse the inquisition without reason, and to have recourse to falsehoods to render it detestable.

This tribunal, which was first set up for the extirpation of heretics, is precisely the thing which has the most separated the protestants from the church of Rome. They cannot look upon it without horror, and would sooner suffer death than consent to receive it; and the sulphureous shirts of the holy office were always with them the standard of general opposition.

Having thus gone through every thing relative to religion, I shall reserve for succeeding times the history of those misfortunes, of which it has been the cause either in reality or pretence in France and Germany, and now proceed to those amazing discoveries, which at this time brought glory and wealth to Portugal and Spain, which took in the whole universe, and made Philip II. the most powerful monarch of Europe.

C H A P. CXX.

Of the Discoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

HITHERTO we have only seen men, whose ambition disputed the possession, or disturbed the peace, of the known world: An ambition, which seemed at first more advantageous to mankind, but which in the end proved equally fatal, now excited human industry to go in search of new lands and new seas.

It is well known that the pointing of the needle to the north, which remained so long hidden from the most learned people, was discovered in the times of ignorance, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Soon afterwards Flavio Goia, of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, invented the compass, and distinguished the touched point by a flower de luce; which was one of the armorial bearings of the kings of Naples, as being descended from the house of France.

This discovery remained a long time without being put in use; and the verses mentioned by Fauchet to prove that the compass was made use of in 1300, were probably written in the fourteenth century.

The Canary islands had already been discovered, without the help of the compass, about the end of the fourteenth century. These islands, which in Ptolomy and Pliny's time were called the Fortunate islands, *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, were well known to the Romans, after they became masters of Africa Tingitana, from
which

which they are not for distant. But the fall of the Roman empire having broke off all communication between the western nations, who now became all strangers to each other, these islands were lost to us. They were discovered again in the year 1300 by some Biscayans; Lewis de la Cerda, prince of Spain, son to that Lewis who lost the crown, finding that he could not be king of Spain, demanded of pope Clement V. in 1306, the title of king of these islands; and, as the popes were always fond of bestowing real or imaginary kingdoms, Clement crowned him king of these islands in Avignon: La Cerda, however, rather chose to continue in France, which was then the place of his asylum, than to make a voyage to the Fortunate islands.

The first time we find the use of the compass mentioned with any certainty is by the English under Edward III. The little knowledge that remained amongst mankind was confined to the cloisters. An Oxonian monk, named Linna*, who was a very skilful astronomer for the times he lived in, penetrated as far as Iceland, and drew some charts of the north seas, which were afterwards made use of in the reign of Henry VI.

But the more noble and useful discoveries were not made till the beginning of the fifteenth century. These were begun by Prince Henry of Portugal, son to king John I. who thereby rendered his name more glorious than that of all his cotemporaries. This prince

* He was called Nicolaus de Linna, or of Lynn, in Norfolk, from the place of his birth.

was a philosopher, and he employed his philosophy in doing good to the world.

Five degrees on this side of our tropic lies a promontory, which stretches out into the Atlantic ocean, and which, till that time, had been the *ne plus ultra* of navigation : it was called cape Non ; a word which signified that it was not to be passed.

Prince Henry found some pilots bold enough to double this cape, and to sail as far as cape Boyador, which is only two degrees distant from the tropic ; but this new promontory, which stretched for the length of one hundred and twenty miles into the ocean, and was surrounded on all sides with rocks and banks of sand, and in the midst of a very boisterous sea, damped the courage of the pilots. The prince, whom nothing discouraged, sent others in their room ; but these could not make their passage, and returned back by the main ocean. On

1419 their way they discovered the island of Madeira, which was certainly known to the Carthaginians, and which some exaggerated accounts had made to pass for an immense island ; nay, by a still greater exaggeration, some moderns have taken it for the continent of America itself. Its discoverers gave it the name of Madeira, from its being covered with wood ; Madeira in the Portuguese language signifying wood, hence came our (French) word Madrier*.

Prince Henry ordered some vines of Greece to be planted there, and sugar canes,

* In terms of fortification, a thick plank or board.

which

which he procured from Sicily and Cyprus, whither they had been brought by the Arabians from the Indies; and from these sugar canes came those which were afterwards transplanted into the American islands, which at present furnish all Europe with that commodity.

Henry preserved Madeira; but he was obliged to give up the Canary islands, of which he had taken possession, to the Spaniards, who prosecuted the claim of Lewis de la Cerda and pope Clement's bull.

Cape Boyador had struck such dread into the minds of all the pilots, that for above thirteen years not one of them dared to attempt the passing it. At length prince Henry, by his resolution, inspired a few of them with fresh courage. They passed the tropic, and sailed near four hundred leagues beyond 1446 it, as far as cape de Verd. The discovery of cape de Verd and Azores islands, 1460 is entirely owing to his care and diligence. If it is true, as is asserted, that 1461 they saw upon one of the rocks of the Azores, a statue, representing a man on horseback, holding the horse's main with his left hand, and pointing with his right to the west, we may reasonably suppose, that this monument belonged to the ancient Carthaginians; and the inscription found on it, in unintelligible characters, seems a corroborating proof.

Almost all that part of the coast of Africa, which had been discovered, was under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco; who had extended their sovereignty and religion, from the streights of Gibraltar to the river of Senegal, across the deserts: but the country
was

was very thinly peopled, and the inhabitants were hardly a degree removed from brutes. When the adventurers had pushed their discoveries beyond Senegal, they were surprised to find the men to the southward of that river jet black, while those to the northward were ash-coloured. These discoveries were hitherto more curious than useful. It was necessary to people these islands, and the trade on the western coast of Africa produced no great advantages. At length some gold was discovered on the coasts of Guinea, but in very small quantities; hence came the name of guineas, which the English afterwards gave to the coin, which they struck from the gold they found in this country.

The Portuguese, to whom belongs the sole honour of enlarging the limits of the earth for the rest of mankind, passed the equator, and discovered the kingdom of Congo: they now beheld a new heaven, and new stars.

The Europeans now saw, for the first time, the southern pole, and the four stars which are the nearest to it. It is something very extraordinary, that the famous Dante should have spoken of these very stars above one hundred years before this discovery. "I turned myself to the right, says, he in the first canto of his Purgatory, and looked towards the other pole, there I beheld four stars, which have never been known to men, but in the first infancy of the world." This prediction seems much more positive than that which we find in the Medea of Seneca the tragedian, who says, "That a day shall come, when the ocean shall no longer separate nations, when a new Tiphys shall

shall discover a new world, and Thule cease to be the boundary of the earth."

This vague idea of Seneca is no other than a probable hope, founded on the progress which might be made in navigation; and the pretended prophecy of Dante has in fact no relation to the discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The clearer this prophecy appears, the less reason is there to believe it true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and its four stars happen to be spoken of by Dante. He expresses himself only in a figurative sense, and his whole poem is a continued allegory; the pole with him means the terrestrial paradise; the four stars, known only to the first race of men, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the times of primitive innocence. If we were, in like manner, to search into most of the predictions with which so many books abound, we should find that nothing was ever meant to be foretold by them; and that the knowledge of futurity belongs alone to God, and those whom he has been pleased to inspire.

It was not known before, whether the needle would point to the antarctic pole in drawing near to that pole. It was now found to point constantly to the north. They continued sailing, till they came to the southernmost point of Africa, and here the cape of Tempests struck the navigators with as much dread, as that of Boyardor had done; but as the king entertained a hope of finding a way, on the other side this cape, by which he might make the tour of Africa, and carry a trade as far as the Indies, he changed its name to that

of

of cape de Bona Esperanza, or the cape of Good Hope ; a name which afterwards verified his conjectures. Soon afterwards king Emanuel, who inherited the noble emulation of his ancestors, in spite of the remonstrances of his whole kingdom, sent thither a small fleet of four ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, who rendered his name immortal by this expedition.

Vasco doubled this cape, and sailing 1457 through unknown seas, towards the equator, he had not yet passed the tropic of Capricorn, when he met with a civilized nation at Sophala, who spoke the Arabian tongue. From the latitude of the Canary islands, till he came to Sophala, men, animals, and plants, had all appeared to be of a new species ; and his surprise was extreme, to find in this country a people who exactly resembled those of the known continent. The Mahometan religion had made its way hither. Thus the Mussulmen, who had travelled into Africa from the east, and the Christians in sailing up by the west, met together at the extremity of the globe.

Having, at length, found Mahometan pilots in fourteen degrees of south latitude, he landed 1498 in the kingdom of Calicut, in the East Indies, after having discovered above fifteen hundred leagues of coast.

This voyage of Gama made a total change in the trade of the old world. Alexander, whom certain orators have represented only as a destroyer, and who nevertheless founded more cities than he subverted, and certainly merited the title of Great, notwithstanding his vices, had destined the city of Alexandria for the

the centre of commerce, and the point of union to all nations; and it actually was so under the Ptolomeys, the Romans, and the Arabians. It was the general staple of Egypt, Europe, and the Indies. In the fifteenth century, Venice brought almost all the commodities of the east and south from Alexandria; and enriched herself, at the expence of the rest of Europe, by her own industry, and the ignorance of other Christians; and but for Gama's voyage, this republic would soon have become the preponderating power of Europe; but the passage round the cape of Good Hope turned aside the source of her riches.

Potentates had hitherto gone to war to strip each other of their territories: they now quarrelled about settling factories. In the year 1500, no one could have pepper from Calicut, without venturing his life for it.

Alphonso d'Albuquerque, and a small number of other famous Portuguese generals, made war successively upon the kings of Calicut, Ormus, and Siam, and defied the Sultan of Egypt's whole fleet. The Venetians, who were as much concerned as the Egyptians to check the progress of the Portuguese, had made a proposal to this sultan, of cutting through the isthmus of Suez, at their own expence, and digging a canal to join the river Nile to the Red Sea. Had this project succeeded, they would have secured the trade of India in their own hands; but this noble design was baffled by a number of difficulties and delays, and Albuquerque, in the mean time, took Goa, a city on this side the Ganges, Malacca, in the Golden

1510
1511
Cher-

162 Discoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

- 1513 Chersonesus; Aden, at the entrance
of the Red Sea, on the coasts of Ara-
bia Felix; and, last of all, made him-
self master of Ormus in the gulph of
Persia.

The Portuguese, soon after this, formed settlements all along the coast of the island of Ceylon, which produces the finest cinnamon and the richest rubies of the east. They had factories at Bengal, they traded to Siam, founded the city of Macao, on the frontiers of China, and their ships frequently sailed to the eastern parts of Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red Sea. The Molucca islands, the only spot in the world, where nature produces cloves, were discovered and conquered by them. These new settlements were formed partly by treaties, and partly by war: they were obliged sometimes to make use of force to open a new trade in this part of the world.

Thus, in less than fifty years, the Portuguese made the discovery of above five thousand leagues of coast; and became the masters of all the trade carried on in the Ethiopic and Atlantic oceans. In the year 1540, they had several considerable settlements, from the Molucca islands to the gulph of Persia, which forms an extent of sixty-three degrees of longitude. They furnished Europe with every thing that nature produced, of useful, curious, or pleasing, and at a much cheaper rate than the Venetians could do. The voyage from the Tagus to the Ganges became frequent, and the kingdoms of Siam and Portugal were now become allies.

CHAP. CXXI.

Of the JAPAN Islands.

THE Portuguese after having raised themselves to be rich merchants and kings, on the coast of India, and in the peninsula of Ganges, made a visit, in the year 1538, to the island of Japan.

Of all the countries in India, no one better deserves the attention of a philosopher than Japan. We ought to have been acquainted with these islands as early as the thirteenth century, from the relation of the famous Marco Paulo, a Venetian; who, having travelled over land to China, and served for a considerable time, under one of the sons of Jenghizkan, first conceived a notion of those islands, which we call Japan, and by him were named Zipangri. But Paulo's cotemporaries, though they would adopt the most absurd fables, would not give credit to the truths, which he related. His manuscript lay for a long time neglected, and almost unknown, till at length it fell into the hands of Christopher Columbus, who, upon reading it, was greatly confirmed in his hopes of discovering a new world joining together the east and the west. Columbus was only mistaken in supposing that Japan joined to the hemisphere which he had lately discovered.

This kingdom bounds our continent, as we do it, on the opposite side. I cannot tell on what account the Japanese have been called
our

our antipodes in morals ; there can be no such antipodes among people who improve their reason. The established religion at Japan admits of rewards and punishments after death. Their chief commandments, which they call divine, are exactly the same as ours ; lying, incontinence, theft, and murder, are equally prohibited, and, with them, it is the law of nature reduced to positive precepts. To this, they add another precept, which is that of temperance, by which the use of strong liquors of all kinds is forbidden ; and they extend the prohibition of murder even to the brute creation. Saka, from whom they received this law, lived about a thousand years before our common æra. These people then differ from us in morality, only by the precept which relates to the preservation of beasts. They have a number of fabulous accounts ; but in this they resemble all other nations, and us among the rest, who had nothing but the grossest fictions before Christianity. Their customs, likewise, are different from ours ; so are those of all the eastern nations, from the streights of the Hellespont to the extremity of Corea.

As the foundation of morality is the same in all nations, so there are likewise customs in civil life which are the same throughout the world. The Japanese, for instance, visit each other on the first day of the new year, and make reciprocal presents, in the same manner as is practised by the Europeans ; and relations and friends meet together on particular festivals.

The most remarkable thing is, that their government has continued upwards of two thousand

thousand four hundred years exactly the same in form with that of the Mahometan caliph, and of modern Rome. The chiefs of religion, among the Japanese, have been the chiefs of the kingdom much longer than in any other nation whatever; the succession of the pontiff kings may be traced with certainty for above six hundred and sixty years before our æra. But the government coming by little and little to be divided among the laity, they at length made themselves masters of the whole, towards the end of the sixteenth century, but without daring to destroy the race, or name of the pontiffs, whose power they had usurped. The ecclesiastical emperor, whom they call Dairi, is still revered by them like an idol, and the general of the crown, who is in fact the real emperor, treats the Dairi, whom he keeps in an honourable confinement, with the utmost respect: and the Taicosamas have done no more in Japan than what the Turks have done at Bagdat, and the German emperors endeavoured to do at Rome.

Human nature, which is every where essentially the same, has placed many other resemblances between these people and us. They have the same superstitious notions of witchcraft as prevailed so long in Europe. They have their pilgrimages, and their trials by fire, which formerly made a part of our jurisprudence. Lastly, they place their illustrious men among the Gods, as did the Greeks and Romans. Their pontiffs, like them of Rome, (if I may be allowed the comparison) have the sole right of canonization, and of dedicating temples to those whom they judge deserving of them.

them. The priests are in every thing distinguished from the laity, and a reciprocal contempt prevails betwixt the two orders. They have for a long time had monks, recluses, and even regular orders among them, not much unlike our military ones ; for there was an ancient society of anchorets in Japan, who made a vow of fighting for their religion.

But, notwithstanding an establishment of this kind, which seems a kind of prelude to civil wars, such as were occasioned in Europe, by the Teutonic order of Prussia ; liberty of conscience is universally allowed in this country, as well as throughout all the east. Japan, though under the government of a pontiff king, was divided into several sects ; but all these sects were united in the same principles of morality. Those who believed the *metempsychosis*, and those who denied it, equally abstained from eating the flesh of those animals, who are of use to man. The whole nation lived upon rice, pulse, fish, and fruits, and with them temperance seems rather a virtue than a superstition.

The doctrine of Confucius has made great progress in this empire. As it confines itself wholly to simple morality, it has captivated the minds of all who are not attached to the bonzes, which has always been the wisest part of the nation. It is thought that this doctrine has not a little contributed to overthrow the Dairi's power. The emperor who reigned in 1700 was professedly of this religion.

They seem to have made a worse use of this doctrine at Japan than in China. The Japanese philosophers look upon suicide as a vir-

tuous action, when it does not injure society. The violent and haughty disposition of these islanders frequently leads them to put it in practice, and this crime is much more common in Japan than even in England.

Liberty of conscience, as remarks that authentic and learned traveller Kempfer, has always been allowed in Japan, as well as throughout all the rest of Asia. A number of different religions were suffered without opposition to settle in Japan; and God thus permitted a way to be opened for the gospel, in these vast regions. Every one knows the amazing progress which it made in almost one half of this great empire, at the end of the sixteenth century. The famous embassy of three Christian princes of Japan to pope Gregory XIII. is perhaps the most flattering homage which the see of Rome ever received. This immense country, where, at present, every one who enters it must abjure Christianity, and where the Dutch are only admitted, on condition of performing no act of religion, was once on the eve of becoming a Christian, and perhaps a Portuguese kingdom, likewise. Our priests then received more honours there than even at home, and, at present, a price is set upon their heads, and that a very considerable one too, being no less than twelve thousand livres. The indiscretion of a Portuguese priest, who would not give place to one of the king's chief officers, was the first occasion of this great revolution. Another was the obstinacy of certain Jesuits, who stood up too strictly for their rights, and refused to restore a house, which a Japanese nobleman had given them, and
which

which his son afterwards claimed again. The third and last, was the apprehension of the people themselves, of being subjected by the Christians, and this caused a civil war. We shall hereafter see how the Christian religion, which first introduced itself into this country by peaceable missions, ended afterwards by war.

At present, let us confine ourselves to what Japan was at that time; to the antiquity which this nation boasts in common with the Chinese; and to that succession of pontiff kings, which precedes our æra by above six centuries; and, in particular, let us not omit to remark, that these are the only people of Asia who have never been conquered. The Japanese have been compared to the English for that *insular* haughtiness, which is common to both nations, and the disposition to suicide, which is thought so frequent on these two extremities of our hemisphere. But the Japan islands have never been subdued, whereas those of Great Britain, have been conquered more than once. The Japanese do not appear to be a mixture of many different people, as the English, and all our northern nations. They seem rather to be Aborigines. Their laws, worship, manners, and language, have no resemblance with those of the Chinese; and China itself seems to have had an original existence of its own, and not to have received any thing from other nations, till very lately. You are struck with the great antiquity of the Asiatic nations, none of whom, the Tartars excepted, ever spread themselves to any great distance from their own borders, and at the

same time, you see that a nation, very inconsiderable in strength, extent, and numbers, and hardly, till this time, mentioned in the history of the world, sent forth a few adventurers from the port of Lisbon, who discovered these immense countries, and settled themselves there in all the pomp of power.

No trade was ever so advantageous to the Portuguese as that of Japan. Dutch writers tell us that they brought from thence every year three hundred tons of gold ; now every one knows that an hundred thousand florins make what the Dutch call a ton. This is greatly exaggerating matters ; but it is evident by the extreme care, which these industrious and indefatigable republicans have taken to exclude all nations, but their own, from trading to Japan, that it must, especially in the beginning, have been immensely advantageous. They bought the best tea in Asia there, the finest earthen ware, amber-grease, a kind of copper, far superior in goodness to ours ; and, lastly, gold and silver, the principal object of all these undertakings.

This country, like that of China, possesses almost all those things which we have ; and almost all that we want. It is as well peopled as China, in proportion to its bigness ; and the natives are more fierce and warlike. These people were formerly much superior to ours of the West, in all the liberal and mechanic arts. But how nobly have we redeemed our lost time ! The countries where a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo have built the cathedral of Rome ; where a Raphael has painted ; where a Newton has calculated infinites ; and where Cinna

and Athalia have been written, are now become the first countries upon earth. Other nations are no better than barbarians, or children, in the fine arts, notwithstanding their boasted antiquity, and all that nature has done for them.

I shall not, in this place, make any mention of the kingdom of Siam, which was not known till the time of Lewis XIV. who received an embassy from thence, and sent over troops and missionaries, who proved equally useless; nor shall I detain you with an account of the people of Tonquin, Laos, and Cochin-China, as they have been very little visited, and not at all, till long after the expeditions of the Portuguese, and as our trade has never been able to make any considerable progress in these countries.

The powers of Europe, and the traders who enrich them, had no other view in all these discoveries than to find out new treasures. Philosophers however have by this means discovered a new world in morality and physics. An easy passage being opened from all the ports of Europe to the farther parts of the Indies, gave us an opportunity of indulging our curiosities with the ocular demonstration of whatever we were ignorant of, or concerning which we had but an imperfect knowledge from the false relations of ancient writers. What subjects were offered to the reflecting mind in beholding, on the farther shores of the river Zaira, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of blacks, the vast coast of Cafraria, where the inhabitants are all of an olive colour, and deprive themselves of one testicle in honour of the deity, while the

Ethio-

Ethiopians, and many other people of Africa, content themselves with offering only a part of their foreskins! Then, in returning back to Sophala, Quiloa, Montbasa, and Melinda, to meet with blacks of a still different species from those of Nigritia, as well as whites, and others of a copper colour, all of whom spring from the same common parent; and all these countries abounding in animals and vegetables wholly unknown to our climates!

In the middlemost parts of Africa there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the negroes, and round eyes, exactly resembling those of a partridge. Two of these animals have been seen in France, and some of them are yet to be met with in the eastern parts of Asia.

The vast peninsula of the Indus, which runs from the mouth of the Nile and Ganges to the middle of the Maldivian islands, is inhabited by twenty different nations, whose manners and religion have not the least resemblance with each other. The natives of the country are of a deep copper-colour. Dampierre met with men in the isle of Timor, whose skins are the colour of brass; so greatly does nature vary in her productions.

In the peninsula of Indus, on this side the Ganges, dwell a great number of Banians, who are descended from the ancient Brachmans. These people are strongly attached to the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the two principles which prevail in all the provinces of India, and will not eat any thing that has the breath of life; they resemble the Jews in

obstinately refusing to incorporate with any other nation; they boast the same antiquity, and, like them, devote themselves entirely to commerce.

This country in particular has preserved that custom which has subsisted from time immemorial, by which women are encouraged to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, in hopes of being born anew.

About Surat, Cambaya, and on the borders of Persia, we find the Guebres, who are remains of the ancient Persians, follow the religion of Zoroaster, and, like the Banians and Hebrews, will not intermix with other nations. There are several ancient Jewish families in India, that are thought to have been settled there ever since their first dispersion. On the coasts of Malabar there were found a colony of Nestorian Christians, falsely called the Christians of St. Thomas, who did not know that there was a church of Rome: these were formerly governed by a patriarch of Syria, and still acknowledge this phantom of a patriarch, who resided, or rather hid himself, in Mosul, which they pretend to be the ancient Nineveh. This weak Syriac church was, in a manner, buried beneath its own ruins by the Mahometan power, as well as the other churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The Portuguese brought the Roman-catholic religion with them into these countries, and founded an archbishopric in Goa, which now became a metropolitan see, as well as a capital city. They endeavoured to reduce the Malabar Christians to the obedience of the holy see, but without success. What has been effected with so much

much ease among the savages of America could never, with the utmost endeavours, be brought to bear with those churches who had once separated themselves from the Romish communion.

In going from Ormus to Arabia they met with disciples of St. John, who had never heard of the gospel, and are those we call Sabeans.

After a passage was opened through the eastern seas of India to China and Japan, and the inner parts of those countries came to be inhabited by European settlers, the customs, manners, and religion of the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese, were better known to us than those of the nations bordering upon our own had been during the barbarous ages.

Nothing is more worthy the attention of a philosopher than the apparent difference between the eastern customs and ours, which is as great as between our languages. The best governed among those nations differ from us in the nature of their polity; their arts are not like ours; their food, cloaths, houses, gardens, laws, worship, and rules of decorum, are all different. What can be more opposite to our customs than the manner in which the Brachmans carry on their traffic at Indostan? The most considerable bargains are made without speaking or writing, and only by the means of signs. Indeed, how is it possible that the eastern customs should not in almost every respect differ from ours? Nature herself is not the same in their climates as she is in Europe. In the southern parts of India young people of both sexes are marriageable at seven or eight years of age, and it is a common thing to contract marriage at those years. These children become pa-

I 3 rents,

rents, and enjoy the portion of reason they have received from nature, at a time when ours has scarcely began to unfold itself.

All these people resemble us in nothing but the passions, and the universal law of reason which counteracts those passions, and impresses upon all hearts this necessary precept, "Do not that to others which thou wouldst not have them do to thee." These two characters are stamped by nature on all the different species of the human race, and are two links by which she connects them all. Every thing else is purely the effect of climate and custom. Thus the city of Pegu is guarded by crocodiles, which swim round it in a vast ditch filled with water; and at Java the women mount guard at the king's palace.

At Siam the chief glory of the kingdom consists in possessing a white elephant. There is no corn at Malabar; and bread and wine are unknown to the inhabitants of all the isles. In one of the Philippine islands a tree is found, whose fruit perfectly resembles the finest bread. In the Marian islands they were not acquainted with the use of fire.

It is certain, that we should suspend our belief with regard to many of the relations brought us from distant countries. They take more pains to send us commodities from Malabar than real truths, and an accidental circumstance is frequently mistaken for an established custom. Thus we are told, that at Cochin the king's son does not inherit his kingdom, but the son of his sister. Such a regulation is plainly repugnant to the law of nature; no man would willingly disinherit his own son: and, supposing
the

the king of Cochin has no sister, who is to inherit the throne? It is probable that a politic nephew might have prevailed over the rights of a son ill-advised and worse assisted, and that some traveller took this accident for an established law. An hundred writers have copied after this traveller, and thus his error gains credit*.

Some authors, who have lived in India, pretend to affirm that there is no private property in the Mogul's dominions, which would be still more contradictory to nature than the preceding story. At the same time we are told, and by the same writers, that they have had dealings with some of the Indians who have been worth millions. Now these two assertions seem a little contradictory†. Let it be always remembered, that the northern conquerors established the custom of fiefs from Lombardy to India. If a Banian therefore had travelled into Italy in the time of Astolphus and Alboan, could he with justice have affirmed that there was no private property amongst the Italians? We cannot labour too assiduously to refute a notion which is so humbling to mankind, as that of there being countries where

* This is not only the rule of succession in Cochin, but also in Guinea; and this we can aver upon certain information. The custom is founded on the supposition that the son of the king's sister must have royal blood in his veins; whereas the son of the king's wife may possibly be begotten by another person.

† By no means. A subject may be allowed to trade to a very great extent, and amass great wealth, which, however, he dares not call his own, while he lives at the mercy of a despotic prince, whose word can not only strip him of all his riches, but even deprive him of his life.

millions of people incessantly toil for one single man.

We should be as cautious in crediting those who tell us of temples dedicated to lewdness. Let us put ourselves in the place of an Indian who might be witness to some of the scandalous scenes exhibited by our monks in Europe; ought he to affirm that these were the established rules of their order?

One circumstance which should claim your particular attention is, that almost all these people have imbibed an opinion, that their gods have made frequent visits to the world. Vishnou assumed nine different shapes in the peninsula of the Ganges; Sammonocodom, the god of the Siamese, put on man's form five hundred and fifty times. This notion is common to these people with the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. This inconsiderate, ridiculous, and universal error, proceeds however from a rational sentiment, which is at the bottom of all hearts. We are naturally conscious of our dependence upon a supreme Being; and error mingling itself with truth, has made the gods to be considered all over the world, as lords who sometimes come to visit and reform their dominions. Religion has been in many nations like astrology; both the one and the other were prior to history, and both of them have been equally a mixture of truth and imposture. The first observers of the stars ascribed fictitious influences to them; the founders of strange religions, while they acknowledged the existence of a God, sullied his worship with superstitious practices.

Amidst

Amidst the number of different religions; there is not one which has not made atonement for sins its chief end. Man has always felt a conviction that he stood in need of the Divine clemency. This gave rise to those frightful penances to which the Bonzes, Bramins, and Faquirs voluntarily subject themselves; and which, at the time that they seem to cry aloud for mercy upon human-kind, are become a trade by which they get their livelihood.

I shall not enter upon the endless detail of all their customs, but there is one which appears so foreign to our manners, that I cannot forbear mentioning it: this is, that the Bramins carry in procession the Phallum of the Egyptians, or the Roman Priapus. Our notions of decency would induce us to imagine, that a ceremony which to us appears so infamous, could never have been invented but by the spirit of lewdness itself; yet it is hardly to be supposed, that depravity of manners could have established a religious ceremony among any people whatever. On the contrary, it is rather probable that this custom was at first introduced in the times of innocence; and that in the beginning they thought only of honouring the Deity in the symbol of that life which he has given us. A ceremony of this kind necessarily inspired youth with licentious notions, and appeared ridiculous to graver minds, as the world became more refined, more corrupted, or more knowing. But the ancient custom has been preserved notwithstanding the abuse made of it; and there are few nations which have not preserved

some ceremony, which they could neither approve nor suppress.

After a review of so many extravagant notions and whimsical superstitions, would one readily believe that all the heathen people of India acknowledge, like us, an infinitely perfect Being? whom they term, "The being of beings, the supreme being, invisible, incomprehensible, without form, the creator and preserver, just and merciful, who delights in revealing himself to men, in order to bring them to eternal happiness." And yet these notions are actually contained in the Vedam, which is the Bible of the ancient Brachmans; and are diffused through all the writings of the modern Bramins.

A learned Danish missionary on the coast of Tranquebar, quotes several passages and forms of prayer, which seem the result of the most enlightened reason and refined sanctity. One of these is taken from a book entitled Varabadu: "O supreme of all beings, lord of heaven and earth, I cannot contain thy perfections in my heart. Before whom shall I deplore my misery, if thou abandonest me; thou to whom I owe my support and my preservation? Without thee I cannot live. Call me then, O Lord, that I may come towards thee."

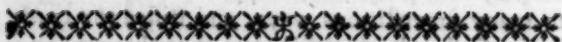
And yet, notwithstanding this wisdom and sublimity in the doctrine, the vilest and most superstitious follies prevail in the exercise of their religion. This is a contradiction too common to human nature; the Greeks and Romans had the same idea of a supreme Being, and yet they added such a number of inferior deities;

deities, the people worshipped these deities in so many superstitious ways, and stifled the truth under such a load of fictions, that there was no distinguishing what was deserving of veneration from what merited contempt.

But you must not waste your time in enquiring into the numberless sects into which India was divided. Error appears there in too many shapes: besides, it is probable that our travellers have sometimes taken different rites for opposite sects. Every college of priests in ancient Greece and Rome had its particular ceremonies and sacrifices. Hercules was not worshipped after the same manner as Apollo, nor Juno like Venus; and yet all these forms of worship belonged to the same religion.

The people of our western hemisphere, in all these discoveries, gave proofs of a great superiority of genius and courage over the eastern nations. We have settled ourselves amongst them, and frequently in spite of their resistance. We have learned their languages, and have taught them some of our arts; but nature hath given them one advantage which overbalances all ours; which is, that they do not want us, but we them*.

* Nature has given them no such advantage: for we are naturally as independent as they; and we lived much more independent and comfortably than they do at present, even before we knew them or their country. By the same way of reasoning, the Hottentots may be said to be naturally more independent than the Europeans: so may every miserable savage that roves among the deserts of America, or the snows of Lapland.



C H A P. CXXII.

OF ETHIOPIA, or ABYSSINIA.

BEFORE the time of these discoveries, our western nations knew nothing of Ethiopia, besides the name. It was in the reign of the famous John II. of Portugal, that don Francisco d'Alvarez made his way into these vast regions which lie between the tropic and the equinoctial line, and are very difficult of access by sea.

On his arrival he found the Christian religion established in this country, not the same as it is amongst us, but as it was practised by the first Jews who embraced it, before the total separation between the two rites. This mixture of Judaism and Christianity has continued to be the established religion of Ethiopia to this day. They keep the Jewish and Christian sabbath, and baptize and circumcise their children. The priests are permitted to marry; divorce is generally allowed; and polygamy is the custom here as well as amongst the rest of the eastern Jews.

Don Alvarez was the first who discovered the true position of the head of the Nile, and the cause of that river's periodical overflowings; two things which were wholly unknown to the antients, even to the Egyptians themselves.

Alvarez's relation of these matters continued a long time to be of the number of those truths which are little known; and even to this time too

too many authors have echoed the errors of antiquity in asserting, that it was not permitted to man to discover the sources of the Nile. The name of Prester John was at this time given to the Negus or king of Ethiopia, without any other reason than because he pretended to be descended from the race of Solomon by the queen of Sheba, and that it was foretold, after the crusades, that a Christian prince should be found in the world, named Prester John. However, the Negus was neither a Christian nor a priest.

All the advantages reaped from the voyages to Ethiopia consisted in obtaining an embassy to be sent from the king of this country to pope Clement VII. The country was very poor, though abounding in mines full of silver. The inhabitants, who were not so industrious as the Americans, knew not how to make use of these riches, nor yet to avail themselves of those more substantial treasures which the earth furnishes to supply men's real wants.

Accordingly, we find that a Negus of Ethiopia, named David, sent a letter to the Portuguese governor in the Indies, requesting him to supply him with workmen of all kinds: this was being indeed very poor. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern part of Asia, were in the same state of indigence. We are apt to think, amidst the ease and plenty we enjoy in our cities, that all the world resembles us, never reflecting that men lived for a long time like other animals, almost destitute of food and shelter in the midst of mines of gold and diamonds.

This

This kingdom of Ethiopia, which we have heard so greatly extolled, was in fact so defenceless, that a petty Mahometan king, who was master of a neighbouring canton, made almost the entire conquest of it in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have a famous letter of John Bermudes to Sebastian king of Portugal, which may convince us, either that the Ethiopians are not that unconquerable people of whom Herodotus speaks, or that they are greatly degenerated.

This Latin patriarch was sent, with a few Portuguese soldiers, to protect the young Negus of Abyssinia against the Moorish king before-mentioned, who had invaded his dominions; but it unfortunately happened, that after the Negus was restored, the patriarch still insisted upon continuing his protector. He was his godfather, and thought himself his master, on account of being his father and a patriarch. He therefore commanded him to submit to the pope's authority, and threatened him with excommunication in case of refusal. Alphonso d'Albuquerque did not behave with greater haughtiness towards the petty princes in the peninsula of Ganges, than the patriarch did to this monarch. But the godson being firmly settled again on his golden throne, paid little regard to the commands or menaces of his godfather; and, instead of acknowledging the pope's authority, expelled the patriarch from his dominions.

This same Bermudes pretends, that on the frontiers of Damut, a country lying between Abyssinia and the territories bordering on the source

source of the Nile, there is a small district, where two thirds of the earth is filled with gold. It was this which the Portuguese went in search of, but were disappointed in their expectations. This was the true occasion of those voyages of which the patriarchs were the pretext. There is reason to believe that the earth in Africa contains great quantities of this metal, which has put the whole world in motion. The gold sands which roll down its rivers plainly shew, that there is a large mine of this ore in the neighbouring mountains. But hitherto this mine has eluded the search of avarice; and, in consequence of the efforts made in America and Asia, we are less able to prosecute any attempts in the middle of Africa.



C H A P. CXXIII.

Of C O L U M B U S and A M E R I C A.

IT is to these discoveries of the Portuguese in the old world, that we are indebted for the new, if we may call the conquest of America an obligation, which proved so fatal to its inhabitants, and at times to the conquerors themselves.

This was doubtless the most important event that ever happened on our globe, one half of which had been hitherto strangers to the other. Whatever had been esteemed most great or noble before, seemed absorbed in this kind of new creation. We still mention with respect-
ful

ful admiration the names of the Argonauts, who did not perform the hundredth part of what was done by the sailors under Gama and Albuquerque. How many altars would have been raised by the antients to a Greek who had discovered America ! And yet Bartholomew and Christopher Columbus were not thus rewarded.

Columbus, struck with the wonderful expeditions of the Portuguese, imagined that something greater might yet be done ; and from a bare inspection of the map of our world, concluded that there must be another*, which might be found by sailing always West. He had courage equal to his genius, or indeed superior, seeing he had to struggle with the prejudices of his cotemporaries, and the repulses of several princes to whom he tendered his services. Genoa, which was his native country, treated his schemes as visionary, and by that means lost the only opportunity that could have offered of aggrandizing her power. Henry VII. king of England, who was too greedy of money to hazard any on this noble attempt, would not listen to the proposals made by Columbus's bro-

* What ! did he by surveying a map of this world, believe there should be another in it ? this would have been a strange inference indeed. By considering the nature of the terraqueous globe, he took it for granted that the land must bear a proportion to the water, and that the East-Indies extended so far towards that country which is now called America, that he should be able to find it by steering in a western direction. Accordingly, when he first discovered the land of the American continent, he supposed it was a continuation of the East Indies,

ther,

ther* ; and Columbus himself was rejected by John II. of Portugal, whose attention was wholly employed upon the coast of Africa. He had no prospect of success in applying to the French, whose marine lay totally neglected, and their affairs more confused than ever, during the minority of Charles VIII. The emperor Maximilian had neither ports for shipping, money to fit out a fleet, nor sufficient courage to engage in a scheme of this nature. The Venetians indeed might have undertaken it; but whether the natural aversion of the Genoese to these people, would not suffer Columbus to apply to the rivals of his country, or that the Venetians had no idea of any thing more important than the trade they carried on from Alexandria, and in the Levant ; Columbus at length fixed all his hopes on the court of Spain.

Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile, had by their marriage united all Spain under one dominion, excepting only the kingdom of Grenada, which was still in

* Here our author is egregiously mistaken. Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher, in his voyage to England was taken by pirates, and reduced to such indigence, that when he arrived at London, he found himself destitute of money, friends, and credentials. It was by his ingenuity in making sea-charts, that he earned a subsistence, and in a few years acquired consequence enough to deserve the attention of the ministry ; then his proposal was relished, and his brother's conditions accepted ; but by this time Christopher had actually sailed in the service of Isabella. Henry, notwithstanding his avarice, was nevertheless a patron of discovery ; witness the protection and countenance he granted to the Cabots, who discovered the northern parts of America.

the Moors possession, but which Ferdinand soon after took from them. The union of these two princes had prepared the way for the greatness of Spain, which was afterwards begun by Columbus; he was however obliged to undergo eight years of incessant application before Isabella's court would consent to accept of the inestimable benefit this great man offered it. The bane of all great projects is the want of money. The Spanish court was poor; and the prior Perez, and two merchants named Pinzono, were obliged to advance seventeen thousand ducats towards fitting out the armament. Columbus procured a patent from the court, and at length set sail from the port of Palos in Andalusia, with three small ships, on August 23, in the year 1492.

It was not above a month after his departure from the Canary islands, where he had come to an anchor to get refreshments, when Columbus discovered the first island in America; and during this short run he suffered more from the murmurings and discontent of the people of his fleet, than he had done even from the refusals of the princes he had applied to. This island, which he discovered, and named St. Salvador, lies about a thousand leagues from the Canaries; presently after he likewise discovered the Lucayan islands, together with those of Cuba and Hispaniola, now called St. Domingo.

Ferdinand and Isabella were in the utmost surprize to see him return at the end of nine months, with some of the American natives of Hispaniola, several rarities from that country, and a quan-

March 15,
1493.

quantity of gold, with which he presented their majesties.

The king and queen made him sit down in their presence, covered like a grandee of Spain, and created him high-admiral and viceroy of the new world. Columbus was now every where looked upon as an extraordinary person sent from heaven. Every one was vying who should be foremost in assisting him in his undertakings, and embarking under his command. He soon set sail again, with a fleet of seventeen ships. He now made the discovery of several other new islands, particularly the Caribbees and Jamaica. Doubt had been changed into admiration on his first voyage, in this second, admiration was turned into envy.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to these titles might have added that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nevertheless, he was brought home prisoner to Spain, by judges which had been purposely sent out on board his fleet to observe his conduct. As soon as it was known that Columbus was arrived, the people ran in shoals to meet him, as the guardian genius of Spain. Columbus was brought from the ship, and appeared on shore chained hands and feet.

He had been thus treated by the orders of Fonseca bishop of Burgos, the intendant of the expedition, whose ingratitude was as great as the other's services. Isabella was ashamed of what she saw, and did all in her power to make Columbus amends for the injuries done to him; however, he was not suffered to depart again for four years, either because they feared that he would seize upon what he had discovered

vered for himself, or that they were willing to have time to observe his behaviour. At length, 1498 he was sent on another voyage to his new world; and now it was, that he discovered the continent at six degrees distance from the equator, and saw that part of the coast on which Carthage has been since built.

At the time that Columbus first promised a new hemisphere, it was insisted upon that no such hemisphere could exist; and after he had made the actual discovery of it, it was pretended that it had been known long before. I shall not mention one Martin Behem of Nuremberg, who it is said went from that city to the streight of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from a dutchess of Burgundy, who, as she was not alive at that time, could not issue patents. Nor shall I take notice of the pretended charts of this Martin Behem, which are still shewn, nor of the evident contradictions which discredit this story: but, in short, it was not pretended that Martin Behem had peopled America; the honour was given to the Carthaginians; and a book of Aristotle's was quoted on this occasion, which he never wrote. Some found out a conformity between some words in the Caribbee and Hebrew languages, and did not fail to follow so fine an opening. Others were positive that the children of Noah, after settling in Siberia, passed from thence over to Canada on the ice, and that their descendants, afterwards born in Canada, had gone and peopled Peru. According to others again, the Chinese and Japanese sent colonies into America, and carried over lions with them for their diversion, though there are no lions either
in

in China or Japan. In this manner have many learned men argued upon the discoveries made by men of genius. If it should be asked how men first came upon the continent of America? Is it not easily answered, that they were placed there by the same power who caused trees and grass to grow.

The reply which Columbus made to some of those who envied him the great reputation he had gained, is still famous. These people pretended, that nothing could be more easy than the discoveries he had made; upon which he proposed to them to set an egg upright on one of its ends; but when they had tried in vain to do it, he broke one end of the egg, and set it upright with ease. They told him any one could do that; how comes it then, replied Columbus, that no one amongst you thought of it? This story is related of Brunelleschi, who improved architecture at Florence, many years before Columbus was born. Most *bon mots* are only the repetition of things that have been said before.

The ashes of Columbus cannot be affected with the reputation he gained while living, in having doubled for us the works of the creation. But mankind delight to do justice to the illustrious dead, either from a vain hope that they enhance thereby the merit of the living, or that they are naturally fond of truth. Americo Vespucci, whom we call Americus Vesputius, a merchant of Florence, had the honour of giving his name to this new half of the globe, in which he did not possess one acre of land, and pretended to be the first who discovered the continent. But supposing it true
that

that he was the first discoverer *, the glory was certainly due to him who had the penetration and courage to undertake and perform the first voyage. Honour, as Newton says in his dispute with Leibnitz, is due only to the first inventor; those that follow after are only his scholars. Columbus had made three voyages as admiral and viceroy, five years before Americus Vesputius had made one as a geographer, under the command of admiral Ojeda; but this latter, writing to his friends at Florence that he had discovered a new world, they believed him on his word, and the citizens of Florence decreed, that a grand illumination should be made before the door of his house every three years, on the feast of All-Saints. And yet, could this man be said to deserve any honours for happening to be on board a fleet that in 1489 sailed along the coast of Brazil, when Columbus had, five years before, pointed out the way to the rest of the world?

There has lately appeared at Florence a life of this Americus Vesputius, which seems to be written with very little regard to truth, and without any conclusive reasoning. Several French authors are there complained of, who have done justice to Columbus's merit; but the writer should not have fallen upon the French authors, but on the Spanish, who were the first that did this justice. This writer says, that "He will confound the vanity of the

* But it was not true. Admiral Columbus, in his third voyage, actually landed on the continent of Paria, at Punta del Arenal, near Trinity Island, and brought from thence some gold and pearls.

French nation, who have always attacked with impunity the honour and success of the Italian nation." What vanity can there be in saying, that it was a Genoese who first discovered America? Or how is the honour of the Italian nation injured in owning, that it was to an Italian, born at Genoa, that we are indebted for the new world? I purposely remark this want of equity, good breeding, and good sense, as we have too many examples of it; and I must say, that the good French writers have in general been the least guilty of this insufferable fault; and one great reason of their being so universally read throughout Europe, is their doing justice to all nations.

The inhabitants of these islands, and of the continent, were a new race of men. They were all without beards, and were as much astonished at the faces of the Spaniards, as they were at their ships and artillery: they at first looked upon these new visitors as monsters, or gods, who had come out of the sky, or the sea. These voyages, and those of the Portuguese, had now taught us how inconsiderable a spot of the globe our Europe was, and what an astonishing variety reigns in the world. Indostan was known to be inhabited by a race of men whose complexions were yellow. In Africa and Asia, at some distance from the equator, there had been found several kinds of black men; and after travellers had penetrated into America as far as the line, they met with a race of people who were tolerably white. The natives of Brazil are of the colour of bronze. The Chinese still appear to differ entirely from the rest of mankind, in the make of their eyes
and

and noses. But what is still to be remarked is, that into whatsoever regions these various races are transplanted, their complexions never change unless they mingle with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be of a black colour, is a manifest proof, that there is a differential principle in each species of men, as well as plants.

Dependent upon this principle, nature has formed the different degrees of genius, and the characters of nations, which are seldom known to change. Hence the negroes are slaves to other men, and are purchased on the coast of Africa like beasts, for a sum of money; and the vast multitudes of negroes transplanted into our American colonies, serve as slaves under a very inconsiderable number of Europeans. Experience has likewise taught us how great a superiority the Europeans have over the Americans, who are every where easily overcome, and have not dared to attempt a revolution, though a thousand to one superior in numbers.

This part of America was again remarkable on account of its animals and plants, which are not to be found in the other three parts of the world, and which are of so great use to us. Horses, corn of all kinds, and iron, were wanting in Mexico and Peru, and among the many valuable commodities unknown to the old world, cochineal was the principal, and was brought us from this country. Its use in dying has now made us forget the scarlet, which for time immemorial had been the only thing known for giving a fine red colour.

The

The importation of cochineal was soon succeeded by that of indigo, cacao, vanille, and those woods which serve for ornament and medicinal purposes, particularly the Quinquina, or Jesuits bark, which is the only specific against intermittent fevers. Nature had placed this remedy in the mountains of Peru, whilst she had dispersed the disease it cured through all the rest of the world. This new continent likewise furnishes pearls, coloured stones, and diamonds.

It is certain, that America at present furnishes the meanest citizen of Europe with his conveniences and pleasures. The gold and silver mines, at their first discovery, were of service only to the kings of Spain and the merchants; the rest of the world was impoverished by them, for the great multitudes who did not follow business, found themselves possessed of a very small quantity of specie, in comparison with the immense sums accumulated by those who had the advantage of the first discoveries. But by degrees the great quantity of gold and silver which was sent from America was dispersed throughout all Europe, and by passing into a number of hands, the distribution is become more equal. The price of commodities has likewise increased in Europe, in proportion to the increase of specie.

To comprehend how the treasures of America passed from the possession of the Spaniards into that of other nations, it will be sufficient to consider these two things: the use which Charles V. and Philip II. made of their money; and the manner in which other nations acquired a share in the mines of Peru.

The emperor Charles V. who was always travelling, and always at war, necessarily dispersed a great quantity of that specie which he received from Mexico and Peru, through Germany and Italy. When he sent his son Philip over to England, to marry queen Mary, and take upon him the title of king of England, that prince deposited in the tower of London twenty seven large chests of silver in bars, and an hundred horse-loads of gold and silver coin. The troubles in Flanders, and the intrigues of the league in France, cost this Philip, according to his own confession, above three thousand millions of livres of our money.

The manner in which the gold and silver of Peru is distributed amongst all the people of Europe, and from thence is sent to the East Indies, is a surprising, though well known circumstance. By a strict law enacted by Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards confirmed by Charles V. and all the kings of Spain, all other nations were not only excluded the entrance into any of the ports in Spanish America, but likewise from having the least share, directly or indirectly, in the trade of that part of the world. One would have imagined, that this law would have enabled the Spaniards to subdue all Europe; and yet Spain subsists only by the continual violation of this very law. It can hardly furnish exports for America to the value of four millions, whereas the rest of Europe sometimes send over merchandise to the amount of near fifty millions. This prodigious trade of the nations, at enmity or in alliance with Spain, is carried on by the Spaniards themselves, who are always faithful in their

their dealings with individuals, and always cheating their king, who stands in great need of it. The Spaniards give no security to foreign merchants for the performance of their contracts; a mutual credit, without which there never could have been any commerce, supplies the place of other obligations.

The manner in which the Spaniards for a long time consigned the gold and silver to foreigners, which was brought home by their galleons, was still more surprising. The Spaniard who at Cadiz is properly factor for the foreigner, delivered the bullion he received to the care of certain bravoes, called Meteors. These, armed with pistols at their belt, and a long sword, carried the bullion, in parcels properly marked, to the ramparts, and flung them over to other meteors, who waited below and carried them to the boats which were to receive them, and these boats carried them aboard the ships in the road. These meteors and the factors, together with the commissaries and the guards, who never disturbed them, had each a stated fee, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The king, who received a duty upon this money at the arrival of the galleons was likewise a gainer. So that, properly speaking, the law only was cheated: a law, which would be absolutely useless, if not eluded, and which, nevertheless, cannot yet be abrogated, because old prejudices are always the most difficult to be overcome amongst men.

The greatest instance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards was in the year 1684, when war was declared between France and Spain. His catholic majesty

endeavoured to seize upon the effects of all the French in his kingdom; but he in vain issued edicts and admonitions, enquiries and excommunications, not a single Spanish factor would betray his French correspondent. This fidelity, which does so much honour to the Spanish nation, plainly shews that men only willingly obey those laws which they themselves have made for the good of society, and that those which are the mere effects of a sovereign's will, always meet with opposition.

As the discovery of America was at first the source of much good to the Spaniards, it afterwards occasioned them many and considerable evils. One has been, the depriving that kingdom of its subjects, by the great numbers necessarily required to people the colonies; another was, the infecting the world with a disease, which was before known only in the new world, and particularly in the island of Hispaniola. Several of the companions of Christopher Columbus returned home infected with this contagion, which afterwards spread over Europe. It is certain, that this poison, which taints the springs of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and small pox were diseases originally endemic to the southern parts of Numidia. We are not to believe that the eating of human flesh, practised by some of the American savages, occasioned this disorder. There were no cannibals on the island of Hispaniola, where it was most frequent and inveterate; neither are we to suppose, with some, that it proceeded from a too great excess of sensual pleasures. Nature had never punished

punished excesses of this kind with such disorders in the world; and, even to this day, we find that a momentary indulgence, which has been passed and forgotten for eight or ten years, may bring this cruel and shameful scourge upon the chastest union.

And now, in order to see how this half of the globe became a prey to the powers of Christendom, it will be necessary to follow the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests.

The great Columbus, after having built several houses on these islands, and discovered the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a reputation, un sullied by rapine or cruelty, and died at Valladolid in 1506. But the governors of Cuba and Hispaniola, who succeeded him, being persuaded that these provinces furnished gold, resolved to make the discovery at the price of the inhabitants lives. In short, whether they thought the natives had conceived an implacable hatred to them, or that they were apprehensive of their superior numbers; or that the rage of slaughter, when once begun knew no bounds; they in the space of a few years entirely depopulated Hispaniola and Cuba, the former of which contained three millions of inhabitants, and the latter above six hundred thousand.

Bartholemew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who was witness to these desolations, relates that they hunted down the natives with dogs. These wretched savages, almost naked and without arms, were pursued like wild beasts in a forest, devoured alive by dogs, shot to death,

death, or surpris'd and burnt in their habitations.

He farther declares, from ocular testimony, that they frequently caused a number of these miserable wretches to be summoned by a priest to come in, and submit to the Christian religion, and to the king of Spain, and that after this ceremony, which was only an additional act of injustice, they put them to death without the least remorse. I believe that las Casas has exaggerated in many parts of his relation; but, allowing him to to have said ten times more than is truth, there remains enough to make us shudder with horror.

It may seem surpris'ing, that this massacre of a whole race of men could have been carried on in the sight, and under the administration of several religious of the order of St. Jerome; for we know, that Cardinal Ximenes, who was prime minister of Castile, before the time of Charles V. sent over four monks of this order, in quality of presidents of the royal council of the islands. Doubtless, they were not able to resist the torrent, and the hatred of the natives to their new masters being, with just reason become implacable, rendered their destruction unhappily necessary.

CHAP.

C H A P. CXXIV.

Of FERNANDO CORTEZ.

FERNANDO Cortez set sail from 1519
 the island of Cuba, on a new expedition to the continent. This man, who was no more than a private lieutenant to the governor of a new discovered island, and had with him only six hundred men, eighteen horses, and a few field pieces, set out upon the conquest of the most powerful state of America. At first, he was so fortunate to meet with a Spaniard, who, having been nine years a prisoner at Jucatan, in the road to Mexico, served him as an interpreter. An American lady, whom he called Donna Marina, became at once his mistress and chief counsellor, having learnt Spanish enough to be an interpreter for him likewise. To compleat his good fortune, he met with a volcano full of sulphur and saltpetre ; which served him upon occasion to recruit the powder he spent in his engagements. He coasted all along the gulf of Mexico, sometimes caressing the natives, and at others making war upon them. In his way he met with several well governed towns, where the arts were held in estimation. The powerful republic of Tlascala, which flourished under an aristocratical government, opposed his further passage ; but the sight of the horses, and the report of the cannon, soon put this ill-armed multitude to flight, and he made a peace with them on his own terms. Six thousand of these new allies accompanied him

from Tlascala in his journey to Mexico, which empire he entered without resistance, though forbidden by the sovereign; who, nevertheless, had thirty vassal kings under his command, each of whom could appear in the field, at the head of a hundred thousand men, armed with those sharp stones, which they used instead of steel.

The city of Mexico, which was built in the midst of a large lake, was one of the most noble monuments of American industry. Immense causeways went across this lake, raised upon small boats made of the trunks of trees hollowed. The city abounded with spacious and convenient houses, built of stone; noble squares, market places, and shops full of the most curious pieces of workmanship, carved and engraved in gold and silver; rich vessels of painted porcelain; cotton stuffs; and ornaments of feathers; which formed the most beautiful patterns, by the variety of their colours and shades. Near the great market place stood a palace, where all disputes between the traders were decided in an expeditious manner; like those justice courts of the consuls at Paris, which were first established by Charles IX. after the destruction of the empire of Mexico. Several palaces, belonging to the emperor Montezuma, added to the magnificence of this city. One of them, raised on columns of jasper, was set apart for containing the curiosities which minister only to pleasure. Another was filled with offensive and defensive weapons, richly adorned with gold and precious stones. A third was surrounded with spacious gardens, wholly destined

destined to the raising of medicinal plants, which proper officers distributed to the sick, and gave an account of the success attending the use of them, to the king; and these physicians likewise kept a register of cases, after their manner, being unacquainted with writing. The other articles of magnificence only prove the progress of the arts in that kingdom; this latter shews the progress of morality.

Was it not incident to human nature to blend the best things with the worst, we should not be able to conceive how this moral institution could agree with those barbarous sacrifices, in which human blood was poured forth in torrents, before their idol, *Vishlipustli*, who was worshipped by them as the God of armies. The ambassador of Montezuma told Cortez, as it is pretended, that their master had sacrificed every year, during his wars, near twenty thousand enemies, in the great temple of Mexico. This is a very great exaggeration, and, evidently calculated to colour over the injustices committed by the conqueror of Montezuma; but when the Spaniards afterwards entered the grand temple of Mexico, they actually found, amongst other ornaments, a great number of human skulls, hung up by way of trophies; in the same manner as the ancients have described to us the temple of Diana in the Taurica Chersonesus. The religions of most nations have had something inhuman and bloody in their institution. The Gauls, Carthaginians, and Syrians, offered human victims to their deities. The Jewish law, itself, seems to allow of these sacrifices; and it is said in Leviticus, "If a living soul has been

vowed to God, no one shall redeem it, that soul shall surely die." The Jewish writings tell us, that when that nation invaded the small country of the Canaanites, they put the men, women, children, and domestic animals, of several villages to the sword, because they had been vowed to God. On this law were founded the oaths of Jephtha and Saul, the first of whom sacrificed his daughter, and the other would have slain his own son, had he not been with-held by the cries of the army. And by this law it was, that Samuel slew king Agag, Saul's prisoner, and hewed him in pieces before the camp of the Israelites. An action, as barbarous and shocking to human nature, as any that was ever practised by the most ruthless savages, and which indeed would have been a most enormous crime, had not God himself, in whose hands are life and death, and whom no man can call to account, seen fit to order it so, in the unfathomable depths of his divine justice. But it appears, that the Mexicans only sacrificed their enemies, and were not cannibals *, like some of the American tribes.

Their police was, in every other respect, prudent and humane. The education of youth was one of the principal objects of government, and there were public schools established for those of both sexes. We still admire the Egyptians, for having discovered that

* Antonio de Selis, in his history of the conquest of Mexico, expressly says, that there were dishes of human flesh every day on the table of Montezuma, until Cortez prevailed upon him to desist from that horrible banquet.

the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days. Astronomy was carried to as great a length among the Mexicans.

They had reduced war to a regular art, which had given them a great superiority over the rest of their neighbours ; and the exact management of the public treasury maintained the empire in lustre, and made it equally feared and envied by surrounding nations.

But the warlike animals on which the Spaniards were mounted ; the artificial thunders, which seemed formed under their hands ; the floating wooden castles, which had brought them over the ocean ; the steel armour, which defended them from the enemies darts ; and the rapid victories, with which they marked their progress in all places where they came : all these subjects of wonder, added to that natural weakness, which inclines men to admiration, had such an effect on the Mexicans, that as soon as Cortez appeared before that city, Montezuma received him as his master, and the inhabitants as their God. The streets were lined with people, on their knees, to see a Spanish subaltern march through.

Those who have given us a relation of these surprising events, have thought fit to enhance them by supposed miracles, which have rather lessened their true merit. The only real miracle was in Cortez's behaviour. By degrees Montezuma and his court, coming to be better acquainted with their new guests, ventured to treat them like men ; a party of these Spaniards being at Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico, a general was dispatched with private orders from the Emperor to attack them ; and, though

his troops were routed in the engagement, they killed three or four Spaniards, and sent one of their heads to Montezuma. Upon this, Cortez did the boldest thing that ever was attempted by politician; he went directly to the palace, followed by fifty of his Spaniards, and Donna Marina, who always accompanied him as his interpreter; and, after having tried persuasion and menaces, he brought the emperor prisoner with him to the Spanish quarters, where he obliged him to deliver up those who had attacked his people at Vera Cruz, afterwards loaded him with irons, as a general would punish a private soldier, and obliged him publicly to acknowledge himself a vassal to the emperor Charles V.

Montezuma, and the chiefs of his empire, then delivered to Cortez, as the tribute annexed to their homage, six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, together with an incredible quantity of jewels; and pieces of exquisite workmanship in gold, with whatever the industry of several ages had executed of most rare and valuable. Cortez reserved a fifth part of these treasures for the use of his master, kept another fifth for himself, and divided the rest among his soldiers.

It may be reckoned in the number of the greatest prodigies, that, notwithstanding the mutual jealousies and divisions, which reigned among the conquerors of the new world, and were carried to the greatest extremes, their conquests never suffered. Never did truth wear so little an appearance of probability. While Cortez was subduing the empire of Mexico with five hundred men, which were all he

had left, Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, more offended at the reputation, which his lieutenant had gained, than at his want of submission to his authority, sent almost all the troops he had under his command, which consisted of eight hundred foot, and eighty horsemen well mounted, together with two small pieces of cannon, to reduce Cortez, and take him prisoner, and afterwards pursue the plan of his victories.

Cortez, who had now a thousand of his own countrymen to fight against, and the whole continent to keep in subjection, left eighty of his people to take care of the kingdom of Mexico, and marched with the rest to give battle to those whom Velasquez had sent against him. He defeated one part, and found means to gain over the rest. In short, this little army, which came bent upon his destruction, enlisted under his standard, and he led them back to Mexico.

The emperor was still confined in prison, guarded by the eighty men, whom Cortez had left behind in the city. Alvaredo, which was the officer's name who commanded them, on a false report that the Mexicans had formed a conspiracy to deliver their emperor, took the opportunity of a public festival, while two thousand of the principal lords of the kingdom were drowned in the excess of strong liquors, to fall upon them with fifty of his soldiers, who murdered them, and all their attendants, without the least resistance; after which, he stripped them of all the gold ornaments and jewels, with which they had deckt themselves upon this public occasion. This enormous
outrage,

outrage, which was justly imputed to a villainous avarice, effectually roused these too patient people, who instantly revolted against their perfidious conquerors; and when Cortez arrived at Mexico, he found two hundred thousand Americans in arms against his eighty Spaniards, who had enough to do to defend themselves, and secure the emperor their prisoner. The Mexicans besieged Cortez in his quarters, resolved to deliver their prince; and, without the least regard to their lives, rushed in crowds upon the cannon and small arms, which made a dreadful slaughter amongst them. Antonio de Solis calls this action a revolt, and their intrepid bravery, brutality. So apt are writers to catch the spirit of injustice from conquerors. The emperor Montezuma was slain in one of these engagements, by a wound he unluckily received from one of his own subjects. Cortez had the insolence to propose to this monarch, of whose death he was the cause, to embrace Christianity before he expired, and his mistress donna Marina was to be the catechist. The unhappy prince died, vainly imploring the vengeance of heaven against these usurpers of his kingdom *. He left behind him children still weaker than himself, whom the kings of Spain have, without the least apprehension, left in possession of several lands in Mexico; and, to this day, there are some of the descendants of this emperor in a right

* Antonio de Solis says he cursed no body, but his own subjects, by whose hands he had received his death's wound, and that he conjured Cortez to revenge his death.

line, who live in the city of Mexico, and are called the counts of Montezuma. They are at present no more than private gentlemen, are of the Christian religion, and live confounded in the throng.

After the death of Montezuma, the Mexicans elected a new emperor, who, like them, thirsted for revenge upon his tyrant conquerors. This was the famous Gatimozin, whose destiny proved still more fatal than that of his predecessor. Immediately upon his election, he armed all his subjects against the Spaniards.

Despair, an unquenchable thirst of revenge, and implacable hatred, now carried this wretched multitude madly on, against those very people, whom, but a little before, they did not dare to approach but on their knees. The Spaniards were wearied with slaying, and the Americans succeeded in crowds to be slaughtered, without being in the least dismayed. Cortez now found himself obliged to abandon the city, where he was in danger of being starved; but the Indians had broken down the causeways: however, the Spaniards made themselves a bridge over the lake, of the dead bodies of their enemies; but, in this bloody retreat, they lost all the treasures they had gotten for Charles V. and for themselves. Every day's march was a battle, in which some Spaniard lost his life; which was paid for by the deaths of thousands of these wretched people, who fought almost naked.

Cortez had no fleet; he therefore employed his soldiers, and the Indians he had with him, in building nine boats, with which he

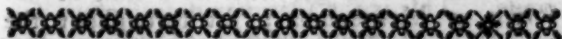
he proposed to enter Mexico, by the very lake, which seemed to shut him out from that city.

The Mexicans had no apprehension in venturing on a naval fight; they covered the lake with five thousand boats, each carrying two men, and advanced to attack Cortez's nine boats, which carried about three hundred men. But these, having their field pieces with them, soon destroyed the Mexican fleet, while Cortez with the remainder of his troops, attacked them from the causeways. The Spaniards, with the loss of only twenty men killed, and seven taken prisoners, atchieved a more important enterprize, in this part of the world, than had ever been accomplished by all the multitudes slain in our battles. The Mexicans sacrificed the prisoners they had taken in their grand temple; but, at length, after several successive engagements, Gatimozin was made prisoner by the Spaniards, together with the empress his spouse. This is the Gatimozin so famous for the speech he made, when a receiver of the king of Spain's treasures, ordered him to be laid on a coal fire, to discover in what part of the lake he had hidden his riches: his high priest, who was sentenced to the same punishment, and lay broiling by his side, could not refrain from crying out aloud; when Gatimozin rebuked him sternly, saying "Am I thinkest thou, on a bed of roses?"

1521 Cortez had now made himself absolute master of the city of Mexico, together with which, the whole empire was reduced to the Spanish dominion, as likewise Golden

den Castile, Darien, and all the neighbouring territories.

What now was the reward Cortez met with for such unheard of services? The same with Columbus: he was persecuted, and by that very bishop, Fonseca, who, after having been instrumental in sending home the discoverer of America, loaded with chains, wanted now to treat its conqueror in the same manner. In short, notwithstanding the titles which his country bestowed upon him, at his return he was held but in slight estimation. It was with difficulty that he could even obtain an audience of Charles V. One day, he pushed through the crowd, that surrounded the emperor's coach, and got upon the step of the door, when Charles asking, who that man was? "It is him, answered Cortez, who has given you more dominions than your ancestors left you towns."



C H A P. CXXV.

Of the Conquest of PERU.

ALTHOUGH Cortez had conquered for Charles V. a new country of above two hundred leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth; this was deemed a small achievement. The isthmus, which confines the continent of America, between two seas,
is

is not more than five and twenty common leagues over : and from the top of a mountain near Nombre de Dios, a spectator may behold on one side the North Sea, and on the other the South, or Pacific Ocean. In the year 1513, then, an attempt was made to discover by this South Sea new countries to conquer.

In the year 1527, Diego d'Almagro, and Francisco Pizarro, two private adventurers, who hardly knew who were their fathers, and whose education had been so much neglected, that they could neither of them write or read, were the persons, by whose industry, Charles V. acquired a new tract of country, far more extensive and rich than Mexico itself. At first they discovered about three hundred leagues of coast; soon afterwards they were told that about the equinoctial line, and beneath the other tropic, there was an immense country, in which gold, silver, and precious stones, were as common as wood, and that this country was governed by a king as absolute as Montezuma; for throughout the universe despotism is ever the consequence of great riches.

From Cusco and the parts bordering on the tropic of Capricorn, as far as the island of Pearls, which lies in six degrees of south latitude, the whole country is under the dominion of one absolute monarch, who extends his despotic sway over a tract of near thirty degrees. This monarch was of the race of those conquerors called Incas, and his name was Atabalipa; his father, who had conquered the whole country of Quito, which is at present

sent the capital of Peru *, had by the labour of his soldiers, and the people he had conquered, made a great road, above five hundred leagues in length, from Cusco quite to Quito, over vast precipices, and rugged mountains. This noble monument of obedience, and human industry, has been since neglected by the Spaniards. A number of couriers, stationed at the distance of every half league, carried the orders of this mighty monarch to all parts of the kingdom. Thus much for the policy. To form a judgment of the magnificence of this empire, it will be sufficient to know that whenever the king went on a journey, he was seated on a throne of gold, which weighed twenty-five thousand ducats, and the litter, which was made of plates of pure gold, on which this throne was carried, was born on the shoulders of the chief grandees of the kingdom.

Francis Pizarro begun the conquest of this empire with only two hundred and fifty foot, sixty horsemen, and about a dozen of small field pieces, which were drawn by the captives he had taken in his march through the country. He arrived off Quito, which is on the other side of the equator, by the way of the South Sea. Atabalipa was then at Quito, at the head of about forty-thousand soldiers armed with darts, and long pikes of gold and silver. Pizarro began, as Cortez had done at Mexico, by sending ambassadors to the Inca

* Quito, though the seat of the royal audience, is only capital of one province, and its bishop suffragan to the see of Lima.

with

with offers of friendship, in the name of his master Charles V. The Inca, returned for answer, that he should not receive as friends the despoilers of his country, till they had restored all they had taken in their route ; and immediately upon this message, he marched to meet the Spaniards. When the Inca's army and the Castilian troops met, the Spaniards endeavoured to have even the appearance of religion on their side, and sent a monk, named Valverde, whom they had made bishop of a country they had not yet conquered, into the Inca's camp. The priest advances towards the emperor with a Bible in his hand, and an interpreter by his side, who told the monarch that he must believe what was written in that book. After which he made him a long sermon upon the mysteries of the Christian faith. Historians are not agreed concerning the manner in which this sermon was received ; but they all acknowledge that this harangue ended in a battle.

The artillery, horses, and steel armour, produced the same effect on the Peruvians as they had done on the Mexicans ; and the Spaniards had nothing to do but to kill them. Atabalipa himself was dragged from his golden throne by the conquerors, and loaded with chains.

The captive emperor, in order to procure a speedy deliverance, promised too large a ransom : according to Herrera and Zarata, he obliged himself to give as much gold as the hall of one of his palaces would contain, heaped as high as his hand, which he held over his head. His couriers were instantly dispatched on all sides

to

to collect this immense ransom : gold and silver were brought in prodigious quantities to the Spaniards quarters every day ; but whether the Peruvians were wearied with stripping themselves to release their captive emperor, or that Atabalipa was not sufficiently pressing with them, he could not fulfil the whole of his promise. This exasperated the conquerors, who had formed ideas of immense riches, and finding their avarice disappointed, they grew furious, and condemned the emperor to be burnt alive ; but promised him this favour, that if he would turn to the christian religion, they would strangle him before he was burnt. Accordingly he was baptised by this same bishop Valverde, who, by the mouth of an interpreter, read him a long lecture upon Christianity, after which he was hanged, and then thrown into the fire. Some writers, who were eye-witnesses of these transactions, and amongst the rest Zarata, tell us, that Francis Pizarro was at that time sailed for Europe to carry Charles V. a part of the treasures taken from Atabalipa, and that d'Almagro alone was guilty of this barbarity. The bishop of Chiapa, whom we mentioned in the foregoing chapter, adds, that they put several of the king's generals to the same cruel death ; and that these by a generosity as great as the conqueror's barbarity, chose rather to accept of death than discover their master's treasure.

However, by the ransom already obtained from Atabalipa, each Spanish horseman had two hundred and forty marks in pure gold ; each foot soldier one hundred and sixty, and they divided about ten times as much silver in the same proportion ; so that an horseman had
about

about one third more than a foot soldier. The officers got immense riches, and there
 1534 were sent over to Charles V. thirty thousand marks in silver, three thousand in fine gold unwrought, and twenty thousand marks weight of silver, and two thousand of gold, in the workmanship of the country. America might have supplied him with sufficient riches to have kept one part of Europe in subjection, especially the popes, who had granted him the investiture of this new world, had he had frequent remittances of this value.

It is difficult to say whether we should most admire the persevering courage of those who discovered and conquered so many countries, or detest their barbarity: the same principle, avarice, was productive of all the good and all the evil. Diego d'Almagro marched to Cusco, through multitudes, whom his very presence dispersed, and penetrated as far as Chili, on the other side the tropic of Capricorn. He took possession of all the places he passed through, in the name of Charles V. But it was not long before discord arose between these conquerors, as it had before done between Velasquez and Cortez, in North America.

D'Almagro and Pizarro engaged in a civil war against each other, even in Cusco, the capital of the Inca's empire. The recruits they had received from Europe divided themselves into different parties, and fought for the chief of their own election. A bloody battle was fought under the walls of Cusco, while the Peruvians, who stood as idle spectators, had not the courage to take advantage of the weakness of their common enemy: nay there were some of them

who served in both armies, and fought for their tyrants, and the rest stood in brutal stupidity waiting to know which party of their destroyers they were to pay submission to; and yet neither army of the Spaniards consisted of above three hundred men; so great a superiority has nature given the Europeans over the inhabitants of the new world. At length d'Almagro was made prisoner, and beheaded, by order of his rival Pizarro, who was soon afterwards assassinated himself, by some of d'Almagro's friends.

The Spanish government was now established throughout the new world. Governors were appointed to the great provinces, and courts for trying causes like those of our parliaments at Paris. Archbishops, bishops, the offices of the inquisition, and all the other members of church government exercised their functions the same as at Madrid, when the captains, who had conquered Peru for Charles V. now made an attempt to seize this empire for themselves. One of D'Almagro's sons got himself proclaimed king of Peru; but the rest of the Spaniards chusing rather to obey their master in Europe, than to be subject to a king who was only one of their companions, seized upon this new monarch, and gave him up to die by the hands of the executioner. A brother of Pizarro's, whose ambition prompted him to a scheme of the same nature, met with the like fate. These rebellions against Charles V. were raised by his own Spaniards, and not by the conquered natives.

In the midst of these civil broils, and mutual battles, the conquerors discovered the rich mines of Potosi, which were unknown to the Peruvians themselves. It is not exaggeration

ration to say, that the earth in this part of the kingdom was almost all silver; and it is far from exhausted even to this day. The Peruvians were employed by the Spaniards in working upon these mines, as if the latter had been the lawful proprietors. Soon afterwards they reinforced these slaves with a number of negroes, which they purchased on the coast of Africa, and transported to Peru, like animals destined for the service of men.

In fact, they treated neither these negroes nor the inhabitants of the new world, like human creatures. Las Casas, a Dominican friar, and bishop of Chiapa, whom we have had occasion to quote more than once, moved with compassion at the sufferings of these poor wretches, had the courage to complain to Charles V. and Philip II. of the cruelties exercised upon them by his countrymen, in a memorial, which is still extant. He there represents the Americans in general as a mild and timorous people, whose faint-heartedness naturally makes them slaves to others. He says that the Spaniards considered this timorous disposition only as a means of more effectually destroying them; and that in Cuba and Jamaica, and the neighbouring islands, they murdered above twelve hundred thousand of their fellow creatures, as hunters would beasts of prey whom they were endeavouring to root out of a forest. "I have known them, said he, in the islands of St. Domingo and Jamaica, to erect gibbets all over the country, upon every one of which they hung thirteen of these poor wretches at a time, in honour, as they pretended, of the thirteen apostles. I have likewise seen
them

them, continues he, throw young children to dogs to be devoured alive."

A cacique of the island of Cuba, named Hatatu, who was condemned to be burnt for not having brought in a sufficient quantity of gold, was delivered over to a Franciscan friar before he was carried to execution, who endeavoured to prevail on him to die in the Christian faith, and promised him heaven as a reward. And do the Spaniards go to heaven too? hastily demanded the cacique. Doubtless, replied the monk. Oh then, rejoined he, do not let me go there. A cacique of New Granada, which lies between Peru and Mexico, was publicly burnt for failing in a promise he had made to one of their captains, to fill his room with gold.

Thousands of these Americans were made use of by the Spaniards as beasts of burthen, who knocked them on the head when they could travel no farther. In short, this bishop, who was eye-witness to all these barbarities, declares, that in the islands, and on the main land, above twelve millions of Americans had been put to death by this inconsiderable number of Spaniards. "And as an excuse for this, says he, you alledge that they deserve death for being guilty of sacrificing human victims; and you instance the temple of Mexico, in which you say that they had sacrificed above twenty thousand prisoners. Now I take heaven and earth to witness, that the Mexicans, in the utmost use they made of this barbarous right of war, never put one hundred and fifty men to death in that temple."

From the several passages I have here quoted, it follows, that in all probability the Spaniards had greatly exaggerated the depraved customs of the Mexicans; and that the bishop of Chiapa has sometimes exceeded in his complaints of his countrymen. But the representations of this humane prelate had their due effect. The orders sent over from Europe have somewhat alleviated the hard fate of the Americans, who are now only considered as subjects, and not treated like slaves.



C H A P. CXXVI.

Of the first Voyage round the World.

THIS mixture of greatness and cruelty fills us with surprize and indignation. The glorious actions of the conquerors of America are sullied with too many horrors; but the fame of Columbus appears pure and unstained. Similar to his, was the reputation of Magalhaens, or Magellan, as he is commonly called, who undertook the tour of the globe by sea; and of Sebastian Cabot, who was the first who compleated this amazing voyage, which is now no longer looked upon as any thing wonderful.

It was in the year 1519, at the beginning of the Spanish conquests in America, and in the midst of the great successes of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa, that Magellan discovered the streights which bear his name. He was the

the first who entered the South Seas, and sailing from west to east, found the islands which have been since called the Marianas, and one of the Philippine islands, where he lost his life. This Magellan was a Portuguese by birth; and having been denied an augmentation of six crowns to his pay, he was so incensed at this refusal, that he was determined to enter into the Spanish service, and endeavour to discover a passage along the coast of America, which might open a way for sharing part of the Portuguese possessions in Asia. Accordingly his companions after his death settled themselves in Tidor, the chief of the Molucca islands, which produces the most valuable spices.

The Portuguese were astonished when they found the Spaniards there, and could not comprehend how they had come thither through the eastern seas, when their own ships had no other way of coming from Portugal but by the western ocean. They never suspected that the Spaniards had made the tour of one part of the globe. It now required a new system of geography to settle the differences between the Spaniards and Portuguese, and make an improvement on the decree which had been passed by the court of Rome with relation to the pretensions of the nations, and the limits of their respective discoveries.

It is necessary to understand, that when the famous prince Henry of Portugal first began to enlarge the bounds of the universe for the Europeans, the Portuguese demanded from the popes a grant for the possession of all those countries they should discover. It had been a custom to ask the possession of kingdoms from

the see of Rome, ever since pope Gregory VII. had first assumed the right of bestowing them: and this was thought necessary, in order to guard against any foreign incroachments, by making the church a party concerned in all new settlements. Accordingly several popes had confirmed the Portuguese in these rights which they had acquired, and which the pontiffs were not able to deprive them of.

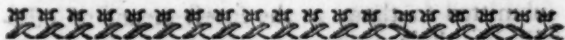
When the Spaniards began to settle them- in America, Pope Adrian VI. divided the newly discovered worlds of Asia and America into two parts: all that lay to the eastward of the Azores islands was to belong to the Portuguese, and the Spaniards were to have all to the westward: a line was then drawn upon the globe, which fixed the limits of their respective claims, and this was called the line of partition. But this voyage of Magellan's had occasioned a confusion in the pope's line, as the Mariana, Philippine, and Molucca islands were found to be to the eastward of the Portuguese discoveries. It was necessary, therefore, to trace a new line, which was called the line of departition.

All these lines were again broke through when the Portuguese landed in the Brazils, and were no longer respected by the French or English, who formed settlements in North America. It is true that they had only the gleanings after the rich harvests reaped by the Spaniards; but they have since formed very considerable settlements there.

The fatal consequences of all these discoveries and transplantations have been, that our trading nations have gone to war in America and Asia whenever they have had any disputes in Europe,
by

by which means they have mutually destroyed their rising colonies. The first voyages were undertaken with a view to unite all nations; the latter ones have been made only to destroy us in the farthest extremities of the globe.

It is difficult to determine whether Europe has been a gainer by its settlements in America. It is certain that the Spaniards drew immense riches from thence; but then Spain was depopulated; and these treasures being divided at last among all the other nations of Europe, restored that equality which they had before destroyed. The price of commodities have been every where raised, so that in fact no side has been really the gainer. It remains, therefore, to know, whether the cochineal and Peruvian bark are of sufficient value to compensate for the loss of so many lives.



C H A P. CXXVII.

The State of ASIA at the time of the Discoveries made by the PORTUGUESE.

Of CHINA.

WHILE Spain was enjoying her acquisitions in America, while the Portuguese reigned masters on the coast of Africa and Asia, while the trade of Europe put on so new a face, and the great revolution in the Christian religion made a change in the interests of so many kings; let us take a view of the state in which the rest of the old world was at that time.

At the end of the thirteenth century we left the race of Gengis-Can in possession of the sovereignties of China, India, and Persia, and the Tartars carrying destruction into the heart of Poland and Hungary. The branch of this victorious family which reigned in China was called Yvan.¹ We find no resemblance in this name with that of Octai-Can, or Coblai-Can, his brother, whose race continued on the throne for one whole century. These conquerors, when they took a Chinese name, adopted the manner of the Chinese. All usurpers are desirous of preserving by law what they have acquired by force. Was it not for this natural inclination which every one has to enjoy in peace what he has acquired by depredations, there would be no society in the world. The Tartars found the laws of the people they had conquered so excellent, that they voluntarily submitted to them as the surest means of establishing their authority. Among other laws, they were particularly careful to preserve that which ordains, that no person shall be a governor or judge in the province where he was born; a most admirable regulation, and which particularly suited with conquerors.

That ancient principle in morality and politics which makes parents regarded by their children, and the emperor considered as the common father of his people, soon brought the Chinese to pay a voluntary obedience to their new rulers; and the second generation forgot how the blood of the first had been spilt. There were nine successive emperors of the same Tartar race, without any mention being made in the Chinese annals of the least endeavour
to

to expel these strangers. One of the great grandsons of Gengis-Can was assassinated in his palace: but it was by a Tartar; and his natural son succeeded him on the throne without the least disturbance.

At length, what had proved the ruin of the caliphs, and had formerly deprived the kings of Persia and Assyria of their crowns, occasioned the downfall of these conquerors. They sunk into effeminacy. The ninth emperor of the race of Gengis-Can having given himself up to the women and lamas, by whom he was surrounded, and who governed him by turns, fell into universal contempt, and the people reassumed their native courage. The bonzes, who were enemies to the lamas, began the revolution. A bold adventurer, who had formerly been a servant in one of the convents belonging to the bonzes, having put himself at the head of a band of freebooters, was by them declared chief of those whom the court called the rebels. We meet with twenty examples of this kind in the Roman and Greek empires, especially the latter. The world is a vast theatre, where the same tragedy is frequently acted under different names.

This adventurer drove the Tartar race from the throne in 1357, and began the one and twentieth family, or dynasty of Chinese emperors, called Ming. This dynasty reigned two hundred and seventy-six years; but at length it fell beneath the descendants of those very Tartars which it had expelled from the throne. It has always necessarily happened, that the most learned, rich, and civilized nations have, in a length of time, been obliged almost every

where to yield to a savage, poor, and hardy people. Artillery alone, since it has been carried to perfection, has at length been able to put the weak upon a footing with the strong. We have already observed, that the Chinese were not acquainted with the use of cannon, notwithstanding that gunpowder had been so long known among them *.

The restorer of the Chinese empire took the name of Taitfoug, a name which he afterwards rendered famous by the power of his arms, and the wisdom of his laws. The first thing he did was to suppress the power of the bonzes, whom he knew the better, as they had assisted him in mounting the throne. He ordered that no Chinese should take upon him the profession of a bonze till he was forty years old, and made the same regulation with regard to the female bonzes. The like has been done in our time by czar Peter the Great in Russia: but that invincible love which every one bears to his profession, and that spirit which animates all large bodies, has made the Chinese bonzes and the Russian monks triumph over this wise law: it has ever been much easier in all countries to suppress a bad custom entirely than to keep it within bounds.

Taitfoug, this second founder of China, seems to have considered propagation as the first of all duties; for at the same time that he lessened the numbers of bonzes, the greater part of whom led a single life, he took care to exclude eunuchs from all employments in the

* See Chap ii. Vol. I.

state, who before were wont to govern the royal palace, and who by their examples had enervated the nation.

Though the race of Gengis-Can had been driven out of China, yet those antient conquerors still continued to be very formidable. A Chinese emperor, named Yngtsong, was made prisoner by them, and carried into Tartary, in the year 1444, where he was detained till the Chinese empire paid an immense sum for his ransom. The prince, though restored to his liberty, did not recover his crown, but waited peaceably for the death of his brother, who reigned during his captivity, and then remounted the throne.

The internal peace of the kingdom was now established, and history mentions only one commotion, raised by a bonze, who endeavoured to stir up the people to revolt, for which he lost his head.

There was no change in the religion of the emperor and the learned men: it was only forbidden to pay the same honours to Confucius as were paid to the memory of the kings: a shameful prohibition, because no one king had ever done the country so much service as Confucius; but at the same time it serves to shew, that Confucius was never worshipped in China, and that idolatry has no part in the ceremonies with which the Chinese honour the manes of their ancestors and great men.

A strange notion prevailed at that time among the Chinese. They thought that there was a secret for making men immortal. The mountebanks, who resembled our alchymists, boasted a power of composing a certain liquor which

they called the drink of immortality. This gave rise to a thousand fables which spread all over Asia, and which have been mistaken for history. It is pretended that several of the Chinese emperors expended immense sums upon this receipt; which is just as true as if the Asiatics were to believe that our kings in Europe have seriously sought after the fountain of youth, which is as famous in our old French romances as the drink of immortality in the eastern tales.

Under the dynasty of Yvan, that is to say, the posterity of Gengis-Can, and under that of the restorer of the antient empire called Ming, the arts of genius and invention were particularly cultivated; and yet we find in their little romances the same plan which is so pleasing to all nations; unforeseen calamities, unexpected good fortune, and surprising discoveries. They have but little of that incredible marvellous which is found in the metamorphoses invented by the Greeks, and embellished by Ovid, in the Arabian Tales, and the fables of Bayardo and Ariosto. The invention of the Chinese fables seldom departs from probability, and always tends to the inculcating of sound morality.

A passion for theatrical exhibitions became very prevalent among the Chinese after the fourteenth century, and still continues to be so. They cannot have received this art from any other nation. They were ignorant that such a kingdom as Greece had ever existed; and neither the Mahometans nor the Tartars could have communicated any of the works of the Greeks to them. They therefore must have
in-

invented the art such as they have it, themselves; but by a Chinese tragedy, which has been lately translated, we may perceive that they have not carried this art to any great perfection. This tragedy, which is entitled the Orphan of Tchao, was written in the fourteenth century, and is given us as one of their very best. It is true, that the drama was at that time still more rude with us in Europe, where the art itself was hardly known. But it is our character to improve and carry to perfection, and that of the Chinese to remain at a certain point. Perhaps this tragedy may be in the taste of some of the first trials made by Eschylus. The Chinese, who have always been the foremost in ethics, have made but little progress in the other sciences. Doubtless because nature, who has given them wisdom and rectitude of mind, has denied them the gift of superior genius.

In general they write as they paint, without knowing the secret of the art. Their pictures are hitherto all of them void of proportion, perspective, or clare-obscure; and their writings betray an equal poverty of invention. But in all their productions there seems to reign a prudent mediocrity and unaffected truth, which does not in the least resemble the bombastic stile so common with other Oriental writers. In their treatises of morality you meet with no extravagant similes, nor far-fetched metaphors. They never speak in riddles, and in this respect they differ from all the rest of the Asiatics. It is not long since you read the reflections of a wise Chinese on the method of acquiring the small portion of happiness of which man's nature is susceptible. You must have remarked

that these reflections are exactly the same with those we find in most of our books. The theory of physic is still with them all darkness and error: and yet the Chinese physicians are pretty successful in their practice. Nature has not suffered the lives of men to depend altogether upon the perfect knowledge of this art. The Greeks knew how to bleed on proper occasions, though they understood nothing of the circulation of the blood. Experience and good medicines have established the practice of physic all over the world: it is at best but a conjectural art, which sometimes assists nature, and sometimes destroys her.

In general, a spirit of decency and moderation, a taste for the sciences, and the cultivation of the necessary arts, together with a great fertility of invention, which renders the attainment of these arts more easy, composed the Chinese wisdom. By this wisdom they civilized their Tartarian conquerors, and incorporated them with themselves. This is an advantage which the Greeks could never gain over the Turks. In short, the Chinese drove their masters out of the kingdom, whereas the Greeks never once entertained a thought of throwing off the yoke of their conquerors.

When we speak of the wisdom which for upwards of four thousand years distinguished the constitution of China, we do not mean to include the populace, as they are in all countries destined wholly to the purposes of labour. The spirit of a nation resides in the few who set the multitude to work, and who support and govern them. Certainly this spirit in the Chinese

nese nation is the most antient monument of reason in the world.

This government, excellent as it was, could not fail of being infected with many considerable errors, which are inseparable from human institutions, especially in a great empire. The principal of these was the custom of poor people exposing their children at their birth, in hopes of their being taken up by the rich. By this inhuman practice the state lost many subjects; but the vast number of people in China prevented the government from perceiving this loss. Men were considered by them like the fruits of trees, which are suffered to fall to the ground, and perish unheeded, so long as a sufficient quantity remains behind for use. The Tartarian conquerors might have provided for these abandoned children, and have sent them afterwards to people colonies in the deserts of Tartary: but this escaped their attention; and in our western parts, where the human species stood so much in need of being recruited, we had not at that time fallen upon any expedient to remedy this evil, though so evidently detrimental to us. It is but of late years that there has been an hospital in London for the relief and maintenance of deserted children. Human society takes a great time in coming to perfection.

C H A P. CXXVIII.

Of the TARTARS.

AS the Chinese, though twice subdued, the first time by Gengis-Can, in the thirteenth century, and afterwards in the seventeenth, still continued the principal people of Asia, with regard to arts and laws, so did the Tartars in arms.

It is a mortifying consideration to human nature, that strength has always prevailed over wisdom, and that almost all our hemisphere, as far as Mount Atlas, has been subdued by barbarians. The Roman empire was destroyed by them in the fifth century; and they conquered Spain, with all that the Romans were possessed of in Africa. We have seen them afterwards subjecting the Babylonian caliphs.

Mahmoud, who towards the end of the tenth century conquered Persia and India, was a Tartar. He is hardly known at present to the nations of the West, but by the reproof he received from a poor woman who applied to him, when in India, for justice on certain robbers who had stripped and murdered her son, in the province of Irac in Persia. "How would you have me do you justice at such a distance?" said the sultan. "To what end then did you conquer, replied the mother, if you are not able to govern us?"

It was from the farther end of Tartary that Gengis-Can set out at the end of the twelfth century on his conquest of India, China, Persia, and Russia. Batou-Can, one of his sons, carried

ried his incursions as far as the frontiers of Germany. At present the vast empire of Capshac, which was the portion of this Batou-Can, is reduced to the single province of Crimea, which is held by his descendants under the protection of the Turks.

Tamerlane, who subdued so large a part of Asia, was also a Tartar, and even a descendant of the family of Gengis-Can.

Ussum Cassan, who reigned in Persia, was also a native of Tartary.

In short, if you look into the origin of the Ottoman power, you will find that these people set out from the eastern borders of the Caspian sea, and from thence spread their conquests over Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Constantinople, and Greece.

Let us now see what remained in the vast deserts of Tartary in the sixteenth century, after it had sent forth so many conquerors. To the northward of China were those same mogul and Mantchoux Tartars, who conquered it under Gengis, and who reduced it again about a century ago. They were at that time of the religion which has the Dalai Lama for its head in Lesser Thibet. Their deserts bordered on those of Russia. From thence to the Caspian sea, the country was inhabited by the Elhuts, Calcats, Calmucks, and an hundred other tribes of wandering Tartars. The Usbecs were, and still are settled in the country of Samarcand. They are all of them very poor, and only know that their country sent forth those emigrations, who conquered the richest countries of the globe.

C H A P. CXXIX.

Of the M O G U L.

THE race of Tamerlane reigned in Mogulstan. This kingdom of India had not been entirely subdued by Tamerlane. His children made war upon each other for the division of his dominions, as the successors of Alexander had done, and by their disputes made all India unhappy. This country, where the nature of the climate inspires weakness and effeminacy, was unable to make head against the posterity of its conquerors. Sultan Babar, great grandson to Tamerlane, made himself absolute master of all the country from Samarcand as far as Agra.

There were at that time four principal nations established in India. The Mahometan Arabs named Patanes, who had been in possession of several territories ever since the tenth century; the antient Parfis or Guebres, who had taken refuge there in the time of Omar; the Tartars of Gengis-Can and Tamerlane; and lastly the native Indians, who were divided into several casts or tribes.

The Patanes, or Mahometan Arabs, were always the most powerful of these nations, since, in the year 1120, we find that a Mussulman, named Chircha, dispossessed sultan Amayum, son to the abovementioned Babar, and obliged him to take shelter in Persia. Solyman, the natural enemy of the Persians, protected the Mahometan usurper against the offspring of the Tartarian usurpers, who was assisted by the Persians.

fians. This Solyman at that time held the balance of power in India, and so long as he lived, Chircha reigned without interruption. It was him who made Mahometanism the prevailing religion in the Mogul empire. There are still remaining several noble roads lined with trees on each side, and caravanfaras and baths, which were erected by him for the convenience of travellers.

Amayum then could not get footing in India till after the deaths of Solyman and Chircha, when he was reinstated on his throne by an army of Persians. Thus have the Indians been always subdued by foreigners.

The petty kingdom of Guzurat, near Surat, still continued subject to the antient Indian Arabs, and was almost all that these conquerors retained of the many kingdoms they had subdued, from Persia to the southern provinces of France. They were now obliged to implore the assistance of the Portuguese against Akebar, the son of Amaïoud; but the Portuguese could not prevent their fall.

There was also in Agra a prince who called himself a descendant of Por, the same whom Quintus Curtius has rendered so famous under the name of Porus. This prince was subdued by Akebar, who would not afterwards restore him his kingdom. But he did more good in India than Alexander had time to do: he was the contriver of several immense foundations; and we to this day admire the great road, planted on each side with trees, and reaching the length of one hundred and fifty leagues, from Agra to Lahor, which was the work of this conqueror,
and

and was afterwards embellished by his son Geanguir.

The peninsula of Indus on this side the Ganges, was then in a manner unknown, or if any part of it had been conquered, it was by the Portuguese. The viceroy of this nation, who resided at Goa, equalled the mogul himself in magnificence and luxury, and far surpassed him in the strength of his maritime forces. He had the disposal of five governments, namely, Mozambique, Malaca, Mascata, Ormus, and Ceylon. The Portuguese were masters of the vast trade of Surat, and the great mogul's people came every year to purchase from them the valuable commodities of those islands. America itself, for the forty years it belonged to the Spaniards, had not brought them in more riches; and when Philip II. made himself master of Portugal in 1580, he found himself in an instant master of the chief riches of both worlds, without having himself had any part in their discovery. The grand mogul was not at that time to compare in riches and grandeur with the Spanish monarch.

We are not so well acquainted with this empire as with that of China, on account of the frequent revolutions it has undergone since Tamerlane's time, and that those who have been sent to make observations there, have not been so accurate as those who first transmitted to us an account of China.

The accounts we have had of India are full of contradictions. Father Catrou tells us, that "The mogul keeps to himself the sole property of all the lands in the empire;" and in the same page he says, that "The children
of

of the rajas, or chief princes of the country, succeed to their fathers lands." In one place he affirms, that "All the grandees are slaves," and in another he says, that "Several of these slaves have between twenty and thirty thousand soldiers under their command;" that "The mogul's will is the only law of the empire;" and yet, that "No incroachment has been made upon the rights of the people." It is difficult to reconcile these notions*.

Tavernier writes more for the merchant than the philosopher; for he only gives instructions for finding the high road, and to purchase diamonds.

Bernier is a philosopher; but he does not employ his philosophy in making himself acquainted with the basis of the government. He says, like other writers, that all the lands belong to the emperor. This wants an explanation; to bestow lands and to possess them, are two things absolutely different. The kings of Europe bestow church-livings, but they do not enjoy them; and though the emperor of Germany has a right of conferring all fiefs in Germany and Italy, which become vacant in de-

* The difficulty is not at all insurmountable. Tho' the property of the lands is vested in the mogul, the children of the rajas may certainly succeed to the possessions of their fathers, by the emperor's permission; just as the lord of a manour may grant to a farmer a renewal of his father's lease. A grandee may have thirty thousand dependents able to carry arms, and yet be vassal and slave to a despotic sovereign. The will of the emperor may be the supreme law, and yet that emperor may allow his people to enjoy their customary benefits which they derived from the condescension of his ancestors.

fault of heirs, he does not receive the profits arising from those lands.

Bernier never imagined that people could so far mistake his expressions, as to think that all the inhabitants of India laboured, sowed, built, and worked for one single Tartar. Besides, this Tartar, though absolute over the subjects of his own demesnes, has very little authority over the viceroys, who are frequently powerful enough to dispute his commands.

In India, says Bernier, there are only princes and slaves. How are we to reconcile this with the opulence of some of their merchants, who we are told by Tavernier are worth several millions?

Be that as it may, the Indians were no longer that superior people amongst whom the ancient Greeks travelled in search of knowledge. Nothing remained of all their former superiority but superstition, which grew stronger as they were more subjected; as was the case with the Egyptians after they were conquered by the Romans.

The waters of the Ganges had in all times been famous for their supposed virtue of purifying souls. The ancient custom of plunging into that river at the instant of an eclipse cannot yet be abolished; and though several of the Indian astronomers knew how to calculate these phænomena, the people could not be persuaded but that the sun at that time was in the claws of a great dragon, from which there was no way of delivering it, but by plunging themselves quite naked into the water, and making a loud noise, which frightened the dragon, and made him loose his hold.

The

The school of the old Gymnosophists was still preserved in the great city of Benares, on the border of the Ganges. Here the Bramins cultivated the holy language called Hanscrit, which is looked upon as the most ancient in the East. They hold the belief of Genii like the first Persians; they teach their disciples that the design of idols is only to fix the attention of the common people, and that they are no more than different emblems of the one God; but they carefully conceal this wise doctrine from the vulgar, to whom it could be of no service and suffer them to continue in errors which are beneficial to them.

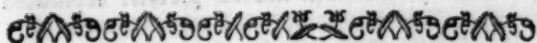
It would seem that the heat of the southern climates disposed men more to superstition and enthusiasm than elsewhere. Numbers of the bigotted Indians have been known to throw themselves under the chariot-wheels of their idol Jagonaut, to have their bodies crushed, out of devotion. The superstition of the people easily reconciled every kind of contradiction: at the same time that the priests of Jagonaut were wont every year to conduct a beautiful virgin to the temple of their god, to be honoured with the title of his wife, as the Egyptians formerly presented one to their god Anubis*; they

* The god Anubis of the Egyptians was supposed to be the same with the Mercury of other nations, hence Eusebius calls him Hermanubis. He was exhibited with a dog's head, as an emblem of vigilance; and in the city of Cynopolis, consecrated to this divinity, sacred dogs were maintained. Anubis was held in such veneration among the Romans, that his worship was allowed in Rome, and the emperors, as well as private persons, often appeared

they led young widows to the funeral pile, who went singing and dancing to throw themselves into the flames with the bodies of their dead husbands.

We are told, that in the year 1642, one of the rajas having been assassinated in the court of Cha-gehan, thirteen of his wives threw themselves alive upon their lord's funeral-pile. A prodigious number of facts of this nature convince us that this custom was in full force in the Mogul's empire, as it still is throughout the whole peninsula, as far as Cape Comorin. It may appear surprising that this sex, by nature so timid, should be capable of so desperate a resolution; but superstition gives a supernatural degree of strength to all ranks.

in the disguise of this deity. In an ancient medal of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, the emperor is represented under the form of Anubis, and Faustina in the character of Isis. The following story is recorded by Tacitus: Mundus, a Roman patrician, being passionately enamoured of Paulina the wife of Saturninus, and being rejected in his address to that matron, resolved to make away with himself, but was diverted from this resolution by his freedman, who undertook to satisfy his desire. For this purpose he bribed some of the priests of Isis to declare to Paulina that she was a favourite of the god Anubis, who desired to possess her person. Proud of this honoured distinction, she communicated the intimation to her husband; and, with his consent, passed the night in the temple with the pretended Anubis. In the sequel, when Mundus disclosed the secret to her, she, in despair, conjured her husband to revenge the injury. He preferred a complaint to the emperor Tiberius, who, after due enquiry, ordered the corrupted priests to be crucified, the temple to be demolished, and the statues of Isis and Anubis to be thrown into the Tiber.



C H A P. CXXX.

OF PERSIA and its Revolution, in the sixteenth Century. Of its Customs, Manners, &c.

PERSIA about this time experienced a revolution nearly of the same kind with that which the change of religion had occasioned in Europe.

A Persian, named Haidar*, who is known to us only by the title of *Sophi*, that is to say the Wise †, and who, besides his wisdom, possessed several very considerable territories, towards the end of the fifteenth century founded the sect

* Haidar in Arabic signifies a lion, and was one of the surnames or titles of Ali. This Haidar, of whom our author speaks, was, or pretended to be, descended from Ali, by the branch of his second son, Houssain, which, according to the Persians, is the branch of the Imans. Haidar's mother was daughter of Usum-Cassan, the first sultan of the dynasty of the Turcomans, called Brandurcans, or of the white sheep. By this sultan, Haidar was supplied with forces to attack Ferokhzad king of Schirvan, who had defeated and slain his father Gruncid in battle: but, in attempting to revenge the death of a parent, he lost his own life, and the greater part of his numerous family was cut off: nevertheless, Ishmael, one of his sons, escaped; and this was the prince who afterwards, under the name of Sophi, founded the dynasty and reigning house in Persia.

† This indeed is the interpretation of the Greek word *Σόφος*, but in Arabic *Sofi*, or *Soufi*, signifies a man clothed in wool, and was first applied to a religious sect of contemplatists, who retired from the world,

by

by which the Persians are at present separated from the Turks.

During the reign of the Tartar Ussum Casfan, a part of Persia, pleased with an opportunity of opposing a new worship to that of the Turks, of setting up Ali* above Omar†,

* Ali, the son of Abou Thaleb, was the relation, son-in-law, and favourite of Mahomet, whom he likewise succeeded as the fourth caliph. It is very remarkable, that altho' his name is now at the head of a very numerous sect, there was nothing which he himself so much condemned as a schism from the established religion of Islamism. The following is one of his maxims, which we find in D' Herbelot: "Take heed you never separate from the communion of the other Mussulmans: for he who separates from it, belongs to the devil, as a sheep that quits the flock belongs to the wolf: give no quarter therefore to him who marches under the standard of schism, even should he be covered with my turban; for he bears the infallible marks of perdition." By the bye, the sectaries of Ali not only wear a turban of a particular form, but their hair is dressed in a different manner from that of the other Mahometans. These sectaries believe that Ali was the first who embraced Mussulmanism, and even professed it while yet in his mother's belly; they go so far as to say, he hindered her during her whole pregnancy from worshipping and prostrating herself before her idol. They never mention Ali but with this benediction; "God make his fate glorious." They affirm that the prophet, speaking of Ali, declared, "Ali is for me, and I am for him. He bears the same rank with me as Aaron did with Moses. I am the city in which all science is locked up, and Ali is the key."

† Omar Ben Alkhétab succeeded Aboubeker, as second caliph of the Mussulmans, and was remarkable for his justice, humility, piety, and liberality. During his caliphate the Arabians subdued Syria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. They reduced thirty-six thousand towns or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of Christians or heathens, and built fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of their own religion,

and

and of having another place besides Mecca to go to upon pilgrimages, greedily embraced the Sophi's doctrine; the seeds of which had been sown for some time before, which he now fully improved, and gave a form to that political and religious schism, which at present appears so necessary between two great neighbouring nations who are jealous of each other. Neither the Turks nor the Persians had any reason to acknowledge Omar or Ali as the lawful successors of Mahomet. The rights of those Arabians, whom they had driven from amongst them, could not affect them in any manner; but the Persians thought it concerned them not to have the seat of their religion fixed with Turks.

The Sophi then published his tenets for the interest of Persia, but at the same time he had principally an eye to his own; and soon became so powerful, that Shah Rustan, the usurper of Persia, began to stand in fear of him. At length this reformer met that fate which Luther and Calvin escaped; he was assassinated by Rustan's orders, in the year 1499.

Ismael, the son of this Sophi, had courage and power sufficient to maintain his father's opinion by force of arms; and his disciples became soldiers.

He converted and conquered the kingdom of Armenia, which was so famous in the time of Tigranes, tho' of so little consideration at present, and in which hardly the ruins of the great city of Tigranocerta are now to be seen. The country is poor; and here are great numbers of Greek Christians, who live by the traffic they carry on in Persia and other places of Asia;

but we are not to give credit to those relations which tell us, that this province subsists one million five hundred thousand Christian families, which, together with the other inhabitants, would make between five and six millions of souls; whereas there is not one third of the number in the whole country. Sophi Ismael, after having made himself master of Armenia, subdued all Persia, and pushed his conquests as far as the country of the Samarcand Tartars. He fought a battle against the Turkish sultan Selim I. in which he gained the advantage; and when he died, left his son Thamas in the quiet possession of the powerful empire of Persia.

It was this same Thamas who at length repulsed sultan Solyman, after having been very near losing his crown. His descendants continued to reign quietly in Persia till the revolutions, which have of late years laid waste that empire.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, and under the reign of the renowned Shah Abbas, great grandson to Sophi Ismael, Persia became one of the most flourishing and happy countries in the world. All places have had a time of glory and splendor, after which they have fallen to decay.

The customs, manners, and spirit of the Persian nation appear as strange to us as those of almost any people we have yet taken notice of. Chardin the traveller says, that the emperor of Persia is not so absolute as the emperor of the Turks; but the Sophi does not appear to be in the power of a militia, which the grand signior undoubtedly is. Chardin, however, al-

lows

lows that the lands in Persia are not all in the hands of one man; that the subjects enjoy the possessions that belong to them, and only pay a moderate tax to the state, not exceeding the value of a crown *per ann.* There are neither great nor small feudal tenures, as there are in India and Turkey, which were conquered by the Tartars. Sophi Ismael, the restorer of this empire, who was not a Tartar, but an Armenian, followed the natural law established in his country, and not that of conquest and plunder.

The seraglio of Ispahan was likewise generally esteemed less cruel than that of Constantinople. A jealousy of state had frequently led the Turkish sultans to strangle their nearest relations. The Sophis only deprived the princes of the blood of their sight. At China it was never looked upon as necessary for the security of the throne, to deprive the brothers or cousins of the reigning prince of their life or sight; they were always suffered to enjoy dignities, though without authority. All which proves, that the Chinese were infinitely more prudent and humane in their manners than any of the other orientals.

The kings of Persia have preserved the custom of receiving presents from their subjects. This is an established practice in Turkey and the mogul's empire. It was so formerly in Poland, which indeed was the only kingdom where it seemed to be reasonable; for the kings of Poland, having but a very small revenue, stood in need of such helps. But the grand mogul and grand signor, especially the latter, who were masters of immense treasures, ought never to shew themselves without bestowing gifts. It is debasing their dignity to accept them, and

yet upon this very debasement they found their title of grandeur. The emperors of China never thus disgraced their dignity. Chardin pretends that the gifts made the king of Persia by his subjects, were worth between five and six millions of our money.

Persia has always had this in common with China and Turkey, that it admits not of nobility. There is no nobility in all these vast dominions, but what is conferred by employments; and men who are nothing themselves cannot there derive any advantage from what their ancestors have been.

In Persia, as well as throughout all Asia, justice has always been administered in the most expeditious manner. Lawyers and law-suits are not known there; every one pleads his own cause; and the maxim, that a short injustice is more supportable than a tedious and intricate justice, has ever prevailed with these people, who were civilized long before us, and have experienced less refinements of all kinds than we have done.

The Mamometanism of Ali was the established religion of Persia, but it permitted the free exercise of all others. There were still in Ispahan a few remains of the ancient Persian fire-worshippers, who were not expelled that kingdom till the reign of Shah-Abbas. This sect was dispersed over all the frontiers, and particularly in ancient Assyria, a district of Upper Armenia, where their high-priest still resides. There were also several families of the ten tribes and an half of Samaritan Jews, which had been transported thither by Salmanazar in the time of Hosea; and at the period of which

I am now speaking, there were near ten thousand families of the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, who had been brought thither from Jerusalem with their king Zedekiah, by Nebuchadnezzar, and had not returned back with Ezra and Nehemiah.

About the gulph of Persia there were several Sabeans, disciples of John the Baptist, of whom I have already spoken. The Armenian Christians who adhered to the Greek church, were the most numerous of these sects, and the Nestorians the least. Ispahan was filled with Indians of the Bramin religion; they were computed at no less than twenty thousand. The greater part of these were Banians, who carry on a traffic with twenty different nations from cape Comorin to the Caspian sea, without intermixing with any one of them.

In short, all religions were well looked upon in Persia, except the sect of Omar, as that was the religion of their enemies. In like manner the English government, while it permits every sect to establish itself with impunity, can hardly be prevailed upon to tolerate the Roman catholic religion, because it stands in fear of its power.

The Persian empire was justly apprehensive of that of the Turks, which was greatly superior to it in numbers and extent of country. The soil in Persia is not so fruitful as in Turkey; and it has not, like that empire, the advantage of the sea. The Persians were not then in possession of the port of Ormus, the Portuguese having made themselves masters of it in the year 1507. An inconsiderable European people lorded it in the gulph of Persia, and

excluded that nation from all commerce by sea. The great Shah Abbas, powerful as he was, was obliged to have recourse to the English to drive the Portuguese from thence in 1622. The Europeans, by their numerous fleets, have been always masters of the fate of those coasts where they have landed.

Though the soil of Persia is not so fertile as that of Turkey, its natives are more industrious; they cultivate the sciences more, but what they call the sciences do not merit that name with us.

As the European missionaries filled all China with amazement even by the little knowledge they possessed of natural philosophy and the mathematics, they would doubtless no less have surprised the Persians. Their language is very beautiful, and has undergone no alteration for these six hundred years past. Their poetry is sublime, and their fables ingenious. But tho' they knew a little more of geometry than the Chinese, yet they carried it not much beyond the elements of Euclid. They were acquainted with no other astronomical system than that of Ptolemy, which is still used by them, as it was for a long time in Europe, only as the means of attaining to judicial astrology. Every thing with the Persians was governed by the influence of the stars, as with the ancient Romans by the flight of birds, and the feeding of the sacred fowls. Chardin pretends, that in his time the state expended four millions yearly upon astrologers. Had a Newton, a Halley, or a Cassini, been born in Persia, they would have been neglected unless they had pretended to foretel futurity.

Their

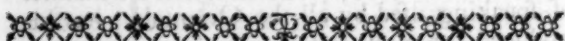
Their medicinal knowledge was like that of all unlearned nations, a practice built upon experiments reduced to rules, without any knowledge of anatomy. This, like the other sciences, had fallen to decay; but they were all revived again in the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the discoveries of Vesalius*, and the penetrating genius of Fernel†.

In

* Andrew Vesalius was born at Brussels in the year 1512. He was educated at Louvain, and studied medicine at Paris, under the celebrated Jacobus Sylvius. He applied himself particularly to the study of anatomy, and was public demonstrator in the university of that city; at the age of eighteen he published his book, intituled, *De humani corporis fabrica*. He afterwards taught anatomy at Louvaine, Bologna, Pisa, and was honoured with a professor's chair in the university of Padua. The emperor Charles V. appointed him his physician, and the same honourable office he retained under Philip II. But, tired of a court life, or (as others imagine) being enjoined a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, by way of penance for having opened a Spanish gentleman before he was quite dead, he repaired to Palestine; in his return from which he was shipwrecked on the island Zante, where he miserably perished by hunger. He was certainly an expert anatomist, and author of many excellent treatises on that subject; of which an edition was published at Leyden in the year 1725, by the celebrated Boerhaave, intituled, *Andree Vesalii opera omnia anatomica et chirurgica*.

† John Francis Fernel, or Fernelius, flourished in the sixteenth century, and was first physician to Henry II. king of France. He was a complete scholar, and wrote Latin with great purity. He was not only in great esteem in France, but held in great veneration by foreigners. Joannes Imperiali says the writings of Fernelius display the eloquence of Cicero and the learning of Hippocrates. Patina, professor of medicine in the royal college of Paris, declared, that he would think it a much greater honour to be descended from Fernelius, than to be king of Scotland, or kinsman to the grand signor. His treatises on medicine are at present little

In short, of what soever civilized people of Asia we make mention, we may say this of them, that they have gone before us, and that we have surpassed them.



C H A P. CXXXI.

Of the OTTOMAN Empire in the sixteenth Century. Its Customs, Government, and Revenues.

THE power and progress of the Ottoman emperors was of longer duration than that of the sophis; for after the reign of Amurath II. there was one continued chain of victories.

Mahomet II. had conquered a number of dominions, that might have made his successors contented with such an inheritance: but Selim I. added fresh conquests to these. In 1515, he subdued Syria and Mesopotamia, and undertook the reduction of Egypt. This enterprize would have been attended with very little difficulty, had he had only Egyptians to fight against; but Egypt was governed and defended by a formidable foreign militia, like that of the Janissaries. These were Circassians, who also came out of Tartary: they were known by the name of Mamelukes, which signifies slaves; either because the first sultan of Egypt

read, though still admired for the latinity. He died at the age of fifty-two, in the year 1558, and left a very considerable fortune, accumulated in the course of his practice.

who

who employed them, had purchased them as slaves; or that it was a name, which attached them more immediately to the person of the prince, which indeed seems the most probable conjecture. In fact, the figurative manner of speaking used by all the Orientals, has introduced the most ridiculously pompous titles for their sovereigns, and the most abject appellations for their servants. The grand signor's bashaws all call themselves his slaves; and, in our time, Thamas Kouli-can, who imprisoned his master Thamas, and put out his eyes, only called himself his slave, as the word Kouli testifies.

These Mamelukes had been the masters of Egypt ever since the last crusades. They were conquered and made prisoners by St. Lewis; since which they had established a government nearly resembling that of Algiers. A king, and twenty-four governors for the provinces, were chosen from among these soldiers. The vigour of this warlike race was not in the least impaired by the effeminacy of the climate they lived in; and their numbers were kept up every year by the addition of other Circassians, who were called in to fill up this body of conquerors. Egypt remained under this government for almost three hundred years.

Tumanbai was the last king of the Mamelukes; he is famous only by this epocha, and for his misfortune in being taken prisoner by Selim: but he deserves to be yet farther known by an incident, which may appear strange to us, but was by no means so among the Orientals; which was, that Selim, after

having defeated him, made him governor of that kingdom whose crown he had taken from him.

Tumanbai, who, from a king, was now become a bashaw, had the fate of most bashaws. He was strangled after having governed only a few months.

Solyman, the son of Selim, was always a formidable enemy, both to the Christians and Persians. He took Rhodes, and a few
 1521 years afterwards the greater part of
 1526 Hungary. Moldavia and Walachia became real fiefs of his empire. He laid siege to Vienna, but failing in this enterprize,
 1529 he turned his arms against Persia; and meeting with better fortune on the banks of the Euphrates, than on those of the Danube, he made himself master of the city of Bagdat, as his father had done, from whom the Persians had afterwards retaken it. He reduced Georgia, which is the ancient Iberia. In a word, he carried his victorious arms into all parts; for his admiral Cheredin Barbarossa, after having laid waste Apulia, sailed into the Red Sea, and took the kingdom of Yemen, which is rather a country of India than of Arabia. He resembled Charles V. to whom he was superior in military merit, by his continual journeys. He was the first Ottoman emperor who had ever been in alliance with France, an alliance which has subsisted ever since. He died in Hungary, while he was laying siege to the town of Zigeth, but victory waited on him in his last moments; for the breath was scarcely departed from his body, when the town was taken by assault.

His

His empire extended from Algiers to the river Euphrates, and from the farther end of the Black Sea, to the extremity of Greece and Epirus.

His successor Selim II. by his generals took the island of Cyprus from the Venetians. How can all our historians pretend to tell us, that he undertook this conquest only for the sake of drinking Malmsey wine, which is the produce of this island, and giving the government of it to a Jew? Selim made himself master of it by the right of convenience: the possession of Cyprus was necessary for those who were masters of Natolia; and no emperor ever would conquer a kingdom for the sake of a Jew, or a particular sort of wine. A Jew, named Mequinez, furnished some hints for making this conquest; and the vanquished mingled fables with this truth, which the conquerors were entirely ignorant of.

After having suffered the Turks to make themselves masters of the most beautiful countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, we contributed to enrich them. Venice traded with them at the very time they were depriving her of the isle of Cyprus, and had ordered the senator Bragadino *, governor of Famagosta, to

* Marc-Antonio Bragadino was a noble Venetian, who, in the year 1571, defended the town of Famagosta in Cyprus with such valour and resolution, that the Turks are said to have lost eighty thousand men before the place. At length, the garrison being greatly reduced, and provisions failing, he was obliged to surrender, and obtained a very honourable capitulation. To this, however, no regard was paid by the perfidious Turkish general Mustapha.

to be slayed alive. Genoa, Florence, and Marfeilles, disputed for the trade of Constantinople ; and these cities paid ready money for the silks and other commodities of Asia. The Christian merchants enriched themselves indeed by this trade, but it was at the expence of Christendom. Very few silks were bought in Italy, none in France. We have even been frequently obliged to buy corn from Constantinople ; but, at length, industry has repaired these injuries which our country suffered from nature and negligence. The manufactures have made the trade of the Christians, especially of the French, to Turkey, very advantageous ;

When Bragadino was brought before him, he asked where he had secured the Mussulman prisoners ; and the Venetian replying, that he had no prisoners : " What ! (cried the barbarian) have you massacred all the faithful that fell into your hands ? " He forthwith ordered all the Venetian officers to be butchered in the sight of Bragadino ; and this great man himself, being deprived of his nose and ears, was shackled and thrown into a dungeon. From thence he was afterwards dragged and compelled to carry earth like a common labourer, for the repairs of the fortifications of Famagosta. He was even loaded beyond his strength, and every time he passed by Mustapha, obliged to kiss the ground. After he had, for some time, endured these indignities, with that resolution and noble disdain which became his character, he was hoisted up at the yard's arm of a galley, and for a whole day suspended in that cruel attitude ; as he still continued to despise their power, and upbraid the perfidy of Mustapha, he was bound and slayed alive in the market-place. His skin being stuffed with hay, was hoisted at the top-mast of Mustapha's galley, and displayed as a trophy along the coast of Egypt and Syria. In the sequel it was deposited in the arsenal of Constantinople, from whence, however, it was retrieved by the address of his brother Anthony Bragadino, and buried at Venice.

notwithstanding the opinion of count Marsigli, who is not so well acquainted with this great article of the interest of nations, as the merchants of London and Marseilles.

The nations of Christendom trade with the Ottomans in the same manner as with all the rest of Asia. We go to these people, who never come to us in the west, which is an evident proof that we want them. The seaport towns of the Levant are filled with our ships and merchants. All the trading nations of Europe have consuls there. Most of them keep ambassadors in ordinary at the Ottoman Porte, who never sends any to our courts. The Porte looks upon these perpetual ambassadors, as a kind of homage which the Christians pay to her power. She has frequently offered insults to our ministers, which would have occasioned a war between any two Christian princes; but which it has been always thought proper to put up with from the Ottoman Porte. King William III. of England was wont to say, "That there is no point of honour to be insisted on with Turks." This may be the language of a merchant who wants to dispose of his goods, but it can never be that of a king, who is jealous of what the world calls honour.

The government of the Turkish empire is as different from ours, as their manners and religion. One part of the grand signor's revenues consists in the productions of the several countries under his dominion, and not in coined specie, as in our Christian states. The canal of Constantinople is covered all the year with ships, which bring all the provisions necessary for the seraglio, the Janissaries, and the fleet,
from

from Egypt, Greece, Natolia, and the coasts of the Pontus Euxinus. We find by the canon namé, or registers of the empire, that the revenue of the treasury, till the year 1683, did not amount to above thirty-two thousand purses, which is not more than forty-six millions of our present currency.

This revenue would not be sufficient to keep on foot such large armies, and maintain such a number of officers. The bashaws of every province have certain funds, allotted out of the province itself, for maintaining the soldiers, which are furnished by the siefs; but these funds are far from being considerable: those of the province of Asia Minor did not at most exceed one million two hundred thousand livres; that of Diarbeck * was one hundred thousand; Aleppo was not more; and the fruitful country of Damascus did not furnish its bashaw with quite two hundred thousand francs; that of Erzerom† gave about two hundred thousand. The whole country of Greece, which they call Romelia, gave its bashaw one million two hundred livres. In a word, all these revenues with which the bashaws and beglerbegs maintained the ordinary troops in 1683, did not amount to ten of our millions. Moldavia and Walachia did not furnish two hundred thousand livres to their princes, for the maintenance of eight thousand soldiers in the service of the Ottoman Porte. The captain bashaw did not raise above eight hundred thousand livres to

* The modern name of the ancient Mesopotamia.

† The capital of the province of Armenia,

maintain the fleet, from all the fiefs called Zaims and Timariots *, which, were dispersed all along the sea-coasts.

By these extracts from the canon namé, it follows, that the whole Turkish government was maintained with less than sixty millions of our livres in ready money; and this expence, which has not been much increased since the year 1683, is not the third part of what is paid in France and England for the national debt; but then there is a much greater circulation in these two kingdoms, and trade is much more lively than in Turkey.

But what is very shocking, confiscations are reckoned a principal article in the sultan's private revenues. This is one of the ancient acts of tyranny established, that the possessions of a family belong to the sovereign, when the father has been condemned. A sultan has the head of his vizir brought him, and this head brings him sometimes several millions. Nothing can be more horrible than a right which sets such a price upon cruelty, and gives a temptation for murder and injustice.

As to the moveable effects of the officers of the Porte, we have already observed that they belong to the sultan by an ancient usurpation, which has been but too long a custom even among Christians. Public administration throughout the universe has been frequently no other than an authorised robbery; except in

* A Timar is a lordship or tract of ground, which the grand signor gives the spahis to enjoy during life, for their subsistence; and those who enjoy them, are called Timariots.

some republican states, where the rights of liberty and property have been held more sacred, and the revenues of the state, by being moderate, were more easily and better managed; because the eye can easily take in small objects, whereas those which are over great confound the sight.

It may be presumed then, that the Turks have executed very great things at a very small expence. The appointments annexed to the greatest dignities are very small, as we may judge by the Musti's place, which is worth only two thousand aspres per diem, which is not the tenth part of the revenue of the archbishoprick of Toledo. It is the same with respect to the place of grand vizir, which, without confiscations and presents, would be much more honourable than lucrative.

The Turks have not made war, as the princes of Europe do at present, by the means of money and negotiations. Strength of body and the fury of the janissaries have established this empire, without the help of discipline, which still supports itself by the abject condition of the conquered people, and the jealousies of neighbouring nations.

The sultans have never brought more than one hundred and forty thousand combatants into the field at one time, if we except the multitudes which followed their camp. But this number was still superior to all that the Christians could oppose to them.

C H A P. CXXXII.

Of the Battle of LEPANTO.

THE Venetians, who, after having lost the island of Cyprus, still continued to trade with the Turks, and still ventured to treat them as enemies, applied for assistance to all the princes of Christendom, whom the common interest ought to have united in their cause. This was a cause which ought to have raised another crusade ; but by having exhausted themselves in so many needless ones before, of which we have already taken notice, they would not now engage in one that was really necessary. Pope Pius IV. did what was much better than preaching a crusade ; he had the courage to declare war against the Ottoman empire, by entering into a league with the Venetians and Philip II. of Spain. And now, for the first time, St. Peter's standard was displayed against the crescent, and the gallies of Rome encountered the Ottoman fleet. This single action of the pope's, which was the last of his life, is alone sufficient to render his memory sacred.

We must not form an idea of this pontiff from the pictures embellished by the pencil of flattery, blackened by the strokes of malignity, or sketched out by a luxuriant fancy. We should judge of men only by facts. Pius V. whose family name was Gisleri, was one of those men, whom merit and fortune have drawn from obscurity, and raised to the first rank
among

among princes. By his over furious zeal, he added to the severity of the inquisition; and the cruel death which he inflicted upon several citizens, shews him to have been of a harsh and cruel disposition. The intrigues he put in practice to raise the Irish against queen Elizabeth, and the warmth with which he fomented the troubles in France; his famous bull *in cœna Domini* *, which he ordered to be published every year; shew that his zeal for the greatness of the papal see was not conducted with moderation. He had formerly been a Dominican friar; and the natural severity of his character had been encreased by that morose spirit which is found in a cloister. But this man, though bred up amongst monks, had like Sixtus V. some royal virtues, which are not confined to a throne, but depend upon the character and disposition.

Pius V. served as a model to the famous pope Sixtus V. who copied the example of this pontiff, and, in the space of a few years, amassed by prudent savings, a sufficient treasure to make the holy see considered as a respectable power. By these savings he was enabled to send a large fleet of galleys to sea. His zeal made him indefatigable in soliciting all the princes of Christendom for their assistance, but he met only with delays, or excuses of inability.

He in vain applied to Charles IX. of France, to the emperor Maximilian, Sebastian king

* By this bull, excommunication is denounced on Thursday in Passion-Week, against all those that dissent from the church of Rome.

of Portugal, and Sigismund II. of Poland. Charles was in alliance with the Turks, and besides had no ships to send. The emperor Maximilian stood in fear of the Ottoman power, and wanted money: he had made a truce with the Turks, and did not dare to break it. Don Sebastian of Portugal was as yet too young to exercise that valour, which afterwards proved his ruin on the coast of Barbary. Poland was drained by her wars with the Russians, and her king Sigismund was enfeebled with age. There was then only Philip II. who took part with the pope in his design. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was sufficiently rich to answer the prodigious expence of the necessary armament; and was alone able, by the good regulations of his government, to carry this project into a speedy execution. He was principally interested in this, through the necessity there was of securing his Italian dominions, and the places he possessed on the coast of Barbary, from the insults of the Ottoman fleet; accordingly he entered into alliance with the Venetians, though always their secret enemy in Italy, against the Turks, whom he feared still more.

Never was so large an armament fitted out with so much expedition. Two hundred galleys, six large galleasses, twenty-five ships of war, with fifty sail of transports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, which was less than five months after the taking of Cyprus. The one half of this armament was furnished by Philip. The Venetians were at the charge of two thirds of the other half, and the rest was supplied by the pope.

pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous don John of Austria, natural son to the emperor Charles V. and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name. The house of Colonna, so long the inveterate foe to the popes, was now become the chief prop of their power. Sebastian Veniero, whom we call Venier, was admiral of the Venetian fleet. There had been three doges of his family; none of whom equalled him in reputation. Barbarigo, whose family was in no less esteem in Venice, was proveditor or intendant of the fleet. The Maltese sent three galleys, which were the most they could furnish. The Genoese hardly deserve to be mentioned, who feared Selim less than they did Philip II. and sent but one single galley.

Historians tell us, that there were no less than fifty thousand fighting men on board this fleet. Nothing but exaggerations are to be found in the accounts of battles. A fleet of two hundred and six galleys, and twenty-five other ships, could not contain at most more than twenty-thousand fighting men. The Turkish fleet alone was stronger than the three Christian squadrons all together: it was composed of about two hundred and fifty gallies. The two fleets met in the gulph of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never since the famous battle of Actium, had so numerous a fleet been seen in the Grecian seas, nor so memorable an engagement. The Turkish gallies were worked by Christian slaves, and the Christian gallies by Turks, who were, against their wills, obliged to serve against their country.

The

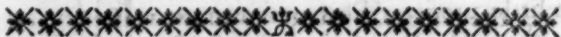
The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence ; such as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and fabres. Most of the gallies were grappled together, and the soldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length the Christians gained the victory, which was the more glorious, as being the first of its kind.

Oct. 5th
1571.

Don John of Austria, and the Venetian admiral Veniero, attacked the ship which carried the Turkish admiral Ali, who was taken with his galley, and his head struck off, and hoisted upon his own flag-staff. This was abusing the rights of war ; but those who had slayed Bragadino in Famagosta did not deserve better treatment. The Turks lost above one hundred and fifty ships in this engagement. It is difficult to tell the number of slain : some make them amount to fifteen thousand ; about five thousand Christian captives were set at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with such feasts as she alone was capable of giving at that time. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation ; and pope Pius V. when he received the news of this signal victory, the honour of which was ascribed to the generalissimo don John, but in which the Venetians had the greatest share, cried out in a transport of joy : " There was a man sent from God, and his name was John ;" words which were afterwards applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when he delivered Vienna.

Don John of Austria now acquired on a sudden the greatest reputation that any general had

had yet enjoyed. Every nation reckons its own heroes, and passes by in silence those of other nations. Don John, as the avenger of Christendom, was the hero of all nations: he was now compared to his father Charles V. whom he resembled likewise in other respects. But he was still more deservedly the idol of the people, when, two years afterwards, he took Tunis, as his father had done, and like him set up an African king, who was a vassal to Spain. But what were the advantages gained by the battle of Lepanto, and the taking of Tunis? The Venetians gained no ground upon the Turks, and Selim II. by his admiral retook the kingdom of Tunis, without 1574 resistance, when all the Christians, who were found there were massacred: so that the victory of Lepanto seemed rather to have been on the side of the Turks.



C H A P. CXXXIII.

Of the Coast of BARBARY.

THE coast of Barbary, from Egypt to the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, formed an addition to the Turkish empire; but it was rather under the protection than dominion of the sultans.

The country of Barca, with its deserts, formerly so famous for the temple of Jupiter Ammon, were under the government of the bashaw of Egypt. Cyrenaica had a governor to

itself. Tripoli, which is the next state we come to in going westward, was taken by Peter of Navarre, in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, in the year 1510, and given by Charles V. to the knights of Malta. But Selim's admirals made themselves masters of it afterwards; and in process of time it has been converted into a kind of republican government, at the head of which is a general called the Dey, who is chosen by the militia.

Farther on you meet with Tunis, the ancient abode of the Carthaginians. You have seen that Charles V. gave a king to this state, and rendered it tributary to Spain*; that his son don John of Austria took it again from the Moors with equal glory; and that afterwards Selim II. by his admiral reduced it once more to the Turkish dominion, and exterminated all the Christians, three years after the famous battle of Lepanto, by which don John and the Venetians gained so much glory and so little profit. This province was afterwards changed into the same kind of government with that of Tripoli.

Algiers, which bounds the Turkish empire in Africa, is the ancient Mauritania, so famous for its kings Juba, Massinissa, and Syphax. It is with difficulty that we can now perceive the ruins of Cirte, its capital city, any more than those of Carthage, Memphis, or even of Alexandria, which is no longer in the same place where it was built by Alexander. This kingdom of the great Juba was become so inconsiderable, that Cheredin Barbarossa preferred

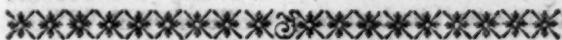
* See Chap. cv. in this Vol.

the title of the grand signor's admiral to that of king of Algiers, and ceded this province to Solyman*; since which time, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, Algiers was governed by bashaws sent thither from the Ottoman Porte. But at length the same form of government which had been established at Tripoli and Tunis, took place at Algiers, now become a retreat for corsairs.

Constantinople was always looked upon as the capital of all these states, and indeed she seems formed by her situation to command them all. She has Asia in her front, and Europe behind her; her port, which is as secure as it is capacious, commands the entrance of the Black Sea to the eastward, and of the Mediterranean to the westward. Rome, which is far inferior in point of situation, being placed in a barren soil, and in a corner of Italy, where nature has formed no one convenient harbour, seemed much less proper to be the mistress of nations; and yet she became the capital of an empire of thrice the extent of that of the Turks: the

* Cheridden, or rather Heyradin Barbarossa, being apprehensive of fresh invasions from Spain, thought it convenient to put his kingdom under the protection of the grand signor, who appointed him viceroy, and sent him a reinforcement of Turkish Janissaries, in the year 1519. When he sailed up the Levant as capitan pacha, or Turkish admiral, he left the administration of Algiers to Hassan Aga Sardo, whom he had taken in his infancy from the island of Sardinia, caused to be castrated, and educated under his own eye. This Hassan succeeded him as viceroy of Algiers, and reigned with great reputation for justice and humanity. At his decease the council and militia of Algiers, without waiting for orders from the Porte, unanimously elected for their dey a Turkish officer, called Hagi.

reason is, that the Romans exceeded all other nations in military discipline; whereas the Turks, after they conquered Constantinople, found alm. it all the rest of Europe as well acquainted with the art of war, and better disciplined than themselves.



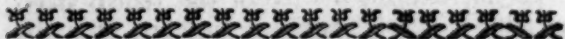
C H A P. CXXXIV.

Of the Kingdom of FEZ and MOROCCO.

THE grand signor's protection does not extend so far as the empire of Morocco, which is a vast country, including part of Mauritania Tingitana. Tangiers was the capital of the Roman colony in this part. From this country came those Moors who afterwards conquered Spain. It was conquered itself by the Portuguese towards the end of the fifteenth century, by whom it was in latter times bestowed on Charles II. of England, in dowry with an infant of Portugal. This monarch afterwards ceded it to the kings of Morocco. Few cities have experienced more revolutions than Tangiers.

The empire of Morocco is peopled by the ancient Moors, by a few Arabian Bedouins, who followed the caliphs in their conquests, and who still live under tents like their ancestors, by the Jews who were driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and by blacks, who dwell on the other side of mount Atlas. In all the houses and the armies throughout this empire

you see a mixture of whites, blacks, and a mongrel breed. These people have in all times carried on a trade with those of Guinea. They travelled over the deserts to those coasts whither the Portuguese went by sea. They never knew the sea otherwise than as the element of pyrates. In short, all the vast coast of Africa, from Damietta to mount Atlas, was become altogether barbarous ; while several of our northern nations, who were formerly more barbarous than they, acquired the politeness of ancient Greece and Rome.



C H A P. CXXXV.

Of PHILIP II. king of SPAIN.

AFTER the reign of Charles V. four great potentates held the balance of power between the other European states of Christendom. Spain, by the riches of the new world ; France, by her own power, and in virtue of her situation, which prevented the vast dominions of Philip II. from communicating with each other ; Germany, by the number of its princes, which though always at variance amongst themselves, were always united for the defence of their country ; and England, after the death of Mary, solely by the conduct of its queen Elizabeth ; for as a kingdom it was very inconsiderable, since Scotland was so far from making a joint body with it, that it was its enemy, and Ireland was only an expensive honour.

The kingdoms of the North had not yet entered into the political system of Europe, and Italy could not be a weighty power. Philip II. seemed to have this state under his command. Philibert duke of Savoy, who was governor of the Netherlands, was wholly at his devotion. Charles Emanuel, the son of this Philibert, and son-in-law to Philip II. was equally dependent on him. The dutchy of Milan, and the two Sicilies, of which he was in possession, together with the immense treasures which flowed in upon him from his acquisitions in the new hemisphere, made the rest of the Italian states tremble for their liberties. In short, Philip II. acted the chief part in the theatre of Europe, though not the most approved. Many less powerful princes, who were cotemporaries with him, have left a much greater name behind them, as Elizabeth and Henry IV. especially the latter. His generals and his enemies were more esteemed than himself. The names of Alexander Farnese, and of the princes of Orange, are infinitely superior to his. Posterity makes a great difference between power and glory.

To form a thorough knowledge of the times of Philip II. we must in the first place make ourselves acquainted with his character, which was partly the cause of all the great events of the age he lived in, and which is only to be discovered by facts without relying upon the pens of cotemporary writers, which were for the most part guided either by flattery or hatred. As for the far-fetched descriptions which some of our modern historians give of the personages of antiquity, they are fit only for romances.

Those who have compared Philip II. with Tiberius, most certainly never saw either the one or the other. In the first place, when Tiberius commanded the Roman legions, and sent them forth to battle, he was always himself at their head, but Philip was in a chapel between two Franciscan friars, at the time that the prince of Savoy and count Egmont, whom he afterwards executed upon a scaffold, gained the famous battle of St. Quintin† for him. Tiberius was neither an hypocrite nor an enthusiast. Philip frequently embraced the crucifix while he was giving orders for a murder. Neither did the Roman and the Spaniard resemble each other in their debaucheries; nay, that very dissimulation by which both of them were so much distinguished, appears to have been different in the one and the other. That of Tiberius seems to have been more crafty, that of Philip more reserved. We shall make a distinction between speaking in order to deceive, and being silent in order to be impenetrable. Both of them seem to have had a calm and deliberate cruelty; but how many princes and men in public stations have deserved the same reproach?

To form a just idea of Philip let us ask ourselves what kind of king he must be who while he affected an outside of piety, was publicly reproached by William prince of Orange in his

† The duke of Savoy and count Egmont were joined by a strong reinforcement of English troops, under the command of the earl of Pembroke; and thus reinforced undertook the siege of St. Quintin, in Picardy. The French army advanced to the relief of the place, a battle ensued, and the French were entirely routed.

manifesto with having been privately married to Donna Isabella Osorio, at the time that he espoused his first wife Mary of Portugal? He is accused by the same prince of Orange in the face of all Europe with having murdered his own son, and poisoned his third wife Isabella of France*, and with having obliged the prince of Ascoli to marry a woman whom he himself had got with child. We should not depend upon the testimony of an enemy; but then this enemy was a prince generally esteemed in Europe. He sent a copy of a manifesto, containing these accusations, to every court. Was it pride or consciousness of the truth which prevented Philip from making a reply? Could he possibly despise this dreadful manifesto of William's, as one despises the nameless libels of obscure vagabonds, which even private persons disdain to answer, and which Lewis XIV. always suffered to pass unheeded? To these accusations let us add, his too well authenticated amours with the wife of his favourite Ruy Gomez, the murder of Escovedo†, and the

* With respect to the death of the prince Don Carlos, who had been engaged in state intrigues, and actually laid a scheme for leaving the kingdom, see our note on chap. lxvii. As for the queen Isabella, she died of a miscarriage in the year 1568, and her death gave rise to some unfavourable suspicions, when it was known that Philip had already entered into a negotiation for espousing the archduchess Anne of Austria.

† Juan d'Escovedo, secretary to Don John of Austria, was assassinated in the street by the express direction of the secretary Antonio Perez, who told the persons employed in this villainous adventure, that it was for the king's service. Escovedo was supposed to have put Don John upon a

the persecution of Antonio Perez, who had assassinated him by his order: let us remember at the same time, that this was the man who talked of nothing but his zeal for religion, and who sacrificed every thing to this zeal.

Let us oppose to these actions, his careful attention to the administration of justice throughout his kingdom, an attention which costs no more than the trouble of willing, and strengthens the authority of the prince; his readiness

scheme for espousing Elizabeth, queen of England. In the course of the same year, Don John himself died, not without suspicion of poison. That the secretary Perez was persecuted, is certainly true: he was arrested and imprisoned, not only for the murder of Escovedo, but likewise for having communicated some secrets of state to the princess of Eboli. He first underwent a sentence of fine and imprisonment, then he was tortured into a confession, escaped, was retaken, delivered as a heretic to the inquisition, rescued by the people of Arragon, and at length made his escape into Bearn. Anna de Mendoza y la Cerda, princess of Eboli, a lady of exquisite beauty and rare accomplishments, was said to have been at the same time mistress to Philip II. and paramour to his secretary Antonio Perez: the one she cultivated for his power, the other she loved for his person. Nevertheless, it does not appear that Phillip was ever jealous of this rival, or that he had any resentment against his secretary on any account whatsoever. On the contrary, Don Balthazar de Zuniga, in the memorial which he composed for the information of his nephew, the Conde de Olivarez, expressly says, that Perez was the faithful servant of the king; and that though disgraced, tortured, exiled, and in the midst of his majesty's enemies, he had never been induced either by threats or promises to betray his natural sovereign. This, though a very honourable testimony for Perez, is the greatest reproach that could be uttered against his ungrateful master, who left such a faithful servant to languish in exile, and struggle with all the inconveniences of indigence.

in the cabinet, his strict application to public business, his perpetual watchfulness over the conduct of his ministers, ever attended with distrust; the attention with which he examined into every thing himself, so far as a king possibly could; his constant endeavours to foment divisions among his neighbours, and to preserve the peace of Spain; his minute observations of all that past in one half of the globe, from Mexico to the extremity of Sicily; and that austere composure of countenance which neither disappointments in politics, nor the tumult of the passions could ever ruffle, and we may then form some idea of the character of Philip II.

But we must now see what ascendancy he had in Europe. He was master of Spain, of the dutchy of Milan, of the two Sicilies, and of all the Netherlands. His ports were filled with ships: and his father had left him the best disciplined and most valiant troops in Europe, all commanded by persons who had been the companions of his victories. His second wife, Mary queen of England, wholly governed by his insinuations, had condemned all her protestant subjects to the flames, and declared war against France only upon a letter from him*. He might therefore reckon England as a kingdom of which he was the master. The ample har-

* It is very well known, and all the English historians allow, that Philip was no otherwise concerned in these executions, than in dissuading the queen from such unpopular acts, and interceding for some of the unhappy victims. What is still more remarkable, in the midst of these cruelties his chaplain publicly preached before him against persecution for conscience sake.

vests of gold and silver which were sent him from the new world made him a more powerful prince than his father, Charles V. who had only enjoyed the first fruits of them.

Italy trembled for her liberty, which determined pope Paul IV. whose name was Caraffa, and who was a native of Spain, to side with France, as his predecessor Clement VII. had done. He was desirous, like all the other popes who had gone before him, to settle a balance which their hands were too weak to hold; and accordingly proposed to Henry II. to give Naples and Sicily to one of the children of France.

It had always been the ambition of the Valois family to subdue the dutchy of Milan and the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The pope had thoughts of raising an army, and desired Henry II. to let him have the famous Francis duke of Guise to command it; but most of the cardinals were in Philip's pay. Pope Paul was ill obeyed; he had but few troops, which served only to expose Rome to be taken and sacked by the duke of Alva, Philip's general, as it had not long before been by Charles V. The duke of Guise arrives, marches through Piedmont, where the French were still in possession of Turin, and draws near to Rome with a few men at arms; but no sooner had he reached that city when he heard that the Aug. 10, French had lost the fatal battle of St. 1557 Quintin in Picardy.

Mary of England had furnished her husband Philip with eight thousand English forces against the French. Philip came to London to see these troops embark, but not to head them himself. This army, joined with the flower of the
the

the Spanish troops, commanded by the duke of Savoy, Philibert Emanuel, one of the greatest generals in his age, gained so compleat a victory over the French army at St. Quintin, that hardly any of their infantry was left, the whole being either killed or taken: the victors lost only eighty men: the constable de Montmorency, and almost all the general officers were taken prisoners: the duke of Anguien was mortally wounded, the flower of the nobility destroyed, and all France plunged in mourning and consternation. The defeats of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, had not been more fatal, and yet France so often on the brink of ruin, still rose superior to its distresses.

All the schemes of Henry II. upon Italy were now vanished; the duke of Guise was called home. In the mean time the victorious duke of Savoy took St. Quintin, and he might have marched to the gates of Paris, which Henry was now fortifying in the utmost haste, and consequently very deficiently. But Philip contented himself with paying a visit to his victorious camp, and proved by his conduct that great events depend frequently upon the characters of men. His character was to set little account by courage, and give all to politics. He suffered his enemy to recover breath, in hopes of gaining more advantage from a peace, the terms of which were in his power to dictate, than by those victories in which he could have no share himself. He allowed the duke of Guise time to return home to assemble an army, and put the kingdom in a posture of defence.

At that time it seemed as if kings did not think themselves made to do their own business.

Henry II. appointed the duke of Guise viceroy of France, under the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom; in which station he had precedence of the constable.

The taking of Calais and the adjacent country in the depth of winter, and in the midst of the general consternation with which the defeat of St. Quintin had overwhelmed France, and the driving the English from the possession of that important fortress which they had kept for above two hundred and thirteen years, was an action which astonished all Europe, and raised the reputation of the duke of Guise above that of all the generals of his time. This conquest was more glorious and profitable than difficult †. Queen Mary had left but a weak garrison in Calais, and her fleet arrived only to see the standards of France planted on the walls. This loss, which was chiefly owing to her ministry, compleated the aversion which the English had entertained to Mary.

But while the duke of Guise thus revived the drooping spirits of the French, by the taking of Calais, and afterwards of Thionville, Philip's army gained another considerable victory over marshal de Termes, near Gravelines, under the command of count Egmont; that very count Egmont whom Philip afterwards

† Philip, who had by this time quitted England, sent intimation to Mary, that the court of France had projected a scheme against Calais; and offered to supply her with troops for its defence: but Mary's council considered this proposal as an expedient of Philip to get possession of Calais. They not only declined his offer, but also neglected to put the place in a posture of defence, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of lord Wentworth the governor.

caused

caused to be beheaded, for defending the rights and liberties of his country.

The loss of so many pitched battles sustained by the French, while at the same time they took such a number of towns by assault, affords reason to believe that this nation was then, as in the time of Julius Cæsar, formed rather for impetuous attacks, than that regular discipline, and art of rallying, which frequently determine the victory in the open field.

Philip made no greater advantage as a soldier of the victory of Gravelines than he had done of that of St. Quintin; but he made the glorious peace of Chateau-Cambresis, by which, for the town of St. Quintin, and 1559 the two villages of Ham and Chatelet, which he restored to the French, he got the strongholds of Thionville, Marienbourg, Montmidi, Hedin, and the county of Charolois in full sovereignty. He made them destroy Terouane and Ivoi, obliged them to restore Bouillon to the bishop of Liege, Montferrat to the duke of Mantua, Corsica to the Genoese, Savoy, Piedmont and Bresse to the duke of Savoy, and reserved a power to himself of keeping troops in Verceil and Asti, until the pretended claims of France upon Piedmont should be adjusted, and Henry should have evacuated the towns of Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, and Chivas.

As to Calais and the adjacent country, Philip gave himself very little concern about them. His wife, Mary of England, was lately dead; and Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne. Nevertheless, the French king obliged himself to restore Calais in eight years, and to pay eight hundred thousand gold crowns, in case it

was not given up at the end of this term. It was at the same time specified in the most express terms that whether the eight hundred thousand crowns were paid or not, Henry and his successors should still be obliged to restore Calais*.

This peace has always been considered as the most glorious action of Philip's reign. Father Daniel attempts in vain to find out certain advantages in it for the French, by pretending that Metz, Toul, and Verdun were preserved by this peace. They were never thought of in this treaty of Chateau-Cambresis. Philip never paid the least attention to the concerns of Germany, and very little regarded those of his uncle Ferdinand, whose refusal to abdicate the empire in his favour he could never forgive†. If therefore France gained any thing by this treaty it was by being entirely discouraged from any farther designs of conquering Milan and Naples. With regard to Calais, France never restored this key of the kingdom to her ancient enemies, nor yet paid the eight hundred thousand gold crowns.

This war, like so many others, ended at last in a marriage. Philip espoused for his third wife the princess Isabella, daughter of Henry II. who had been promised to Don Carlos; and this unhappy match is said to have occasioned the untimely fate of Don Carlos and the princess.

* Neither Mezerai nor Daniel have given a faithful account of this treaty.

† See Chap. cv. in this Vol.

Philip, after these glorious beginnings, returned to Spain in triumph, without having once drawn his sword. Every thing seemed to favour his greatness: he had obliged pope Paul IV. to sue to him for peace, which he granted. Henry II. his father-in-law and natural enemy, had lately been killed at a tournament, and had left his kingdom full of factions, and governed by foreigners under an infant king. Philip without stirring out of his cabinet was the most formidable and powerful prince in Europe. He had but one thing to apprehend, which was that the protestant religion should insinuate itself into some of his dominions, especially those of the Low Countries bordering upon Germany, where Philip did not govern with the title of king, but only with that of duke, count, marquis, and private nobleman; and where the fundamental laws of the country prescribed bounds to the royal authority.

The grand principle of Philip's politics was to have the papal see under his own management, by shewing it all possible marks of outward respect, and every where exterminating the protestants. There were a very few of these people in Spain. However he made a solemn vow before a crucifix to destroy them all; a vow which he fully accomplished through the hearty assistance given him by the inquisition. All who were suspected of being protestants were burnt in a slow fire at Valladolid, and Philip himself beheld their torments from his palace windows, and heard their cries without the least remorse. The archbishop of Toledo, and father Constantine Pontius, chaplain and confessor to Charles V. were both shut up
in

in the dungeons of the inquisition, and Pontius was burnt in effigy after his death, as we have already remarked.

Philip having been informed that there were certain heretics inhabiting a valley of Piedmont, in the neighbourhood of the dutchy of Milan, gave orders to the governor of that state to send a body of troops thither, and wrote this short letter to him in his own hand: "To the gibbet with them all." Having heard likewise that this new opinion had insinuated itself into some places of Calabria, he gave orders to put all the sectaries to the sword, except sixty, of which number one half was to be hanged and the other burnt alive. This order was obeyed with a cruel punctuality.

But these excessive cruelties, and the abuse of his authority, at length weakened his immense power: for had he kept any measures with his Flemish subjects, he would never have had the mortification of seeing the republic of the seven United Provinces formed wholly by his persecutions. He would have saved the prodigious sums which this revolution cost him, and when afterwards all Portugal, together with its acquisitions in Africa and India, were added to his vast dominions, and France distracted by its civil wars was on the point of receiving laws from him, and taking his daughter for its queen; he might have compassed the most noble designs, had he not been prevented by the fatal war which his rigorous administration had kindled in the Netherlands.

C H A P. CXXXVI.

Of the Foundation of the Republic of the
UNITED PROVINCES.

IF we consult the several accounts of the foundation of this state, which was before in a manner unknown, and in a short space of time became so formidable, we shall find that it was formed without design, and against all the rules of probability. The revolution began in the fine and large inland provinces of Brabant and Flanders, which were the only ones, however, that remained in subjection; while a little corner of the world almost buried under water, and which subsisted only by its herring fishery, became a formidable power, made head against Philip II. stript his successors of almost all their possessions in the East Indies, and in the end became the protectors of them.

It cannot be denied that Philip II. was himself the cause of these people making so great a figure, which they themselves certainly never thought of doing; and that all their greatness was entirely owing to this monarch's cruelty and despotism.

It is necessary to consider, 1st, that every nation is not governed on the same plan. 2d, That the Low Countries were an assemblage of several lordships, which all belonged to Philip II. under different titles; that each of these had its particular laws and customs. 3d, That in Friesland, and in the country of Groningen, a tribute of sixty thousand crowns was all that
was

was due to the lord. 4th, That no taxes could be laid on any of the cities. 5th, That no employments were to be bestowed upon any but the natives; nor were any foreign troops to be kept in pay. 6th, and lastly, That no alteration could be made in the constitution, without the consent of the three orders of the state. It was declared by the ancient constitutions of Brabant, "That if the sovereign by violence or artifice should go about to infringe the privileges, the estates should be wholly absolved from their oath of allegiance, and at full liberty to act in such manner as to them should seem most convenient." This had for a long time been the prevailing form of government in the greatest part of Europe; no law was carried into execution, nor any monies raised, without the sanction of the assembly of the estates. A governor of the province presided at these assemblies, in the prince's name, which governor was called *stadt-holder*, that is, the holder of the states throughout all the German Netherlands.

Philip II. in 1559, gave the government of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to William of Nassau, prince of Orange. It is to be observed, that this title of prince did not signify prince of the empire. The principality of the city of Orange, which had fallen to his family from the house of Châlons by a donation, had been an ancient fief of the kingdom of Arles now become independent. William derived a more illustrious rank from the Imperial house, of which he was descended; but although this house, which was ancient as that of Austria, had given an emperor

emperor to Germany, it was not included in the rank of princes of the Empire. The title of prince, which did not begin to be used till the reign of Frederic II. was only taken by the greater feudal lords. The imperial blood conferred no right nor honours, and the son of an emperor, not possessed of lands, was only emperor, if elected; and if he did not succeed his father on the throne, he was no more than a private gentleman. William of Nassau was a count of the empire, as Philip II. was count of Holland, and lord of Malines; but he was still subject to Philip in quality of stadtholder.

Philip wanted to be absolute sovereign in the Low Countries, as he was in Spain. He was a man, and that was sufficient to make him conceive such a design; those in power are always desirous of removing all obstacles which limit them in the exercise of that power. But Philip had yet another advantage in view, by making himself absolute in a rich and large country, that bordered so closely upon France. He might in this case have been able at least to have dismembered that kingdom for ever. And this was the more probable, since, after losing seven provinces, and being frequently very much cramped in the others, he was still on the point of subduing it, without ever having been at the head of an army himself.

He attempted then to abrogate all the laws, to impose arbitrary taxes, to create 1565 new bishops, and to establish the office of inquisition, which he had never been able to introduce in Naples or Milan. The Flemish are naturally good subjects, but bad slaves. The fear

fear of the inquisition alone made more protestants than all the writings of Calvin, among a people whose natural disposition inclined them neither to novelty nor insurrections. The principal lords of Brussels were the first who joined together to make a representation of their rights to the governante of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, the natural daughter of Charles V. The court of Madrid called their meeting a conspiracy; but in the Low Countries it was deemed a legal act. It is certain that the confederates were not rebels, since they sent the count de Berg, and Montigni lord of Montmorency, to Spain, to lay their complaints before the king. They desired that cardinal de Granville, the prime minister whose intrigues they dreaded, might be banished. The court sent the duke of Alva against them, with a body of Spanish and Italian troops, and with orders to make as much use of executioners as soldiers. What is in other places the most speedy method of stifling a civil war, was here the very occasion of raising one. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent, was almost the only one who thought of taking up arms; the rest of his countrymen entertained no thoughts but those of submission.

There are certain proud and gloomy minds possessed of the most sedate and stubborn intrepidity, which difficulties only serve to irritate. Such was the character of William the Silent, and after him of his great grandson the prince of Orange, king of England. William the Silent had neither money nor troops sufficient to oppose to so powerful a monarch

narch as Philip II. But persecution furnished him with both. The office of inquisition, newly set up at Brussels, had driven the people to desperation. The counts of Egmont and Horn, and eighteen other gentlemen, had their heads struck off, and their blood was the first cement of the republic of the United Provinces.

The prince of Orange, who had retired into Germany, after having been condemned to lose his head, could not hope to arm any but protestants in his cause; and to do this it was necessary that he should be a protestant himself. Calvinism was the reigning religion of the maritime provinces of the Netherlands, and William was born a Lutheran; Charles V. who had an affection for him, had made him a catholic; necessity now made him a Calvinist; for the princes who have established, protected, or changed religions, have very rarely had any of their own. It was with great difficulty that William could raise an army; his lands in Germany were of little value, and the county of Nassau belonged to one of his brothers; but, by the interest of his brothers and friends, his own merit, and liberal promises, he found himself at length supplied with troops. These he sent into Friesland, under the command of his brother count Lewis; his new raised army was cut off, but this did not discourage him: he raised another, composed of Germans and French, whom a religious enthusiasm and the hopes of plunder engaged in his service. Fortune still continued to frown on him, and not being able to penetrate into the Netherlands, he was reduced to serve in the

the Huguenot armies in France. The severities of the Spanish court however furnished him with resources. The tax of the tenth penny on the sale of all personal estates, of the twentieth penny on real estates, and the hundredth on all estates in land, compleatly roused the resentment of the Flemish. How came it that the master of Mexico and Peru was obliged to have recourse to such exactions? and why did not Philip, like his father, go in person into that country, and put a stop to these troubles?

1570 The prince of Orange at length enters Brabant with a small army, and retreats afterwards into Zealand and Holland. The city of Amsterdam, now so famous, was then an inconsiderable little town, and did not dare to declare openly for the prince of Orange; this city was at that time engaged in a new, and in appearance a mean trade, but which, however, laid the foundation of its present greatness. The catching of herrings, and the art of salting them, do not appear very important objects in the history of the world; and yet by these was this once barren and despised country raised to a formidable pitch of power. Venice had not more noble beginnings. The greatest empires were first raised from hamlets, and the maritime powers from a few private fishing-boats.

The prince of Orange's whole dependence upon a few pyrates; one of these surprised the Brille; Flushing was brought to declare in his favour by a curate. At length the states of Holland and Zealand assembled at Dordrecht, and the city of Amsterdam itself joined in his cause, and declared him stadtholder; so that he now held that dignity from the people which

he had before held of the king. After this they abolished the Roman catholic religion, that their government might have nothing in common with that of the Spaniards.

These people, who had not for a long time been accounted of a martial disposition, became warriors in an instant. Never did two parties engage with more courage and fury. The Spaniards at the siege of Haerlem, having thrown the head of one of the prisoners they had taken into the town, the besieged threw them back the heads of eleven Spaniards, with this inscription in writing, "Ten heads for the payment of the tenth penny, and the eleventh for interest." Haerlem afterwards yielded upon discretion, when the conquerors ordered all the magistrates, the ministers, and above one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants of that city, to be hanged; this was treating the Netherlands as they had done the new world. In short, the pen falls from my hand when I consider how men have behaved towards men.

The duke of Alva, whose inhumanities had lost the king his master two provinces, was at length recalled. He is said to have boasted, on leaving the Netherlands, that he had put eighteen thousand persons to death by the hands of executioners. The horrors of war were continued with equal fury under the new governor, the grand commander de Requesens*. The prince of Orange's army was again defeated, and his brother slain; but his party was strengthened by the animosity of the

* This word signifies the governor of those knights of Malta which belong to a particular province or state.

people,

people, who, though naturally of a peaceable disposition, having once passed the bounds of temperance, knew not where to stop.

The siege and defence of Leyden was
 1574 one of the strongest instances of what
 1575 may be effected by perseverance and the love of liberty. The Dutch ventured on the very same expedient which they afterwards put in practice in the year 1672, when Lewis XIV. was at the gates of Amsterdam; they opened the sluices, and let in the waters of the IJsel, the Maese, and the ocean, which overflowed all the country, while a fleet of two hundred barks brought succours up to the town, over the Spanish works. This prodigy was equalled by another on the side of the besiegers, who were so bold as to continue the siege, and to undertake to draw off this inundation. History does not furnish an instance of such an expedient in the besieged, nor of so great obstinacy in besiegers; but this obstinacy did them no service, and Leyden still continues to celebrate the day of its deliverance. Here we must not forget to observe, that at this siege the inhabitants made use of pigeons to convey letters to the prince of Orange, a practice which is common in Asia.

What then was the wise, and so much boasted administration of Philip II. when we find that his own troops in Flanders mutinied for want of pay, and plundered the city of Antwerp, and that all the provinces of the Netherlands, without either consulting him or his governor, made a treaty of peace with the rebels, published a general amnesty, released prisoners, demolished the Spanish fortifications,
 and

and gave orders to pull down the famous statue of the duke of Alva, which his pride had raised to his cruelty, and which was then standing in the citadel of Antwerp, of which Philip was master?

After the death of the grand commander de Requesens, Philip, instead of endeavouring to restore peace in the Netherlands by his presence, sent his brother don John of Austria thither, a prince famous throughout all Europe for the glorious victory he gained over the Turks at Lepanto, and for his ambition, in attempting to get himself made king of Tunis.

Philip did not love don John, he feared his reputation, and was jealous of his designs. Nevertheless he made him, against his will, governor of the Netherlands; in hopes that he might be the means of bringing that people to their duty, who respected in this prince the blood and valour of Charles V. In this however he was deceived; the prince of Orange was proclaimed governor of Brabant, in the city of Brussels, as soon as don John had quitted it, after having been installed governor-general of the Netherlands. But this honour which they conferred on William, hindered the provinces of Brabant and Flanders, from recovering their liberty, as the Hollanders had done. There were too many great lords in those provinces; these were jealous of the prince of Orange, and this jealousy preserved ten provinces to the crown of Spain. They invited the archduke Matthias to be their governor-general, in conjunction with don John of Austria. It is hardly conceivable how an archduke of Austria, a near relation of Philip

II.

II. and a catholic, came to put himself at the head of a party almost entirely composed of protestants, against the chief of his house : but ambition knows no ties, and Philip was beloved neither by the emperor nor the empire.

All was then division and confusion. The prince of Orange, appointed by the states lieutenant-general to the archduke Matthias, necessarily became this prince's secret rival ; both of them were rivals to don John, and the states distrusted all three. Another party, equally discontented with the states and the three princes, completed the distractions of this

1578 wretched country. The states published an edict for liberty of conscience, but there was no longer any cure for the rage of factions. Don John, after gaining an useless battle at Gemblours, died in the midst of these troubles, in the flower of his age.

This son of Charles V. was succeeded by a grandson no less illustrious ; this was Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a descendant from Charles by the mother's side, and from pope Paul III. by the father's, and the same who afterwards came into France to deliver Paris and give battle to Henry the Great. History does not furnish us with a more celebrated name, and yet this illustrious captain could not prevent the foundation of the seven united provinces, nor check the progress of this republic, which rose under his eyes.

These seven provinces, which we now call by the one general name of Holland, were, by the care of the prince of Orange,
 Jan. 29, brought to form that union which at
 1579. first appeared so brittle, and has since
 proved

proved so durable, and by which seven states, though always independent of each other, and always having different interests to support, have yet been always as closely united in the great cause of liberty, as the bundle of arrows which form their arms, and is their truest emblem.

This union of Utrecht, which was the foundation of the republic, was that of the stadtholdership likewise. William was declared chief of the seven united provinces, under the title of captain, admiral-general, and stadtholder. The other ten provinces, which, together with Holland, might have formed the most powerful republic in the world, did not join with the seven small united provinces. These latter were their own protectors, while Brabant, Flanders, and the rest chose a foreign prince to defend them. Archduke Matthias being now of no farther use, the states-general dismissed this son and brother of emperors, and who afterwards was emperor himself, with a small pension, and sent for Francis duke of Anjou, and brother to Henry III. king of France, with whom they had been in treaty for a considerable time. All these provinces were divided into four parties; that of archduke Matthias, which was so weak that it could not prevent his dismissal; that of the duke of Anjou, which afterwards became so fatally powerful; that of the duke of Parma, which consisted only of some few of the great lords and his own army, but which at length preserved ten provinces to the crown of Spain; and that of William of Nassau, which rent seven from it for ever.

It was at this time that Philip, who still continued inactive in Madrid, proscribed the prince of Orange, and set a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. This method of commanding assassinations, unheard of since the time of the Roman triumvirate, had been practised in France against the admiral de Coligni, father-in-law to this William; the price of whose blood was fixed at fifty thousand crowns, though that of his son-in-law was rated at only half the price by Philip, who could afford to have paid a much greater.

How great were the prejudices which still continued to reign at that time! The king of Spain, in his edict of proscription, acknowledges that he had violated the oath he had taken to the Flemings, and says, that "The pope had granted him a dispensation from that oath." Did he think that this reason would make a strong impression on the minds of his catholic subjects? Perhaps it might; but, on the other hand, how greatly must it exasperate the protestants, and confirm them in their defection?

William's reply to this edict is the most beautiful piece of the kind we have in history. From a subject, that he was before to Philip, he became his equal, from the instant of his being proscribed. In his apology we see a prince of an imperial house, not less ancient, nor formerly less illustrious than that of Austria, and a stadtholder, who declares himself the accuser of the most powerful king in Europe, before the tribunal of every court, and of all mankind; and who shews himself far superior to Philip, in that having it in his power to proscribe

scribe him in his turn, he abhors such revenge, and depends upon his sword alone for his safety.

Philip's power was at this very time become more formidable than it ever had been ; for he had made himself master of Portugal without stirring out of his cabinet, and 1580 still thought of reducing the united provinces. William had on one hand the attempts of assassins to dread, and on the other the power of a new master, in the duke of Anjou, who was arrived in the Netherlands, and had been acknowledged by the people as duke of Brabant and count of Flanders. He was soon defeated by the duke of Anjou, as he had been by the archduke Matthias. This duke wanted 1583 to be absolute sovereign over a country that had chosen him for its protector. From the earliest ages we have seen conspiracies formed against princes, but here a prince conspired against the people. He attempted to surprise at once Antwerp, Bruges, and the other towns he came to defend. Fifteen hundred French were killed in the vain attempt to surprise Antwerp ; he failed in his design upon the other places, and, pressed by Alexander Farnese on one side, and hated by the people on the other, he withdrew into France, and left the prince of Orange and the duke of Parma to dispute the Netherlands between them, which soon became the most illustrious theatre of war in Europe, and a military school, whether the brave of all countries repaired, to serve their apprenticeship in the field.

At length Philip was revenged on the prince of Orange by the hands of assassins.

A Frenchman, named Salcede, had laid a plot for his life. One Jaurigni *, a Spaniard, wounded him with a pistol in 1583 Antwerp, and at length Balthazar Gérard, a native of Franche-Comté, murdered him in Delft, in the presence of his princess, who thus beheld her second husband slain by the hands of an assassin, after having lost her first, as well as her father the admiral, in the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This murder of the prince of Orange was not committed for the sake of the reward of twenty-five thousand crowns offered by Philip, but through a religious enthusiasm. The Jesuit Strada relates, that Gerard continued to declare in the midst of his torments, "That he had been pushed on to commit this act by a divine instinct." He likewise says in express terms, "That Jaurigni, before that, did not undertake the murder of the prince of Orange, till he had purged his soul by confession at the feet of the Dominican fathers, and strengthened himself in his resolves by partaking of the consecrated bread." This was the vice of the times, and had begun by the Anabaptists. A woman in Germany, during the siege of Munster, took it into her head to imitate Judith ; she left the city with a design to lie with the bishop, who was besieging the place, and to kill him in his bed. Poltrot de Merè assassinated the duke of Guise on the same principles ; and the finishing hand had been put to these horrors by the

* This assassin was servant to a banker, who was suspected of having poisoned don John of Austria, as appeared by the letters found in his pocket.

massacre of St. Bartholomew. The same spirit afterwards produced the deaths of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, and formed the gunpowder plot in England. Examples of this kind, taken from scripture, and first published from the pulpits by the reformers or innovators, and afterwards too frequently by the catholics, made a deep impression on weak and cruel minds, who thought they heard the voice of God commanding them to commit murder. Their blind and furious zeal did not let them comprehend, that when God commanded the shedding of blood in the Old Testament, these orders were never obeyed, but when he himself came from heaven, and with his own lips dictated his decrees against the lives of men, of which he is the absolute master.

When William the Silent was murdered, he was on the point of being declared count of Holland. The conditions of this new dignity had been already stipulated by all the cities, except those of Amsterdam and Gouda. By this we may perceive that he had laboured for himself at least as much as for the republic.

His son Maurice could not pretend to this principality : but the seven united provinces declared him stadtholder, and he strengthened the edifice of public liberty, which had been founded by his father. As a general he was altogether worthy to enter the lists with Alexander Farnese : and these two great men immortalized themselves by their deeds on this confined theatre, where the scene of war attracted the eyes of all nations. Had the duke of Parma acquired no other reputation than that

1584 which he gained by the siege of Antwerp, he would have been deservedly reckoned among the greatest captains. The inhabitants of Antwerp defended themselves like the ancient Tyrians, and Farnese took Antwerp, as Alexander, whose name he bore, took the city of Tyre, by raising a dam on the deep and rapid river Scheld ; and thus reviving an example, which was afterwards followed by cardinal Richelieu at the siege of Rochelle.

The new republic was obliged to implore the assistance of Elizabeth of England, who sent them four thousand men, under the command of the earl of Leicester. This was a sufficient succour at that time. Prince Maurice had for a while a superior in the earl of Leicester, as his father had formerly in the duke of Anjou, and the archduke Matthias ; this nobleman assumed the title and rank of governor-general, which, however, was soon afterwards disavowed by his mistress. Maurice would never suffer an encroachment upon his dignity of stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces. Happy would it have been, had he never attempted to go further.

During the whole course of this war, which lasted so long, and with such various successes, Philip had never been able to recover the seven provinces, nor could his enemies deprive him of the others. The republic became every day so formidable by sea, that she was not a little instrumental in destroying Philip's famous fleet, called the invincible armada. This people had for forty years resembled the Lacedemonians, who always repulsed the great king.
There

There were the same manners, the same simplicity, and the same equality of conditions in Amsterdam, as at Sparta, and a greater degree of sobriety. These provinces still resembled, in some things, the primitive ages of the world. Almost every Frieslander who has heard any thing, knows, that at that time the use of locks and keys were not known in Friesland. They had nothing more than the absolute necessities of life, and these were not worth the locking up; they were under no apprehension from their own countrymen, and they defended their flocks and harvests against the enemy. The dwellings in all the maritime provinces were no more than huts, where neatness made all the magnificence. Never was there a people less acquainted with delicacy. When Louisa of Colligni went to the Hague to be married to prince William of Orange, an open post-waggon was sent to meet her, in which she made her entry seated on a plank. But, towards the latter end of Maurice's life, and in the time of his son Frederic Henry, the Hague became an agreeable residence, by the concourse of princes, ministers of state, and general officers, who resorted thither. Amsterdam rose by its trade alone, to be the most flourishing and opulent city on the globe, and the country people of the circumjacent villages were enriched by the quantity of excellent pasture grounds that are in its neighbourhood.

C H A P. CXXXVII.

Sequel of the reign of PHILIP II. The
Misfortunes of Don SEBASTIAN, king of
PORTUGAL.

THE king of Spain seemed at that time able to crush the house of Nassau, and the new formed republic, beneath the weight of his power. He had indeed lost the sovereignty of Tunis in Africa, together with the port of Goletta, where Carthage formerly stood: but a king of Fez and Morocco, named Muley-Mahommed, who then disputed the kingdom with his uncle, had offered Philip to become his tributary in the year 1577, which offer Philip had refused, and this refusal gained him the crown of Portugal. The African prince went and threw himself at the feet of don Sebastian, king of Portugal, to implore his assistance. This young monarch, who was great grandson to the famous Emanuel, burnt with ardor to signalize himself, in a part of the world where his ancestors had made so many conquests. What is very extraordinary, is, that Philip, who was Sebastian's uncle by the mother's side, and was soon to have given him his daughter in marriage, refused to assist him on this occasion, and that the prince of Orange, who could hardly keep his footing in Flanders, furnished him with a body of troops. This circumstance, though trifling in a general history, serves to shew the greatness of soul of the prince of Orange, and that he was

was determined to raise enemies against Philip in all parts of the world.

Don Sebastian landed at Arzilla, in the kingdom of Fez, a town which had formerly been conquered by his ancestors. He had with him near eight hundred vessels, and an army of fifteen thousand infantry, but not above a thousand horse. It is probable, on account of this inconsiderable number of cavalry, in proportion to that of the Moors, that historians have condemned his undertaking as rash; but what encomiums would they have lavished upon him had he been successful! He was defeated however, by the old king of Morocco, Malucco. In this battle Aug. 4th. 1578.

there perished three kings, namely, the two kings of Morocco, the uncle and nephew, and don Sebastian himself: in short, not a soul returned of the conquered army. And now, for the first time, a cardinal priest became a king; this was don Henry, son to Emanuel, and great uncle to don Sebastian, who succeeded him, as the undoubted heir to the crown of Portugal.

Philip, however, immediately made preparations to succeed Sebastian himself; and, that every thing in this affair might be extraordinary, pope Gregory XIII. made himself one of the competitors, upon pretence that the kingdom of Portugal belonged to the holy see, in default of heirs in a right line, because as he pretended, Alexander III. had formerly created count Alphonso king of that country, who, thereupon, acknowledged himself a feudatory of Rome. This was a strange reason. Pope Gregory, however, whose name was Boncompagno, had formed the design, or rather

ther idle notion, of bestowing this kingdom on his bastard Boncompagno ; not being willing to dismember the ecclesiastical state to provide for him, as several of his predecessors had done. At first he entertained hopes of procuring the kingdom of Ireland, for this son, by reason that Philip was fomenting the troubles on that island, as Elizabeth did those in the Netherlands. Ireland having, as well as other kingdoms, been given by the popes, would necessarily revert to them, or their children, as soon as its sovereign was excommunicated. This scheme however did not succeed. The pope indeed obtained a few ships and troops from Philip, which, together with a body of Italians, under the pope's colours, made a descent upon Ireland ; but they were all cut off, and the Irish who were in their interest were all hanged. Gregory XIII. then turned his views upon Portugal ; but here he was opposed by Philip, who had a better right than himself, and was better able to support that right.

The old cardinal king lived just long enough to see juridically disputed before him, who should
 1580 be his heir, and then died. Antonio, prior of Crato, a knight of Malta, claimed the crown after the death of the priestly-king, as being his uncle by the father's side, whereas Philip was only his uncle by the mother's side. The prior was generally thought to be a bastard, but he insisted that he was born in lawful wedlock. However, neither the prior nor the pope succeeded. The family of Braganza, likewise, who seemed to have a lawful claim to the succession, were either so prudent or fearful at that time, as not to take advantage
 of

of it; and an army of twenty thousand men put it out of doubt that Philip was the only lawful heir: in those times this was more than a sufficient force. The prior, who was unable to make any resistance of himself applied to the grand signior for his assistance but in vain. In short, there wanted nothing to compleat the oddity of this affair, but to see the pope likewise applying to the Turk, to make him king of Portugal.

Philip, as I have observed before, never made war in person. He now subdued Portugal from his closet. He recalled the old duke of Alva, whom he had banished two years before, after all his long services, and once more let him loose, like a blood hound that had been chained up from carnage; and this bloody veteran finished his career of slaughter, by twice defeating the prior's little army, who was now abandoned by every one, and driven out to wander at a distance from his country.

Philip then repaired to Lisbon, and was crowned king of Portugal, after which he offered a reward of twenty thousand ducats to whoever should deliver up don Antonio. Proscriptions were the customary arms made use of by this monarch.

The prior of Crato at first took refuge in England, with a few companions of his misfortunes, who, destitute of every thing, and ruined like himself, still continued to serve him upon the knee. This custom was first established by the German emperors, who succeeded the family of Charlemagne, and introduced afterwards in Spain, when Alphonso X. king of Castile was elected emperor

emperor in the thirteenth century. It has likewise been adopted by the kings of England, which seems rather contradictory to the haughty freedom of that nation. The kings of France, satisfied with the exercise of real power, have always despised it. The kings of Poland were served with this state on particular days, and yet have not been the more absolute.

Elizabeth was in no condition to fight the prior's battles. She was an implacable enemy to Philip, though not a declared one, and used every expedient in her power to oppose him, and raise him up enemies in secret. But she had no other method to maintain herself on the throne but by the affections of her people, which she would have lost by pressing them for new subsidies; she therefore could not think of carrying the war into Spain.

Don Antonio then applied to the court of France. Henry III. and his council were, at that time, upon the same footing of jealousy and apprehension, with regard to Philip, as the queen of England. There was no open war between them, but an old grudge, and a mutual inclination to do each other bad offices; besides, Henry was continually perplexed between the Huguenots, who had formed another state within his, and Philip, who wanted to raise himself a party by tendering his dangerous assistance to the Catholics.

Catherine of Medicis had some pretensions upon Portugal, almost as chimerical as those of the pope. Now don Antonio, by flattering these pretensions, and promising a part of that kingdom, which he could not recover for himself,

self, or at least a great part of the Azores islands, where he had a considerable party, found means, through Catherine's interest, to procure powerful succours. He was furnished with a fleet of sixty small vessels, and about six thousand men, the most part of them Huguenots, whom the nation was glad to employ at a distance, and who were themselves still more pleased at going to fight against the Spaniards. The French, especially the Calvinistical party, were at that time eager for every opportunity of fighting. They followed the duke of Anjou in crowds, to settle him in Flanders; and embarked with the greatest alacrity to fix Antonio on the throne of Portugal.

In the beginning they made themselves masters of one of the Azores islands; but the Spanish fleet soon appeared, greatly superior to that of the French, both in 1583 the bulk of their ships, and the number of troops: there were fifty large galleons, accompanied by twelve row-gallies. This was the first time that galleys had been seen upon the ocean, and it is surprising how they were navigated a thousand leagues in rough seas. When Lewis XIV. a long time afterwards sent a fleet of gallies to sea, it was looked upon as a new undertaking, and the first of its kind, though it certainly was not; however, it was a more dangerous one than that of Philip II. because the British ocean is much more stormy than the Atlantic.

This was the first naval fight which had happened in that part of the world. The Spaniards gained the victory, and made a very
cruel

cruel use of it; for the marquis of Santa Cruz, who was general of Philip's fleet, caused almost all the prisoners to be put to death, under pretence that war not being declared between France and Spain, he had a right to treat them as pirates. Don Antonio luckily saved himself by flight, and returned to France to be served upon the knee, and to end his days in poverty and wretchedness.

Philip now saw himself master not only of Portugal, but likewise of all the fine settlements which that nation had made in the Indies. But though he extended his dominions to the farther ends of America and Asia, he could not subdue the little republic of Holland.

1584 An embassy of four kings, which soon afterwards arrived at his court, from Japan, seemed to compleat the fullness of that supreme power, which made him considered as the first monarch in Europe. The Christian religion had made a great progress in Japan, and the Spaniards had reason to flatter themselves with establishing their dominion in that empire, as well as their religion.

In Christendom he had the pope to keep fair with, as lord paramount of his kingdom of Naples. He had France to keep in continual distraction, which he succeeded in by means of the league, and the immense sums he lavished; he had Holland to reduce, and commotions to raise in England. All these springs did be put in play at once, and soon afterwards it appeared by the equipment of his invincible armada, that his design was rather to make the conquest

conquest of England, than merely to disturb its peace.

Queen Elizabeth certainly furnished him with sufficient reasons for his conduct. She protected the confederate states of the Netherlands with an high hand. Sir Francis Drake, at that time a private adventurer, had plundered several of the Spanish possessions in America, had passed the streights of Magellan, and returned again to London in 1580, loaded with booty, after having made the tour of the globe. Another pretence, yet more weighty than these, was the captivity of Mary Stewart, queen of Scotland, whom Elizabeth had detained a prisoner eighteen years against the law of nations. This princess had all the catholics of England in her interest; and had an apparent right to the English crown; a right, which she derived from Henry VII. by birth, the legitimacy of which could not be questioned like that of Elizabeth. Philip might also have prosecuted his own claim to the empty title of king of England; and besides, by undertaking to deliver Mary from her confinement, he was certain of making the pope and all the catholics of Europe his friends.

The END of VOL. IV.



J. Green delin.

J. Hall sculp.

14 Ad. i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

THE

WORLD OF

OF

MAY 1911

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FIFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Of the Invasion designed against England. Of the Invincible Armada. Of the Power of Philip II. in France. Enquiry into the death of Don Carlos, &c. 1

CHAP. CXXXIX.

Of the English under Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. 13

CHAP. CXL.

Of Queen Elizabeth 18

CHAP. CXLI.

Of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots 25

CHAP. CXLII.

Of France, towards the End of the sixteenth Century, under Francis II. 34

CHAP. CXLIII.

Of France, during the Minority of Charles IX. and the reign of Henry III. 40

CHAP. CXLIV.

Of Henry IV. 52

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CXLV.

Of France under the Reign of Lewis XIII. till the Administration of Cardinal de Richelieu. General Estates held in France. Misfortunes in the Administration. The Marechal d'Ancre assassinated; his wife condemned to be burnt. Administration of the Duke de Luines. Civil wars. In what Manner Cardinal Richelieu came into the Council 114

C H A P. CXLVI.

Of the Administration of Cardinal de Richelieu 146

C H A P. CXLVII.

Of the Government and Manners of Spain, from the Reign of Philip II. to that of Philip IV. 201

C H A P. CXLVIII.

Of the Germans, under the emperors Rodolpb II. Matthias, and Ferdinand II. Of the Misfortunes of the Elector Palatine Frederick. Of the conquests of Gustavus Adolpbus. Of the Peace of Westphalia, &c. 211

C H A P. CXLIX.

Of England till the Year 1641 235

C H A P. CL.

Of the Misfortunes and Death of Charles I. 252

C H A P. CLI.

Of Oliver Cromwell. 276



A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. CXXXVIII.

Of the Invasion designed against ENGLAND.
Of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA. Of the
Power of PHILIP II. in FRANCE. Enquiry
into the death of Don CARLOS, &c.

WITH this view Philip fitted out that prodigious fleet, which was to have been seconded in its operations by another armament from Flanders, and a general rising of all the catholics in England. These preparations proved the ruin of Mary Stewart, and hurried her to the scaffold, instead of delivering her from it. Philip had 1587 now nothing left but to revenge her death by seizing upon England for himself; after which he looked upon Holland as already reduced, and punished for its rebellion.

VOL. V.

B

The

The gold of Peru was lavished for the purposes of this expedition. The Invincible Armada set sail from the port of June 3d. 1588. Lisbon, with one hundred and fifty large ships, manned with twenty thousand soldiers, near seven thousand seamen who could be armed for fight upon occasion, and mounted with three thousand pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ready with transports, and an army of thirty thousand men, which he had raised in Flanders, to join Philip the instant of his landing in England. It seemed impossible for the English ships, which were no more than small barks in comparison with those of the Spaniards, to stand against the force of these floating citadels, whose upper works were above three feet thick, and impenetrable to cannon*. Nevertheless, this well concerted scheme failed in almost every part. The English soon appeared with a fleet of one hundred sail, and notwithstanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and strength, stopped the progress of this formidable fleet. They took several of the Spanish ships, and dispersed the rest by the means of fire-ships; a storm seconded the efforts of the English. The admiral's ship, called the Invincible, was very near being lost on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to sea without the assistance of the Spanish fleet, remained in-

* This is a vague expression. Provided those ships were within point blank shot of a battering cannon, twice the thickness here described would not have rendered them impenetrable.

active. Philip's navy, unable to resist the English and the winds, which were always contrary to them, retreated round the North Seas; some were wrecked upon the coast of Zealand, and others upon the Orkney islands, and the coasts of Scotland; and another part was cast away upon the coast of Ireland, where the country people massacred all the soldiers and sailors who had escaped the fury of the tempest, and the viceroy had the inhumanity to hang the rest. In short, of the whole armada only fifty ships returned to Spain, and of thirty thousand men, who had sailed on this expedition, no more than six thousand escaped from shipwreck, and the sword and fire of the enemy.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thousand men, had no better success in subduing the Netherlands, than the invincible armada had had in its attempt upon England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals, sluices, and narrow causeways, who were fond of liberty to a degree of idolatry, and were all become generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have resisted a much more formidable force.

Philip was the only prince who could have continued formidable after so great a disaster; but America and Asia still supplied him with riches, which made all his neighbours tremble; and, after having failed in his design upon England, he saw himself upon the point of reducing the kingdom of France to a province of Spain.

At the same time that he was making the conquest of Portugal, carrying on the war in

Flanders, and engaged in the expedition against England, he raised that faction in France, known by the name of the Holy League, which subverted the throne, and distracted the nation ; and afterwards by sowing dissension in that very league which he had protected, he was thrice on the point of being declared sovereign of France, under the title of protector, with an unlimited power of conferring all posts. His daughter, the infanta Eugenia, was to have been queen, under his direction ; and the crown of France was to have been transferred in dowry with her to the person she should marry. This proposal had been actually made by the cabal of sixteen, in the year 1589, after the murder of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, who was head of the league, had no other way of eluding it, than by saying, " That, as the league had been formed upon account of religion, the title of protector of France could belong only to the pope." Philip's ambassador had carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the estates of Paris, in 1593 ; insomuch that it was a long time in deliberation, how to abolish the salic law : and, at length, the infanta was proposed as queen to the states of Paris.

Philip had insensibly accustomed the French to a dependence upon him ; for, on one hand, he supplied the league with sufficient succours to prevent its falling, and, on the other, he assisted his son-in-law, Emanuel, duke of Savoy, with forces against France. He kept troops in pay for him, and assisted him in getting himself declared protector by the parliament of
Pro-

Provence ; so that the French, grown familiar with these proceedings, might acknowledge Philip as protector of the whole kingdom.

It is more than probable, that France in the end would have been forced to do it. Philip, in fact, already reigned in Paris by his ambassador, who lavished pensions upon all who were in his interest. He had the Sorbonne, and all the religious orders on his side. His scheme was not to make France a conquered country, as he had done Portugal, but to oblige that nation to request him to govern it. It was with this view, that he dispatched the duke of Parma from the 1590 farther end of the Netherlands to succour Paris, when pushed by the victorious arms of Henry III ; recalled him again, when by his judicious marches he had delivered that capital, without striking a blow ; and, afterwards, when Henry IV. sat down before the city of Rouen, 1591 sent the same general to oblige him to raise the siege. It was very surprising, that, while Philip could thus determine the fate of war in France, Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Hollanders, should be sufficiently powerful to cross his designs, and send succours to Henry IV. they, who, not ten years before, had been considered in Spain only as a parcel of obscure rebels, who could not possibly escape the punishment intended for them. However, they sent a reinforcement of three thousand men to the king of France ; but the duke of Parma nevertheless delivered the city of Rouen, as he had before done that of Paris.

After this Philip recalled him again ; and thus by alternately giving and withdrawing his

assistance, he always made himself necessary, and spread his snares from the frontiers to the very heart of the kingdom, in order to reduce it by degrees wholly under his dominions. He had already established his power through the greatest part of Britany by force of arms. His son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had done the same in Provence, and a part of Dauphiny. There was always a road open for the Spanish troops from Arras to Paris, and from Fontarabia to the river Loire. Philip himself was so thoroughly persuaded that France could not escape him, that in his conferences with the president Jeannin, the duke of Mayenne's envoy, he always used to say, "My city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my town of Rouen."

The court of Rome, though it feared him, was nevertheless obliged to assist him, and he had always the arms of religion in his favour. This cost him only the outside shew of a great zeal for the catholic religion, which served him likewise for a pretext against Geneva, whose destruction he was at that time endeavouring to bring about. In the year 1589 he sent his son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, with an army to reduce Geneva and the neighbouring country. But this rich and powerful monarch always saw his designs frustrated by poor nations, whom a love for liberty exalted above themselves. The Genevans, assisted only by the two cantons of Bearn and Zurich, and three hundred soldiers sent them by Henry IV. bid defiance to all his riches, and the arms of his son-in-law. These same people in the year 1602, rescued their city out of the hands of the duke of Savoy, who surprised it, by escalade, in a time of profound

found peace, and was giving it up to plunder. They had even the boldness to punish this attempt of a powerful monarch as a public robbery; and hanged thirteen commissioned officers, who failing of being conquerors, were treated like midnight robbers.

Thus did Philip, without quitting his closet, incessantly carry on a war at one and the same time in the Netherlands, against Maurice, in almost all the provinces of France, against Henry IV. at Geneva and in Switzerland, and against the English and Dutch by sea. But what were the fruits of these mighty projects, which for so long time kept Europe in perpetual alarms? Henry IV. deprived him of all 1596 France in a quarter of an hour, by only going to mass. The English, whom he himself had taught to fight at sea, and who were become as good sailors as the Spaniards, plundered his possessions in America, destroyed his 1596 galleons, and burnt his town of Cadiz. In short, after having once more laid waste the kingdom of France, and taken the city of Amiens by surprize, which was retaken again by the valour of Henry IV. he found himself obliged to conclude a peace at Vervins, and to acknowledge as king of France, a person whom he had never called any other than prince of Bearn. It is likewise particularly worthy of observation, that by this treaty of peace he restored Calais, which had been taken by the archduke Albert, his governor in the Netherlands, during the troubles of France; and that no mention was made in the treaty of Elizabeth's pretended right; who got neither this place, nor the eight

hundred thousand crowns which she was entitled to by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis.

Philip's power might now be compared to a mighty flood returned again within its banks, after having overflowed the countries far and near. He still remained the first potentate in Europe. Elizabeth and Henry IV. especially the latter, enjoyed a greater share of personal glory: but Philip retained to the last moment of his reign, that powerful ascendancy, which his great dominions and immense riches had given him. Though he had expended three thousand millions of our livres on his despotic cruelty in the Netherlands, and his ambition in France, it had not impoverished him: he found an inexhaustible source of riches in America and the East Indies. It only happened that he enriched Europe by his treasures, without designing it. The sums he had lavished to carry on his intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and what his numerous armies in the Netherlands had cost him, by increasing the riches of the people whom he wanted to subdue, had increased the value of commodities almost every where, and Europe became wealthy from the evils premeditated against her.

He had a yearly revenue of near three millions of gold ducats, without being obliged to lay new taxes upon his subjects. This was more than all the monarchs of Christendom had together; and in this respect he was possessed of enough to purchase many kingdoms, though not to conquer them. The magnanimity of Elizabeth, the valour of Henry IV. and the courage of the princes of Orange, triumphed over all his treasures and his intrigues. But
if

if we except the burning of Cadiz, Spain was, during his reign, always peaceable and happy.

The Spaniards had at that time a distinguished superiority over all other nations: their language was spoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their fashions, their manner of thinking and writing, captivated the minds of the Italians; and from the time of Charles V. till the beginning of Philip III's reign, the Spaniards were held in greater consideration than any other people.

When Philip made peace with France, he gave the Netherlands and Franche Comté as a dowry to his daughter Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make queen, but as a fief revertible to the crown of Spain in default of her issue.

Soon after this, Philip died at the age of seventy-one, in his vast palace of the Escorial, which he had made a vow to build, in case his generals should win the battle of St. Quintin; as if it was of any consequence to God, whether the constable of Montmorenci or Philibert of Savoy gained the victory, or that the divine blessing could be purchased by magnificent edifices.

Sept. 13,
1598

Posterity has ranked this prince in the number of the most powerful kings of the earth, but not the greatest. He was called the Demon of the South, because, from the centre of Spain, which is the southermost part of Europe, he had disturbed all the other kingdoms on that continent.

If, after viewing him on the great theatre of the world, we come to consider him in the light of a private man, we shall find him a

rigid and mistrustful master, a cruel lover and husband, and a merciless father.

There was one remarkable circumstance in his domestic life, which still exercises the curiosity of the world: this was the death of his son Don Carlos. No one knows the manner of this prince's death; his body, which lies in the royal vault of the Escorial, appears to have had the head severed from it. But this is pretended to have been done because the leaden case which holds the body, is too small. It has been asserted in the life of the Czar Peter I. that when he resolved to condemn his son to death, he sent to Spain for the acts relating to Don Carlos's trial; but neither the trial nor sentence of this prince have ever appeared. We are as little acquainted with his crime as with the nature of his death *. It is neither proved by facts or pro-

* If our author had consulted the historians Herrera, Ferreras, Cabrera, and Diego de Colmenarez, he would have had no reason to say the crime of Don Carlos was not known. He was a prince of a very passionate and perverse disposition, deformed, and ungracious: he had been detected in carrying on intrigues with the malcontents in the Low Countries: he was impatient to espouse the arch-duchess Anne of Austria, and the negotiation about this match proving tedious, he concluded that his father thought him unfit for marriage, and incapable of succession. Stimulated by this opinion, he resolved to fly into Germany, and borrowed considerable sums from several noblemen. Then he broached the design to Don John of Austria, and solicited his concurrence: but Don John refused to be concerned, and exhorted him to lay aside his intention; yet he still persisting in this scheme, he was abandoned by his confessor, his letters were intercepted by the king, who likewise discovered that the postmaster had received that prince's order to provide horses for a long journey. These were the reasons.

probability, that his father had him condemned by the inquisition.

All that we know concerning it is, that in the year 1568, his father came in person and arrested him in his apartment, and that he wrote to the empress his sister, "That he had never discovered any capital vice nor dishonourable action in the prince his son, but that he had caused him to be confined for his own good, and that of the kingdom." He wrote at the same time in quite contrary terms to pope Pius V. to whom he says in his letter of the twentieth of January 1568, "That the force of a vicious disposition had from his tenderest years destroyed in Don Carlos all the effects of his paternal instructions."

After these letters, in which Philip gives an account of the imprisonment of his son, we

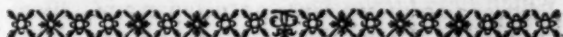
reasons which induced his father to secure his person. For this purpose he entered the prince's apartment at midnight, attended by several noblemen and a party of guards. Don Carlos seeing him come in, shrunk under the bed cloaths, crying, "Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but the treatment I have met with makes me desperate." The king desired he would make himself easy, declaring that every thing was intended for his good. He then seized all his arms and papers, committed him to the charge of six noblemen of the first rank, and immediately communicated to the pope's nuncio and all the foreign ministers, the motives which had induced him to take this extraordinary step.

St. Evremont, one of those writers who say he was strangled by his father's order, endeavours to throw a veil of ridicule over a very serious transaction. He affirms, that the executioner in going to perform his office, said, *Calla, calla, Senor, todo que se baste es por su bien*. "Don't make any noise sir, this is all for your good." We have in a former volume given account of his death.

meet with no others in which he clears himself of his death ; and this alone, joined to the rumour which prevailed throughout all Europe, affords a strong presumption that he was guilty of the murder of his son. His silence in the midst of the public reports is another foundation for justifying those, who assert that the cause of this shocking affair, was the passion which Don Carlos had conceived for Elizabeth of France, his mother-in-law, and that princess for him. Nothing could appear more probable. Elizabeth had been brought up in a gay and voluptuous court. Philip II. was perpetually engaged in intrigues with the fair sex. Gallantry was the very essence of a Spaniard, and examples of infidelity abounded every where. It was natural for Don Carlos and Elizabeth, who were much of the same age, to have entertained a mutual passion for each other. The sudden death of this princess, which followed soon after that of Don Carlos, confirmed these suspicions. All Europe believed that Philip had sacrificed his wife and his son to emotions of jealousy ; and this belief was the more strengthened, as some time afterwards this same jealous disposition led him to resolve upon the death of the famous Antonio Perez, who was his rival with the princess of Eboli.

These crimes we find publicly charged against him by the prince of Orange, in the famous manifesto which he laid before the tribunal of the public. It is very surprising that Philip did not at least employ some of the venal pens, of the kingdom to reply to these accusations ; and that no one in Europe ever offered to re-
fute

fute what the prince of Orange had advanced. These do not indeed amount to absolute proofs, but they are the strongest presumptions against him; and history ought not to neglect reporting them as such, as the judgment of posterity is the only defence we have against successful tyranny.



C H A P. CXXXIX.

Of the ENGLISH under EDWARD VI. MARY,
and ELIZABERH.

THE English had not the same splendor of success with the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to its neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on. They knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign possessions and conquests of their antient kings. Had these kings reigned in France, England would have been only a subjected province. These people, who were formed with so much difficulty, and who had been so frequently and easily subdued by the Danish and Saxon pirates*,
and

* The English people were never conquered by the Saxons and Danes; for they themselves are the posterity of those very conquerors. What are the English people but the descend-

and the duke of Normandy, were only the rude instruments under Edward III. and Henry V. of the transient glory of those monarchs: but under Elizabeth they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a north-west passage to Japan and China. Drake and Cavendish sailed round the globe; attacking in all places those very Spaniards, who had extended their conquests and trade to both ends of the world. Several private companies of adventurers, who depended entirely on their own stock, carried on a very profitable trade upon the coast of Guinea *. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh †, without receiving the least assistance from the government, founded and improved the colony of New England, in the southern part of America, in the year 1585. By these expeditions they soon formed the best marine in Europe, as sufficiently appears from their fitting out an hundred sail of ships to oppose the invincible armada sent against them by Philip II. going afterwards to insult him upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning his city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they in 1602 defeated the first fleet

cendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? We might with the same reason say that the French were easily conquered by the Franks under Clovis, who were in fact the ancestors of the French people.

* There was no English company that traded to the coast of Guinea in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

† Sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, which is at a considerable distance from New England.

which

which Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority by sea, which they have since maintained, except on some few occasions.

From the first beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The Flemish being persecuted by Philip II. removed to London, carrying with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewise the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakespear, who flourished in those days, are handed down to other nations. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time the one half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The English were the second nation in the world in industry; and in liberty they were the first. During this reign there were public companies established for trading to the Levant and the North. Agriculture now first began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures. The gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain: but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, called Sir Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and a college which bears his name. Several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such were the glorious effects produced by liberty

berty in that kingdon, that private persons could do what kings at present can only do in the most happy administration.

The royal revenues in Elizabeth's reign seldom exceeded six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the number of inhabitants in the kingdom were not more than four millions. The single kingdom of Spain contained at least as many more. And yet Elizabeth defended herself with success, and had at once the glory of assisting Henry IV. to subdue his kingdom, and the Dutch to establish their republic.

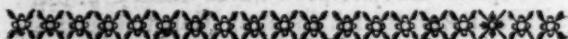
But to acquire a clearer knowledge of the life and reign of Elizabeth, it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary.

Elizabeth was born in 1533, and while yet in her cradle was declared the lawful heiress to the crown of England; a short time afterwards, upon her mother's being removed from the throne to the scaffold, she was declared a bastard. Her father, who ended his life in 1547, died like a tyrant, as he had lived. While on his death-bed, he gave orders for executions, and always under the sanction of justice. He condemned the duke of Norfolk and his son to lose their heads, on no other pretence but that they had the arms of England marked on their plate. The father indeed obtained his pardon*, but the son was executed. It must be owned, that as the English are said to set little value upon

* The death-warrant was actually signed, and sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning, had not the king himself died in the interim.

their lives, their governors have treated them according to their taste. Even the reign of the young king Edward VI. son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, was not exempt from these bloody tragedies. Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's own uncle, was beheaded for having quarrelled with his brother Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who was protector of the kingdom during the king's minority; and soon afterwards this duke of Somerset himself suffered the same fate. The reign of Edward VI. which lasted only five years, and during which the nation was, or appeared to be of the protestant religion, was a scene of seditions and troubles. When he died he left his crown to neither of his sisters Mary or Elizabeth, but to lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII. and grand-daughter to the widow of Lewis XII. and one Brandon, a private gentleman, who had been created duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife to lord Guilford, who was son to the duke of Northumberland, a nobleman of great power in Edward's time. Edward's will, by which he bequeathed the throne to lady Jane Grey, only proved the means of bringing her to a scaffold. 1553 She was proclaimed queen in London; but Mary's interest and her lawful rights, as being daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, prevailed; and the first thing which this queen did after signing her contract of marriage with Philip II. was to condemn her rival to death, who was a young lady of seventeen, full of beauty and innocence, and who had been guilty of no crime but that of being named in Edward's will for his successor. It availed her not

not that she made a voluntary resignation of her fatal dignity, which she held but nine days: she was led to execution with her husband, father, and father-in-law. This was the third queen of England who had mounted the scaffold within less than twenty years. The protestant religion, in which she had been educated, was the principal cause of her untimely fate. In this revolution the arm of the executioner was much more employed than that of the soldiery; and all these cruelties were committed by act of parliament. Every nation has had its times of horror and bloodshed; but more illustrious lives have been lost upon the scaffold in England than in all the rest of Europe besides. It has been the character of this nation to commit murders by form of law; and the gates of London have been loaded with human skulls, like the walls of the temple of Mexico.



C H A P. CXL.

Of Queen ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH was confined in prison by her sister upon her accession to the throne. This princess, who, after she came to be queen, refused the hand of Philip II. now wanted to espouse Courtney earl of Devonshire; and it appears by letters of hers yet remaining, that she had a strong inclination for this nobleman. A match of this kind would not have been at all extraordinary; we have seen that lady Jane Grey,

Grey, though declared heiress to the crown, had married lord Guilford. Mary, queen dowager of France, descended from the bed of Lewis XII. to that of Charles Brandon. All the royal family of England sprung from a private gentleman, named Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V. daughter to Charles VI. king of France; and in France, before its kings had attained their height of power, the widow of Lewis the Fat made no difficulty of espousing Matthew de Montmorenci.

Elizabeth, while a prisoner, and under a state of continual persecution from her sister Mary, employed these moments of her disgrace to the noblest purposes; she improved her mind, she learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts in which she excelled, the chief was that of dissimulation, by which she kept fair with her sister, with the catholics, and with the protestants, and learned how to reign.

No sooner was she proclaimed queen, than she found herself strongly solicited ¹⁵⁵⁹ in marriage by her brother-in-law, Philip II. Had she listened to his proposals, France and Holland would have been in danger of being overwhelmed; but she detested both the religion and person of Philip, and resolved to indulge the vanity of being beloved, and the happiness of being independent. Having been imprisoned by a catholic sister, her first thoughts, upon mounting the throne, were to restore the protestant religion in her kingdom. However, she permitted a catholic bishop to perform the ceremony of her coronation, that she might not sour the minds of the people at first. I shall here observe, that she went from Westminster

to

to the Tower of London in an open chariot, followed by an hundred others. Not that coaches were at that time in use; it was only an occasional piece of state*.

Immediately after her coronation she convoked a parliament, which settled the religion of England such as it now is, and vested the supremacy, first fruits, and tenths, in the sovereign.

Elizabeth then had the title of supreme head of the church of England. Several writers, especially the Italians, have thought this a ridiculous dignity in a woman; but they might have considered that this woman reigned; that she was in possession of the rights annexed to the crown by the laws of the country; that in former times the sovereigns of all the known nations in the world had the superintendence in religious matters; that the Roman emperors were sovereign pontiffs; that although at present there are several countries where the state is governed by the church, there are others where the church is governed by the state; and lastly, that it is not more ridiculous for a queen of England to have the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the whole kingdom, and to prescribe laws to him, than for an abbess of Fontevrault to nominate priors and curates, and give them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its customs.

The church of England retained whatever was most solemn and august in the Romish ceremonies, and most austere in the Lutheran dis-

* Coaches were first introduced into England by Henry Fitzallen, earl of Arundel, in the reign of Elizabeth.

cipline. I shall observe, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy, which were at that time in England, there were but fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty curates, who lost their livings for remaining catholics, and refusing to subscribe to the reformation. When we reflect that the English nation had changed its religion four several times since the reign of Henry VIII. we are surprised that a people, who enjoy so great liberty, should ever have been subdued, or that, possessed of so much resolution, they should ever have been so fickle. The English in this resemble those Swiss cantons, who waited for their magistrates to determine what should be their creed*. An act of parliament is every thing with the English; they love the laws, and there is no governing them, but by laws made by a parliament which pronounces, or seems to pronounce, by its own authority.

No one was persecuted for being a Roman catholic; but those who went about to disturb the peace of the kingdom through a principle of conscience, were severely punished. The Guises, who at that time made a handle of religion to establish their own power in France, made use of the same methods to set their niece, Mary Stewart queen of Scotland, on the English throne. Masters of the finances and armies of France, they sent money and troops over to Scotland, under pretence of assisting the catholics of that kingdom against the protestants. Mary Stewart, who was married to Francis II. king of France, openly took upon

* See Chap. cvii. Vol. iii.

her the title of queen of England, as being descended from Henry VIII. All the English, Scotch, and Irish catholics, were in her interest. Elizabeth was not yet so firmly settled on the throne, but that religious cabals might have shaken her authority. However, she dispersed this first storm, sent an army to the relief of the Scotch protestants, and obliged the queen regent of Scotland, Mary's mother, to consent by treaty to obey laws of her dictating, and to send the French troops home within twenty days.

Francis II. dying, she obliged Mary Stewart to quit the title of queen of England. By her intrigues she prevailed upon the parliament of Edinburgh to establish the reformed religion in Scotland; and by this artful management she brought into her interest a country from which she had every thing to fear.

Scarcely was she freed from these inquietudes, when she received fresh alarms of a more dangerous kind from Philip II. This monarch was indispensibly her friend, so long as Mary Stewart, as heiress to Elizabeth, had a prospect of uniting in her own person the crowns of France, England, and Scotland; but Francis II. being now dead, and his widow returned helpless into Scotland, Philip had only the protestants to fear, and therefore became an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

He now privately raises commotions in Ireland, which Elizabeth as quickly suppresses. He protects the catholic league in France, which proved so fatal to the royal family, and she assists the opposite party. The republic of Holland finds itself hard pressed by Philip's forces,

forces, and Elizabeth saves it from ruin. Formerly the kings of England were wont to drain their country of men to settle themselves on the throne of France; but interests and times were now so changed, that the queen of England sent repeated succours to Henry IV. to assist him in conquering his patrimony. With these succours Henry at length laid siege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or the king's extreme indulgence to the besieged, he would have fixed the protestant religion in the kingdom. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It was natural for her to wish to see her endeavours succeed, and not to lose all the fruits of the great expence she had been at. Besides, she had conceived a mortal aversion to the catholic religion ever since she had been excommunicated by the two popes, Pius V. and Sixtus V. who had declared her unworthy and incapable to govern; and the more Philip II. declared himself the protector of this religion, the more she became its implacable enemy.

No protestant divine could be more afflicted than Elizabeth, when she heard that Henry IV. had renounced the reformed doctrines. Her letter to that prince is very remarkable: "You offer me your friendship, as to your sister. I am certain I have deserved it, having paid dearly for it; but of this I should not repent me, had you not changed your father. I can no longer be your sister by the father's side, for I shall always have a greater affection for my own father, than for him who has adopted you." This letter serves at once to shew her heart, her understanding, and her forcible manner of expressing herself in a foreign language.

Not-

Notwithstanding this hatred to the Roman catholic religion, it is certain that she did not deal cruelly by the catholics of her kingdom, as Mary had done during her reign by the protestants. It is true, that the two
1581 Jesuits, Creighton and Campian, with some others, were hanged, at the same time that the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. was preparing every thing in London for his marriage with the queen, which at length proved abortive; but these Jesuits were unanimously convicted of conspiracy and sedition, of which they were accused; and sentence was given against them upon the testimony of witnesses. They might have fallen innocent victims, but then the queen was likewise innocent of their death, as she acted only by the laws.

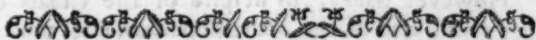
Several persons in France still imagine that Elizabeth put the earl of Essex to death merely from a fit of jealousy; and found their belief on a tragedy and a novel. But those who have read any thing know, that the queen was at that time seventy-eight years of age, and that the earl of Essex, finding the queen grown old, and hoping that her authority would decline with her years, had been guilty of an act of open rebellion, for which he was afterwards tried by his peers, who passed sentence of death upon him and his accomplices.

The more exact administration of justice during Elizabeth's reign, than under that of any of her predecessors, proved one of the firmest supports of her government. The revenues of the state were employed only in its defence.

She had favourites, but she enriched none of them at the expence of the nation. Her people were

were her chief favourites; not that she really loved them, for who can love the people? But she was sensible that her glory and safety depended upon behaving towards them as if she did love them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed an unblemished fame, had she not sullied a reign, in other respects so glorious, by the murder of her sister Mary Stewart, a murder which she ventured to perpetrate with the sacred sword of justice.



C H A P. CXLI.

OF MARY STEWART, Queen of SCOTS.

IT is a difficult matter to come at the whole truth in disputes between private people, and how much more so in those of crowned heads, where so many secret springs are employed, and where both parties equally make use of truth and falsehood, as best suits their purpose. Cotemporary writers are in these cases generally suspected of partiality, and are for the most part rather advocates on one side, than the faithful depositories of history. I must then confine myself to authenticated facts only, amidst the perplexed accounts given of this important and fatal event.

Mary and Elizabeth were rivals in all respects: they were rivals in nations, in crowns, in religion, in understanding, and in beauty. Mary was far less powerful, and not so much

tricks of herself as Elizabeth, nor had she her unshaken resolution and depth of politics; in a word, she was superior to her only in the charms of her person, which contributed not a little to her subsequent misfortunes. The queen of Scots encouraged the catholic faction in England, and the queen of England still more powerfully supported the protestant party in Scotland. Elizabeth gained so much the ascendancy by her intrigues, that for a long time she prevented Mary from concluding a second nuptials where she had an inclination.

However Mary, in despite of the cabals of her rival, and of the Scottish parliament, which was wholly made up of protestants, and headed by her natural brother the earl of Murray, marries Henry Stewart earl of Darnly, 1565 who was her cousin, and a catholic like herself. Elizabeth upon this tampers in private with Mary's principal protestant subjects, and excites them to take up arms. The queen of Scots pursues the rebels in person, and obliges them to retreat into England. Thus far every thing seemed to favour her and confound her rival.

Mary had a soft and tender heart; this was the beginning of all her misfortunes. An Italian musician, named David Rizzo, or Riccio, had insinuated himself too far into her good graces. He played well upon several instruments, and had a very agreeable bass voice. A proof that the Italians were at that time in possession of the empire of music, and exercised their profession with a kind of exclusive right in all courts, is, that Mary's whole band was Italian. Another proof that foreign courts make

make an indiscriminate use of any one who is in credit, is, that this Rizzo was a pensioner to the pope. He was greatly instrumental in the queen's marriage with lord Darnly, and not less so in that dislike she afterwards took to him. Darnly, who had only the name of king, and saw himself despised by his wife, grew incensed and jealous; and one evening that he knew the queen was in her apartment, he took with him a few armed men, and going up a pair of private stairs, enters her chamber, where she was at supper with Rizzo and one of the ladies of her court. They overturned the table, and slew Rizzo before the queen's eyes, who in vain attempted to cover his body with her own. Mary was at that time five months gone with child: the sight of the naked and bloody weapons made so strong an impression on her, that it was communicated to the infant in her womb. This was James VI. afterwards king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this melancholy affair, and who all his life-time trembled at the sight of a drawn sword, in despite of his utmost endeavours to overcome this disposition of his organs. So great is the force of nature, and so powerfully does she act by ways impenetrable to us!

The queen soon resumed her authority, was reconciled to the earl of Murray, prosecuted the murderers of Rizzo, and entered into a fresh engagement with the earl of Bothwell. These new amours produced the death of the king her husband. It is said an attempt was made to poison him, but that the strength of his constitution got the better of the drugs they had given him: however, it is certain that he was mur-

1567

dered in Edinburgh, in a lone house, from whence the queen had previously removed most of her valuable effects. As soon as the murder was committed, the house was blown up with gun-powder, and the body was deposited near that of David Rizzo, in the vault belonging to the royal family. The parliament and the whole nation openly charged Bothwell with this murder; and, in the midst of the general cry for justice, Mary contrived to have herself carried off by this assassin*, whose hands were yet stained with her husband's blood, and was afterwards publicly married to him. What was most extraordinary in this horrid adventure was, that Bothwell had at that time a wife; and, in order to bring about a separation, he obliged her to accuse him of adultery, and made the archbishop of St. Andrew's pronounce sentence of divorce between them, agreeable to the custom of the country.

Bothwell was possessed of all that insolence which attends great wickedness. He assembled the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and made them sign a writing, by which it was declared, in express terms, that the queen could not dispense with marrying him, as he had carried her away, and had lain with her. All these facts are authenticated: the letters which Mary is said to have wrote to Bothwell have indeed been disputed, but they carry such strong marks of truth, that there is hardly any doubt-

* We wish our author had been at more pains in enquiring into the particulars of this affair, before he had adopted opinions so unfavourable to the memory of this unfortunate princess.

ing their reality. These complicated villainies effectually roused the Scots; Mary was abandoned by her army, and obliged to yield herself prisoner to the confederates. Bothwell fled into the Orkneys; the queen was compelled to resign the crown to her son, but was allowed to appoint a regent during his minority. She named her brother the earl of Murray: this nobleman however reproached her in the bitterest manner with her past conduct. At length she escaped from her confinement; 1568 Murray's harsh and severe temper had procured her a new party. She found means to raise six thousand men, but she was soon defeated and obliged to take shelter on the English borders. Elizabeth at first gave her an honourable reception at Carlisle, but privately intimated to her, that as she was accused by the public voice of the murder of the king her husband, it behoved her to vindicate herself, and that she might depend upon her protection, if she should be found innocent.

Elizabeth now made herself arbiter between Mary and the Scottish regency. The regent came himself in person to Hampton-court, and consented to deposite the papers containing the proofs against his sister, in 1569 the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the queen of England. The unfortunate Mary on the other hand; who was still detained prisoner in Carlisle, accused the earl of Murray himself as author of that murder which he had laid to her charge; and excepted against the English commissioners, unless the ambassadors of France and Spain were joined with them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth still caused this unac-

countable trial to be carried on, and indulged herself in the cruel pleasure of seeing her rival pine away in confinement, without coming to any determination concerning her fate. She was not Mary's judge, she owed her an asylum, but she caused her to be removed to Tewksbury, where she was little better than a prisoner.

These disasters of the royal house of Scotland were reflected back upon the nation, which was rent by factions that arose from anarchy. The earl of Murray was murdered by one of these factions, which sheltered itself under the authority of Mary's name. After this murder, the insurgents entered England, and laid waste the borders with fire and sword.

Elizabeth presently sent an army to 1570 chastise these disturbers of the peace, and keep Scotland in awe. She likewise procured the regency of that kingdom to be given to the earl of Lenox, brother to the murdered king*. Thus far she acted according to the rules of justice and true greatness. At the same time a conspiracy was formed in England for delivering Mary from her confinement, and pope Pius V. very indiscreetly caused a bull to be published in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and released her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This step, which was intended to deliver Mary, only hastened her downfall. The two queens entered into mutual negotiations; the one from her throne, and the other from a prison. Mary does not seem to have

* He was duke of Lennox, and father to the murdered king.

behaved with that flexibility which the situation of her affairs required. Scotland at this time was weltering in blood; the catholics and protestants had raised a civil war in the kingdom. The French ambassador and the archbishop of St. Andrew's were made prisoners, the latter of whom was hanged upon the evidence of his own confessor, who swore that this prelate had accused himself to him of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king. 1571

It was Mary's greatest misfortune to have a number of friends in her disgrace. The duke of Norfolk, who was a catholic †, wanted to marry her in hopes of a revolution, and reckoning on Mary's right of succession to Elizabeth. Several parties were formed in her favour in London, which were weak indeed, but were capable of being strengthened by forces from Spain, and the intrigues of the court of Rome. These machinations however cost the duke of Norfolk his head, who was 1572 sentenced to die by his peers for having solicited succours from the pope and the king of Spain, in Mary's behalf. The duke of Norfolk's death rivetted this unhappy princess's chains; her long misfortunes had not yet discouraged those of her party in London, who were strongly supported by the princes of Guise, the pope, the Jesuits, and the court of Spain.

The great point in view was to set Mary at liberty, and place her on the English throne, and with her restore the catholic religion. A conspiracy was formed against Elizabeth. Philip had

* The duke of Norfolk was a professed and zealous protestant.

1556 already begun to prepare for his invasion. The queen of England caused fourteen of the conspirators to be put to death, and brought Mary, who was her equal, to a public trial, as if she had been her subject. Forty-two members of parliament and five of the judges were sent to examine her in Fotheringay castle; she protested against their proceedings, and refused to make any reply. Never was trial so irregularly carried on, nor so insufficient a sentence; she was presented only with copies of her letters, and no originals. They made use of the deposition of her secretaries, without confronting them with her; they pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conspirators, who had been executed, though their sentence ought to have been deferred till they had been examined in Mary's presence. In a word, though they had even proceeded with all the forms which justice requires for the lowest of the people, had they proved that Mary solicited for aid and revenge wherever she had a prospect of succeeding, they could not with equity have pronounced her criminal. Elizabeth had no other jurisdiction over her than that of the strong over the weak and unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years imprisonment, in a country which she had imprudently chosen for an asylum, Mary was be-
 Feb. 28, headed in an apartment of the pri-
 1587. son hung with black. Elizabeth was sensible that she had committed a bad act, but she added to the odium of it by attempting to impose upon the public, (who were not however to be so deceived) with an affectation of
 sorrow

forrow for a person whom she had put to death, by pretending that her ministers had exceeded her orders, and by imprisoning the secretary of state, who, she said, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant signed by herself. Europe detested her cruelty and dissimulation. Her reign was esteemed, but her character was held in abhorrence. But what renders her still more condemnable is, her not having been forced to this barbarity. It may even be said, that in Mary's person she had a security against the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an indelible stain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakness to canonize Mary Stewart as a martyr of religion, who was only a martyr of adultery, of the murder of her husband, and of her own imprudence. In her failings and misfortunes she perfectly resembled Joan of Naples; they were both handsome and sprightly, both thro' the frailty of their sex drawn to commit an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relations. History frequently presents us with a repetition of the same misfortunes, the same flagitious deeds, and one crime punished by another.

C H A P. CXLII.

Of FRANCE, towards the End of the sixteenth Century, under FRANCIS II.

WHILE all Europe was alarmed at the excessive power of Spain, and England made the second figure by opposing that monarchy, France was grown weak, divided into factions, and in danger of being dismembered, so that it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. The civil wars of this kingdom had reduced it to a state of dependance on all its neighbours. Those times of fury, abjectness, and misery, have furnished more matter for history than is contained in all the Roman annals. And what were the causes of all those misfortunes? religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and a mal-administration.

Henry II. by his severity against the sectaries, and especially by the condemnation of the counsellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guises, made more Calvinists in France than there were in all Swisserland and Geneva. Had these people made their appearance in a time like that of Lewis XII. when the court of France was at war with the papal see, they might possibly have met with some indulgence; but they appeared precisely at the time when Henry II. stood in need of pope Paul IV. to assist him in disputing the possession of Naples and Sicily with Spain, and while these two powers were in alliance with the Turk against the

the house of Austria. It was therefore thought necessary to sacrifice them. The clergy, who were powerful at court, and were in fear of losing their temporalities and authority, persecuted them; and policy, interest, and zeal, concurred in their ruin. The state might have tolerated them, as Elizabeth tolerated the catholics in England, and have preserved a number of good subjects, by allowing them liberty of conscience. It would have been of little concern to the government in what manner they performed their devotion, provided they submitted themselves to the established laws: whereas, by persecuting them, they made them rebels.

The untimely fate of Henry II. was the signal of thirty years civil wars. An infant king governed by foreigners, and the jealousy of the princes of the blood and high officers of the crown against the family of Guise, on account of their great credit in the kingdom, began the subversion of France.

The famous conspiracy of Amboise was the first of the kind we hear of in this country. To form leagues, and then to break them, to pass hastily from one extreme to another, to be violent in their passions and sudden in their repentance, seemed hitherto to have formed the character of the Gauls, who, when they took the name of Franks, and afterwards of French, did not change their manners. But in this conspiracy there was a degree of boldness which equalled it to that of Cataline, with an artful management, a depth of contrivance, and a profound secrecy like that of the Sicilian Vespers.

pers †, or the Pazzi * of Florence. Lewis prince of Condé was the soul that secretly animated this plot, but in so artful a manner, that tho' all France was convinced that he was at the head of it, no one could positively convict him of being so.

It was peculiar to this conspiracy, that it was in one sense excuseable, as being undertaken to wrest the government out of the hands of Francis duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, who were both of them foreigners, and held the king in subjection, the nation in slavery, and the princes of the blood and officers of the crown at a distance: and in another highly criminal, as it attacked the rights of a king who was at age, and empowered by the laws to chuse the depositories of his authority.

It has never been proved that there was any design of killing the Guises; but as they would doubtless have made a resistance, their deaths were inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well seconded, and a thousand resolute soldiers, headed by thirty chosen captains, were all to assemble from the several provinces of the kingdom on an appointed day at Amboise, where the court then kept its residence. Kings were not in those times surrounded by so numerous a guard as they are at present. The regiment of guards was not formed till the reign of

† See Chap. xlvii. Vol. ii.

* This happened in 1478. Francis Pazzi, one of the chief conspirators against the family of Medicis, killed Julian de Medicis, and was afterwards hanged by the people of Florence, together with the rest of his accomplices. See Machiavel's hist. Florent. lib. viii.

Charles IX. Two hundred archers were the most that attended Francis II. the other kings of Europe had no more. When the constable of Montmorenci afterwards came to Orleans, where the Guises had placed a new guard about the court upon the death of Francis II. he dismissed the new raised soldiers, and threatened to have them all hanged as enemies to the state, who planted a barrier between the king and his people.

The simplicity of the ancient times still continued in the palaces of our kings, but they were by this means more exposed to resolute attempts. It was an easy matter to seize the royal family, the ministers, and even the king himself: there was almost a certainty of success. The secret was kept inviolable by all the conspirators for near six months; at length it was discovered by the indiscretion of one of the chiefs named Renaudie, who divulged it in confidence to a lawyer of Paris, who discovered the whole plot, which nevertheless was carried into execution. The conspirators met at the place appointed as if nothing had happened; religious enthusiasm furnished them with a desperate obstinacy. These gentlemen were for the most part Calvinists, who made a duty of revenging their persecuted brethren. Lewis prince of Condé had openly embraced the new doctrine, because the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were catholics. This attempt was set on foot to bring about a revolution in church and state.

The Guises had hardly time to get together a body of troops. There were 1560. not fifteen thousand men enrolled in all the king-

kingdom: but they soon mustered a sufficient number to exterminate the conspirators, who, as they arrived in detached parties, were easily defeated. La Renaudie was killed fighting, and many others died like him, with their arms in their hands. Those who were taken died by the hands of executioners, and, for a whole month, nothing was to be seen in Paris but bloody scaffolds, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The conspiracy thus discovered, and the authors of it punished, only served to encrease that power it was meant to overthrow. Francis de Guise was invested with the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this very authority, and the restless ambition of his brother the cardinal, who endeavoured to introduce the inquisition into France, stirred up all ranks in the kingdom against them, and proved the sources of fresh troubles.

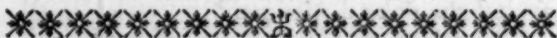
The Calvinists, who were still privately encouraged by the prince of Condé, took up arms in several provinces. The power of the Guises must certainly have been very formidable, seeing that neither Condé nor his brother, Anthony king of Navarre, father to Henry IV. nor the famous admiral Coligni, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of the infantry, dared to declare themselves openly. The prince of Condé was the first head of a party that ever seemed to wage civil war with fear and apprehension; he seemed ready to strike a blow, and would afterwards draw back again; and, imagining that he could always keep fair with a court that he meant to destroy,

he was so imprudent as to go to Fontainebleau in the character of a courtier, when he ought to have been in that of a general at the head of his party. The Guises caused him to be arrested at Orleans, and arraigned before the privy council and commissioners chosen out of the parliament, notwithstanding his privilege as a prince of the blood exempted him from being tried by any but the court of peers, and the parliament assembled. But what avails privilege against superior strength? or what indeed was a privilege of which there had been no precedent but in the violation of it, in the case of the criminal process formerly issued against the duke d'Alençon?

The prince of Condé then was condemned to be beheaded. The famous 1560
chancellor de l'Hôpital, a noble legislator, at a time when good laws were most wanted, and an intrepid philosopher, in an age of enthusiasm and fury, refused to sign the sentence. This example of undaunted courage was followed by the count de Sancerre, one of the privy council. Nevertheless the decree was going to be published, and the prince of Condé was on the point of falling by the hand of the executioner, when on a sudden the young king Francis II. who had been ill for a long time, and was infirm from his cradle, died at the age of seventeen, leaving his brother Charles, who was then only ten, an exhausted kingdom, rent in pieces by factions.

The death of Francis proved the deliverance of Condé; he was presently released from his confinement, after a feigned reconciliation had been effected between him and the Guises, which

which was no more than the seal of revenge and hatred, as indeed what else could it be. The estates were now assembled at Orleans, without whom nothing could be done in such a situation of affairs. These estates conferred the guardianship of the young king Charles IX. and the government of the kingdom on Catherine of Medicis, but not under the name of regent; they did not even give her the title of majesty, which had but very lately been assumed by kings. There are several letters from the sieur de Bourdeilles to Henry III. in which he only styles that prince "Your highness."



C H A P. CXLIII.

OF FRANCE, during the Minority of
CHARLES IX. and the Reign of HENRY
III.

DURING every royal minority, the ancient constitution of a kingdom always recovers some part of its vigour, at least for a time, like a family assembled together upon the death of the father. A general assembly of the states was held at Orleans, and afterwards at Pontoise: these estates deserve to have their memories preserved, for the perpetual separation they made between the sword and the long robe. This distinction was unknown in the Roman empire, even to the time of Constantine; their magistrates understood how to conduct armies, and their generals could decide causes.

causes. The sword and the law were, in like manner, lodged in the same hands in almost all the nations of Europe, till towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. By little and little these two professions were separated in Spain and France; though not absolutely so in the latter, notwithstanding the parliaments were composed only of the gentlemen of the long robe. The jurisdiction of the bailiffs, who were swordsmen, still continued the same as it was in several of the provinces of Germany, and on the frontiers of that empire. The estates of Orleans, convinced that the swordsmen could not confine themselves to the study of the law, took from them the administration of justice, and conferred it on the gownsmen, who were before only their lieutenants, or deputies. Thus they, who from their original institution had always been judges, ceased to be so any longer.

The famous chancellor de l'Hôpital had the principal share in bringing about this change, which was effected at the time of the nation's greatest weakness, and has since contributed to strengthen the hands of the sovereigns, by dividing for ever two professions which might, if united, have formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the ministry. Some have thought since, that the nobles could not preserve the charge of the laws entrusted to them; but such should reflect that the English house of lords, which is composed of the only nobles properly so called in that kingdom, is a fixed body of magistracy, who make the laws and administer justice. When we see these great changes in the constitution of a state, and observe other neighbouring governments who have

have not undergone these changes in the same circumstances, we may evidently conclude that the manners and genius of these people must have been different from those of the former.

At this assembly of the general estates, it appeared how very faulty the administration had been. The king was indebted upwards of forty millions of livres; money was wanted, and there was none to be had; this was the true cause of the troubles of France. Had Catherine of Medicis had wherewithal to have purchased good servants, and to have paid an army, the different factions which distracted the state might have been easily kept under by the royal authority. The queen-mother found herself placed between the catholics and the protestants, the Condés and the Guises. The constable of Montmorenci was at the head of a separate faction. Division reigned in the court, the city, and the provinces. Catherine could only negotiate, instead of reigning. Her maxim of dividing all parties, that she might be sole mistress, increased the troubles and misfortunes of the state. She began by appointing a conference to be held between the catholics and the protestants at Poissi *, which was subjecting the old religion to arbitration, and giving a great degree of credit to the Calvinist party, by setting them up as disputants against those who thought themselves rather entitled to be their judges.

* A little town in the isle of France, on the river Seine, about five leagues below Paris. It was the birth-place of St. Lewis, and formerly the royal residence.

At this time, when Theodore Beza and other protestant divines came to Poissy, in order to maintain their doctrines in a public manner before the queen, and a court who as publicly sung Marot's psalms, cardinal Ferrara arrived in France as legate from pope Paul IV. but being grandson to Alexander VI. by the mother's side, he was more despised on account of his birth, than respected for his place and merit; insomuch, that his cross-bearer was insulted even by the lacqueys of the court. Prints of his grandfather were fixed up in the public places through which he was to pass, with an account of the wicked and scandalous actions of his life. The legate brought with him one Laines, general of the order of Jesuits, who did not understand a word of French, and disputed at the conference in Italian, which tongue Catherine of Medicis had made familiar to the court, and it began to have a considerable influence on the French language itself. This Jesuit had the boldness to tell the queen at the conference, that she had no right to call this assembly, and that in so doing she had usurped the pope's authority. Nevertheless he disputed in this assembly which he found fault with, and said, in speaking of the eucharist, "That God was in place of the bread and wine, like a king who makes himself his own ambassador." This childish comparison excited a smile of contempt, as his insolent behaviour to the queen did the general indignation. Trifling things sometimes occasion great mischiefs; and in the situation of minds at that time, every thing helped the cause of the new religion.

The

January, 1562. The consequence of this conference, and of the intrigues that followed upon it, was the issuing of an edict, permitting the protestants to have preaching places without the city, and this edict of pacification proved the source of the civil wars. The duke of Guise, though removed from his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, still wanted to be its master: he was already connected with Philip II. and was looked upon by the people as the protector of the catholic religion. The grandees in those times never travelled without a numerous retinue; and not as they do now, in a post-chaise with two or three footmen only; they were always attended by an hundred horsemen: this was all their magnificence, for three or four of them lay in one bed; and when they were in waiting at court, they had only a sorry apartment to live in, without any other furniture than a few chests. The duke of Guise, as he was going through Vassi, a town on the borders of Champagne, came upon some Calvinists, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them by the edict, were singing psalms after their manner in a barn. His servants fell upon and insulted these poor people, killed about sixty of them, and wounded and dispersed the rest. Upon this there was a general rising of the protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guise. Catherine de Medicis fluctuated between both; nothing was seen on all sides but killing and plundering. The queen was then at Paris with the king her son, where, finding herself deprived

prived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This fatal letter was an order for continuing the civil war, which was prosecuted with the greatest inhumanity. Every town was become a fortified post, and every street a field of battle.

On one side were the duke of Guise and his brother, united by convenience 1562 with the faction of the constable of Montmorency, who was master of the king's person. On the other the prince of Condé, joined by the Coligni party. Anthony king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, a weak and irresolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was; jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged to serve against his will the duke of Guise, whom he detested, was dragged to the siege of Rouen, together with the queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis: he was killed at this siege, and deserves a place in history on no other account than that of being father to the great Henry IV.

The war, which continued without interruption till the peace of Vervins, was carried on after much the same manner as in the times of anarchy, at the decline of the second race, and the beginning of the third. There were very few regular troops on either side, excepting some companies of men at arms, belonging to the principal chiefs. Plunder was their only pay; and all that the protestant faction could scrape together, they employed in bringing over German troops to complete the destruction of the kingdom. The king of Spain on his side sent some few soldiers to the catholics, in order

to

to feed a flame which he hoped to turn to his own advantage, and thirteen Spanish companies marched to the relief of Montluc in Saintonge. These were, without contradiction, the most fatal times that the French monarchy had ever experienced.

1562 The first pitched battle between the catholics and the reformed was fought near Dreux *, wherein not only Frenchman engaged against Frenchman, but the royal infantry was chiefly composed of Swiss, as the protestant army was of Germans. This battle was remarkable by both generals being made prisoners; Montmorenci who commanded the king's army in quality of constable, and the prince of Condé who was at the head of the reformed army. The duke of Guise, who was second in command to the constable, gained the battle, and Condé's lieutenant, Coligni, saved his army. The duke of Guise was then at the height of his glory; always victorious wherever he came, and always repairing the errors made by the constable, his rival in authority, but not in fame. He was the idol of the catholics, and master of the court; he was affable, generous, and in every sense the first man in the kingdom.

1563 After his victory at Dreux, he went and laid siege to Orleans. This city was the center of the protestant faction, and he was on the point of reducing it when he was assassinated. The murder of this great man was

* A city in the isle of France, and one of the oldest in the kingdom; it is about forty miles distant from Paris.

the first which fanaticism had caused to be committed. These very Huguenots, who under Francis I. and Henry II. thought of nothing but worshipping God and suffering what they called martyrdom, were become the most furious enthusiasts, and studied the scriptures, only to find out examples of assassinations. Poltrot de Meré imagined himself another Aod, sent from God to kill a Philistine chief. This is so true, that his party made verses in his praise; and I myself have seen a print of him with an inscription extolling his crime to the skies. And yet his crime was that of a coward, for he pretended to be a deserter from the reformed party, and watched an opportunity to stab the duke of Guise into the back. He had the impudence to charge the admiral de Coligni, and Theodore de Beza, with having at least connived at his design; but he varied so much in his depositions, that he destroyed his own imposture. Coligni even offered to go to Paris to be confronted with this miscreant, and requested the queen to suspend the execution till the truth could be cleared up. It must be acknowledged that the admiral, tho' the leader of a faction, had never been guilty of the least action that could warrant a suspicion of so black a treachery.

It was not sufficient that the Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss were called in to help the French to destroy each other, the English were likewise sent for to join in the general ruin. Three thousand of them had been introduced by the Huguenots into Havre-de-grace, a seaport town built by Francis I. but the constable of Montmorenci, who had been exchanged for
the

the prince of Condé, after great difficulty drove them out again. These troubles were now succeeded by a momentary peace; Condé was reconciled to the court, but his brother the admiral still continued at the head of a powerful party in the provinces.

In the mean time Charles IX. having attained the age of thirteen years and one day, held his bed of justice, not in the parliament of Paris, but in that of Rouen; 1563 and it is remarkable, that his mother, when she resigned her commission of regent, kneeled to him.

A scene passed on this occasion, which is entirely without example; Odet de Châtillon, cardinal bishop of Beauvais, had, like his brother, changed to the reformed religion, and had taken a wife. The pope upon this struck him out of the list of cardinals, and he himself expressed a contempt for the title; but, in order to brave the pope, he assisted at the ceremony in his cardinal's habit; his wife was allowed to be seated in presence of the king and queen, as the wife of a peer of the realm; and was sometimes called "The countess of Beauvais, and sometimes "the cardinal's lady."

France was full of absurdities equally great. The confusion of the civil wars had destroyed all kind of government and decency. The church-livings were almost all in the possession of laymen; an abbey or a bishopric was given as a marriage-portion with a daughter: but these irregularities, now grown customary, were all forgotten in the bosom of peace, the greatest of all blessings. The Huguenots, who were
allowed

allowed the exercise of their religion, though they were still upon their guard, remained quiet; and the prince of Condé joined in the diversions of the court. But this calm was of short duration; the Huguenot party insisted upon too many sureties, and the government granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted a share in the administration; the cardinal of Lorraine, chief of a powerful and numerous house, aimed at holding the first post in the state; the constable of Montmorenci, who was an enemy to this family, retained his power, and shared in the authority of the court; the Colignis, and the other Huguenot chiefs, prepared to oppose the house of Lorraine. Every one strove to have a share in the dismembering of the state; the catholic clergy on one side, and the protestant ministers on the other, set up the cry of religion. God was their pretence; a thirst of rule, their God; and the people, intoxicated with fanaticism, were at once the instruments and the victims of the ambition of all these opposite factions.

The prince of Condé, who had attempted to rescue young Francis II. from the hands of the Guises at Amboise, now endeavoured to get Charles IX. into his own power, and take the city of Meaux from the constable of Montmorenci. This Lewis of Condé made exactly the same war, with the same stratagems, and on the same pretences, (religion excepted) which his name-sake Lewis the Great, prince of Condé, did afterwards, during the disputes of the league. The prince and the admiral fought the battle of

1567

Nov. 10,

1567.

St. Denis against the constable, who was mortally

tally wounded there, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a man equally intrepid at court and in the field, possessed of great virtues and great faults, unfortunate as a general, in disposition morose, capricious, and obstinate; but an honest man, and one of a noble way of thinking. It was he who said to his confessor, "Do you think that I have lived fourscore years to be at a loss to know how to die for one quarter of an hour?" His effigy in wax was carried, like those of the kings of France, to the church of Notre Dame, and the members of the supreme courts attended his funeral obsequies by order of the court; an honour which depends, as almost every thing of this kind does, on the will of the prince and the circumstances of the times.

This battle of St. Denis was indecisive, and the kingdom was only rendered more miserable by it. Admiral de Coligni, who was the most fruitful in resources of any man in his age, sent into the Palatinate for near ten thousand Germans, though he had no money to pay them with. It was now seen what a religious zeal, strengthened with a party-spirit, is capable of doing. The admiral's army taxed itself to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom was laid waste. It was no longer a war wherein one power assembles its forces against another, and gains the victory or is destroyed; there were as many different wars as there were towns; subject destroyed subject with the most bloody fury, and relation, relation. Neither the catholic, the protestant, the neutral, the priest, nor the mechanic, went to bed in safety. The ground lay untilled, or was manured

manured with sword in hand. A forced peace * now ensued; but every peace 1568 was only a smothered war, and every day was distinguished by murders and assassinations.

The war soon broke out again openly; and now it was that Rochelle became the center and principal seat of the reformed party, and the Geneva of France. This town is commodiously situated on the sea-coast, is become a flourishing republic, and was such at that time in some degree; for, after having been in possession of the kings of England ever since the marriage of Eleonora of Guienne with Henry II. it yielded obedience to Charles V. of France, on condition of being allowed to coin silver money in its own name, and that its mayors and sheriffs should be reputed noble. By these and several other privileges, together with an extensive trade, it was become tolerably powerful, and continued so till the time of cardinal Richelieu. It was strongly supported by queen Elizabeth; and its dominion at that time extended over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. who was at March 13, 1569. the head of the royal army with the title of general, though the marechal de Tavannes was so in reality, proved victorious. Prince Lewis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat, by Montesquiou, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou. Co-

* It was concluded at Longjumeau, and called *the little peace*, because it lasted only six months.

ligni, who was still called the admiral, though no longer in that post, rallied the remains of the conquered army, and made the victory useless to the royalists. Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow to the weak king Anthony, presented her son to the army, by whom he was acknowledged as head of their party; so that Henry IV. the best of all our French kings, was, as well as Lewis XII. a rebel before he ascended the throne. Admiral Coligni was the real head, both of the Huguenot party and of the army, and was like a father to Henry IV. and the princes of the house of Condé. He alone was the support of this unhappy cause: though in want of money, he kept an army on foot, found means to procure a supply of troops from Germany, though unable to pay them for their service; and, when defeated again at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the ¹⁵⁶⁹ duke of Anjou's army, he still repaired the losses of his party.

They had no uniform manner of fighting in those times. The German and Swiss infantry made use only of long spears, the French most commonly of muskets and short halberds; the German cavalry made use of pistols, and the French fought only with the lance. The strongest armies seldom exceeded twenty thousand men, nor could they afford to maintain a greater number. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thousand skirmishes in the different provinces.

At length, after numberless desolations, a new peace seemed to promise the kingdom a breathing

breathing time * ; but this peace only prepared the way for the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for above two years. It is hardly possible to conceive how a wo- 1570 man like Catherine of Medicis, brought up in the midst of pleasures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the least umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming so barbarous a resolution. It is still more surprising in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. The Guise faction had a great share in this horrid enterprize. Two Italians, the cardinal of Birague and the cardinal of Retz, were those who disposed the minds of the people for it. They gloried at that time in adopting Machiavel's maxims, especially that which teaches that no crime should be committed by halves. The best political maxim would have been not to commit any crime; but the manners of men had taken a ferocious turn from the continual civil wars they were engaged in, in despite of those pleasures and amusements with which Catherine of Medicis always entertained the court. This mixture of gallantry and ferocity, of pleasures and slaughter, forms the oddest picture in which the contradictions of human-kind were ever exhibited. Charles IX. who was not at all the soldier, was yet of a blood-thirsty disposition; and though he indulged himself with mistresses, he had a cruel heart. He is the first king who ever conspired

* This peace was concluded at St. Germain, in the month of August 1570, and was very advantageous to the protestants, which made their chiefs suspect some bad design.

against his subjects. The plot was laid with as deep dissimulation as the action itself was horrible. One thing alone might have given some suspicion; which was, that one day while he was diverting himself with hunting of rabbits in a warren, he said to his attendants, "Drive them all out, that I may have the pleasure of killing them all." Accordingly, a gentleman of Coligni's party left Paris in haste, and told the admiral at taking his leave, "That he was going to fly the place, because, said he, they make too much of us."

It is but too well known to Europe*, how Charles IX. married his sister to Henry of Navarre

* The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, who was afterwards Henry IV. and the princess Margaret, sister to Charles IX. the reigning king. The same pretence was used for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The admiral Coligni was invited by Charles, with a promise of declaring him general in a war against Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligni was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The admiral going home to his own lodgings, about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been presented to him, was wounded by a shot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for the purpose. The king visiting him in the afternoon, expressed the utmost concern for his disaster, and assured him he would take ample vengeance of the assassin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the scheme, which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this shocking enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the president Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers

varre in order to draw him into the snare, what oaths he made use of to gain his confidence, and with what cruelty he afterwards executed those massacres which he had planned for two years before. Father Daniel says, "That Charles IX. was an excellent *comedian*, and

ghers privately ; that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens should place lights in their windows, then break into the houses of the Huguenots, and put them all to the sword, without distinction. About midnight the duke of Guise, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes going up stairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court, at Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Tholouse, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin the prince of Condé were closeted by the king, who told them, that if they refused to embrace the Roman catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence (as he said) of a conspiracy against the catholics, the president, who was father of the celebrated historian Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct ; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligni was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

played his *part* incomparably well." I shall not repeat the circumstances attending this execrable tragedy, which are known to all the world, as that one half of the nation butchered the other, with a dagger in one hand and a crucifix in the other, while the king himself fired from a window upon the unhappy wretches who were flying for their lives. I shall only remark some few particulars; the principal is, if we believe the duke of Sully, Matthieu, and other historians, that Henry IV. had often told them, that playing at dice with the dukes of Alençon and Guise, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they saw, twice together, spots of blood upon the dice, upon which they quitted their game in the utmost consternation. Father Daniel, who has preserved this circumstance in his history, ought to have been well enough acquainted with physics, to know that the black points, when making a given angle with the rays of the sun, will appear red; this is known to every one who reads at all, and here was the whole of this surprising prodigy. There certainly was nothing miraculous in all this action, but that religious fury which made savage beasts of a people, who have since been of so mild and airy a disposition.

Father Daniel also relates, that when the dead body of Coligni was hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feed his eyes with this cruel spectacle, saying, "That the body of a dead enemy always smelt well." He should have added, that this was an old speech of Vitellius*, which has

* Abhorrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem, detestabili voce confirmare ausus est: *optime olens occisum hostem, et mortuus civem.* Sueton. in Vitel.

been attributed to Charles IX. But what is most worthy of observation is, that father Daniel would persuade us that these murders were not premeditated. Perhaps the time, place, and manner of the massacre, or the number of those to be proscribed, might not have been concerted for two years before; but it is certain, that the design of exterminating the party had been framed long before. The whole of Mezeray's account, who is a much better Frenchman than father Daniel, and much superior as an historian in the last hundred years of the monarchy, will not permit us to doubt of it; besides, Daniel contradicts himself, when he praises Charles IX. for being so good a *comedian*, and acting his *part* so well.

The manners of men, and the spirit of a party, discover themselves in the way of writing history. Daniel contents himself with saying, "that at Rome they praised the king for his zeal, and the dreadful punishment he inflicted on the heretics." Baronius says that "this action was necessary." The court gave orders for the same massacre in all the provinces as at Paris; but several of the commandants of those provinces, as St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Maçon, the viscount of Orme at Bayonne, and several others, refused to obey, and wrote to Charles IX. nearly in these terms; "That they would die for his service, but would not consent to murder any one for him."

These were times of such horror and fanaticism, or fear had taken such strong hold of all minds, that the parliament of Paris ordered a procession every year on St. Bartholomew's day, to give thanks to God for the extirpation of

the heretics. The chancellor de l'Hôpital was of a very different opinion when he wrote *excidat illa dies*, "Let that day be for ever erased." Accordingly there was no procession; and afterwards they were shocked at the thoughts of preserving the remembrance of an action that ought for ever to be buried in oblivion. But, during the heat of the affair, the court ordered the parliament to try the admiral after his death; and two gentlemen, his friends, Briguebaut and Cavagnes, were formally convicted, and drawn upon a sledge to the Greve, together with the admiral's effigy, and there executed. Thus did they complete this horrid scene, by adding the forms of justice to their inhuman massacres.

If there could be any thing more deplorable than this massacre, it was, that it proved the occasion of a civil war, instead of destroying the roots of these troubles. The Calvinists now determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. About sixty thousand of their brethren had been butchered in time of profound peace, and there still remained above two millions ready to carry on the war. Fresh massacres now followed on both sides. The siege of Sancerre was very remarkable. Historians tell us, that the reformed defended themselves in that town as the Jews defended themselves in Jerusalem against Titus; and like them were at last overpowered, after having suffered the same extremities, insomuch that a father and a mother were driven to make a meal upon their own child. The same is said to have happened afterwards in Paris, when that city was besieged by Henry IV.

In

In the midst of these disasters, the duke of Anjou, who had acquired some 1573 reputation in Europe by the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, was elected king of Poland. He considered this dignity only as an honourable exile. He was called to reside among a people whose language he did not understand, who were at that time looked upon in the world as little better than barbarians, and who, tho' they were not so miserable, so devoured with fanaticism, or so distracted with factions as the French, were at the same time much less civilized and polished. The duke of Anjou's private apenage* was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; it amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, and this distant kingdom to which he was going was so poor, that in the diploma of election it was stipulated, as an essential clause, that the king should lay out these one million two hundred thousand livres in Poland. Accordingly he repaired with an ill-will to take possession of his new dignity, and yet he seemed not to have much to regret in leaving France. The court he quitted was a prey to as many dissensions as the state itself. Every day brought new conspiracies real or imaginary, duels, murders, and imprisonments, without form or reason, and which were worse than the troubles which occasioned them. There were not so many illustrious heads brought to the scaffold as in England, but there were more private murders

* Lands set apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

committed, and they already began to grow acquainted with poison.

Nevertheless, when the ambassadors of Poland came to Paris to pay their homage to Henry III. the court gave them a most brilliant and delicately imagined entertainment, in which the genius and talents of the nation shone thro' the midst of all these horrors and calamities. Sixteen ladies of the court, representing the sixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a ballet, accompanied with machinery, presented the king of Poland and the ambassadors with gold medals, on which were engraved the productions peculiar to each province.

Henry had scarcely taken possession of the throne of Poland, when Charles IX. died, at the age of twenty-four years and one month, after having made his name odious to all the earth, at a time of life when the subjects of his capital were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary distemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This accident, which is not wholly without example, may have been caused by excessive fear, a violent transport of passion, or an overheated and atrabiliary constitution*; but it passed with the people, especially the protestants, for the effect of divine vengeance. An useful notion, did it put a stop to the wickedness of those who are powerful, or unfortunate enough not to be subject to the curb of the laws.

The instant Henry III. heard of his
1574 brother's death, he fled from Poland as

* More likely the effect of a putrid colligation of the blood, and a relaxation of the capillaries,

a man would fly from prison. He might have obtained the consent of the senate to have divided himself between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, of which there has been many examples: but he hastened from that savage nation to seek in his own country a train of miseries and a death as fatal as had ever yet been seen in France.

He quitted a country where the manners of the people, though rough, were simple; and where ignorance and poverty made their lives gloomy, but at the same time preserved them from being stained with great crimes. The court of France, on the contrary, was a mixture of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauchery, plots, superstition, and atheism. Catherine of Medicis, who was niece to pope Clement VII. had introduced a venality among all the places at her court, such as was practised at the pontiff's. Another invention which she imported with her from Italy was that of selling the king's revenues to certain farmers or purchasers, who advanced money upon them; an expedient which, though it may be useful for a time, is attended with lasting danger. The superstitious belief of judicial astrology, enchantments, and witchcrafts, were likewise fruits of her transplanting from her own country into France; for although the revival of the polite arts was in a great measure owing to the Florentines, yet they were very far from having any knowledge of true philosophy. The queen had brought over with her one Luke Gauric*, an astro-

* He was a native of Gesoni in the kingdom of Naples, who had made great progress in mathematics and judicial astro-

astrologer, a man who at this time of day would be despised, even by the populace, as a wretched juggler; but was then looked upon as a person of great consideration. There are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious some of the constellated rings and talismans of those times; as is that famous medal in which Catherine is represented naked, between the constellations Aries and Taurus, with the name *Ebulla Asmodea* over her head, holding a dart in one hand, and an heart in the other; and in the exergue the name *Oxiel*.

Never was the folly of witchcraft in so much credit as at that time. It was common to make figures of wax, which they pierced to the heart, pronouncing at the same time certain unintelligible words. By this they fancied they destroyed their enemies: nor were they in the least undeceived by the failure of success. One Cosmo Ruggieri *, a Florentine, being accused

astrology. He lived in high favour with pope Paul III. who raised him to the bishopric of Civita Ducale. He is said to have predicted, that Henry II. of France would be slain in a duel, or single combat. This prediction subjected him to the ridicule and contempt of the French court; but when it was verified, he came to be in great request with Catherine de Medicis.

* By making horoscopes at the court of France he obtained the abbacy of St. Mabé in Brittany. He was afterwards sent to the galleys for having been in a conspiracy against Charles IX. but soon released by the queen mother. He composed philtres and almanacks, and after a long absence appearing at the court of Henry IV. had the impudence to affirm that it was not he, but a certain gardener, who had been condemned in the preceding reign. He lived to an old age, and dying a professed atheist was denied christian burial.

of having practised against the life of Charles IX. by these pretended spells, was put to the torture. Another of these magicians was condemned to be burnt, who declared on his examination, that there were above thirty thousand of the same profession in France.

These madnesses were accompanied with numberless acts of devotion, and these again were intermixed with the most abandoned debaucheries. The protestants, on the contrary, who piqued themselves upon reformation, opposed the strictest severity of conduct to the licentious manners of the court. They punished adultery with death. Shews and games of all kinds were held in as much abhorrence by them as the ceremonies of the Romish church, and they put the mass almost upon the same footing with witchcrafts: so that there were two nations in France absolutely different the one from the other; and there was the less prospect of reunion, as the Huguenots had ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew entertained a design of forming themselves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. and Henry prince of Condé, son to that Lewis who was assassinated at Jarnac, were the heads of this party; but they had been detained prisoners at court ever since the time of the massacre. Charles IX. had offered them the alternative of changing their religion or suffering death. Princes who have seldom any other religion than that of interest, do not often choose to encounter martyrdom. Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Condé then had turned catholics; but at the death of Charles IX. Condé found means to make his escape, and
solemn-

solemnly abjured the Romish faith at Straßbourg: he afterwards took refuge in the Palatinate, and made use of his credit with the Germans to procure succours for his party, in the same manner as his father had formerly done.

Henry III. at his return to France had it in his power to settle matters in that kingdom; it was bathed in blood, it was divided on all sides, but it was not dismembered. It was still in possession of Pignerol, and the marquisate of Saluces, and consequently of all the ports of Italy. A few years of a tolerable administration might have healed the wounds of a nation where the land is fruitful and the inhabitants industrious. Henry of Navarre was still in the power of the queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, who had been declared regent of the kingdom, by Charles IX. till the return of the new king. The Huguenots only desired a protection for their religion and properties; and their scheme of forming a republic could never have prevailed against the royal authority resolutely exerted, and not carried to extremes. They might have been easily kept within bounds. Such at least were always the opinions and counsels of the wisest heads in the kingdom, such as the chancellor de L'Hôpital, Paul de Foix, Christopher de Thou, father of the authentic and eloquent historian, Pibrac, and Harlay; but the favourites, who thought to be gainers by a war, determined the king to prosecute violent measures.

No sooner was the king arrived at Lyons, than with the handful of troops which had been sent to meet him, he endeavoured to storm those towns, which by a little politic management he

might have quietly reduced to their duty. He might have perceived that he had taken a wrong step, when endeavouring to force a small town called Levron sword in hand, they called to him from the top of the walls, "Draw near, assassins; come on bloody murderers, you shall not find us asleep as you found the admiral."

He had not at that time money sufficient to pay the soldiers, who therefore disbanded of their own accord; and, happy in not being attacked upon the road, he went to Rheims to be consecrated, and from thence to Paris to make his entry under these melancholy auspices, and in the midst of a civil war, which his presence had revived, whereas it might have stifled it. He could neither curb the Huguenots, content the Catholics, check his brother the duke of Alençon, then duke of Anjou, manage his finances, nor discipline an army. He wanted to be absolute, and took no method of being so. He made himself odious by the shameful debaucheries he indulged himself in with his minions. He rendered himself contemptible by his superstitious practices and his processions, by which he thought to throw a veil over his infamy, and which only tended to expose it the more. He weakened his authority by his extravagance, at a time when he ought to have converted all his gold into steel. There was no police, no justice; his favourites were murdered before his face, or cut each other's throats in their quarrels. His own brother, the duke of Anjou, who was a Catholic, joined against him, with Henry of Condé, who was an Huguenot, and brought a body of Swiss into the king-

kingdom, while the prince of Condé entered it with an army of Germans.

During this anarchy, Henry duke of Guise, son to the late duke Francis, a rich and powerful nobleman, now become chief of the house of Lorraine, in France, possessed of all his father's credit, idolized by the people, and feared by the court, obliges the king to bestow the command of the armies on him. It was his interest to throw every thing into confusion, that the court might stand in need of his services.

The king demands a sum of money of his city of Paris. He is answered that it had already furnished within the last fifteen years, thirty-six millions extraordinary; that the country had been plundered by the soldiery, the city by the financiers, and the church by simony and bad conduct. In short, instead of supplies, he received only complaints.

In the mean time, young Henry of Navarre escapes from court, where he had hitherto been detained a prisoner. They might have apprehended him again as a prince of the blood, but they had no right upon his liberty as a king; such he actually was, of Lower Normandy, and of the Upper by right of inheritance. He goes to Guienne. The Germans, who had been called in by Condé, entered the province of Champagne. The duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was likewise in arms.

The devastations of the late reign are revived anew. The king then does that by a shameful treaty which he ought to have done as an able sovereign at his first accession: he concludes a peace, and he granted at the same time much
more

more than would have been demanded of him at first, namely, the free exercise of the reformed religion, with their churches, synods, and courts of justice ; to consist of one half catholics, and the other half protestants, in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Aix, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly disowns the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempts from taxes for six years, the children of all those who were killed in that massacre ; restores the memory of the accused admiral Coligni to its honours ; and, to compleat his own humiliation, submits to pay the German troops of the prince palatine Casimir, those very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to satisfy them, he permits them to live at discretion for three months in the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. At length he sends the sum of six hundred thousand crowns to Casimir, by his envoy Believre, who is detained by that prince as hostage for the payment of the remainder, and carried prisoner to Heidelberg, through which city Casimir orders the spoils of France to be carried in procession to the sound of trumpets, in open waggons, drawn by oxen with their horns gilded.

This low degree of infamy, to which the king was sunk, emboldened Henry duke of Guise to form the league which had been projected by his uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, and to raise himself upon the ruins of a miserable and ill-governed kingdom. The state now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guise was formed for them. He is allowed to have had
all

all the noble qualities of his father, with the most headstrong and designing ambition. Like him he enchanted all hearts; and it was said of the father and son, that in comparison with them all other princes appeared but as common men. He was extolled likewise for a generous and noble heart; but he gave no great proof of this, when in the street Betisi he trampled upon the dead body of admiral Coligni, which had been just thrown out of a window before his face.

The league was first set on foot in Paris. Papers were dispersed amongst the citizens, containing a project of association for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the state; or rather oppress at once both king, state, and religion. The league was afterwards solemnly signed at Peronne, and throughout the greater part of Picardy, and soon afterwards the rest of the provinces acceded to it. The king of Spain declared himself its protector, and it afterwards received the sanction of the popes. The king, pressed between the Calvinists, who demanded additional privileges, and the leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to strike a blow in politics, by signing the league himself, for fear it should crush him, and declared himself its chief, which inspired the members of it with double boldness. He now found himself, against his will, obliged to break the peace he had concluded with the reformed, without having any money to carry on a new war. He convoked a general assembly of estates at Blois, but they refused to grant him the supplies.

plies he demanded for this war, though they themselves had forced him into it. 1576
He could not even obtain leave to ruin himself by alienating his demesnes. However, he made shift to assemble an army by ruining himself in another manner, namely, by mortgaging the crown revenues, and creating new posts. Hostilities were now renewed on both sides, which were followed by another peace. The king was desirous of having money and troops, only that he might be in a condition of no longer fearing the power of the Guises; but as soon as the peace was concluded, he consumed his small resource in idle pleasures, feasting, and prodigalities, on his favourites.

It was difficult to govern such a kingdom otherwise than by money or arms. Henry III. could scarcely procure either the one or the other. We shall now see what difficulty he had to procure in his greatest need one million three hundred thousand franks of the clergy for six years, to get the parliament to verify certain money edicts, and with what eagerness this transient supply was devoured by the marquis d'O, comptroller of the finances.

Henry could not be said to reign. The catholic league and the protestant confederacy made war upon each other, in despite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diseases and famine were added to these scourges; and at this time of general calamity, in order to set up his own favourites against the duke of Guise, after having created Joyeuse and d'Epemon, dukes and peers, and given them precedence over their elder peers, he expended four millions on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse, with the

the sister of the queen his consort, and makes him his brother-in-law. New taxes were now raised to defray these prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afresh. Had the duke of Guise not made a league against the king, his conduct was sufficient to have produced one.

At this time too, his brother the duke of Anjou goes into the Netherlands, which were afflicted with equal desolations, in pursuit of a principality, which he lost by his imprudent tyranny. As Henry III. permitted his brother to put himself at the head of the malcontents in Flanders, and endeavour to wrest the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II. we may judge whether that monarch would support the league in France, which was every day gaining fresh strength. What then were the expedients which Henry thought fit to oppose against it? He instituted societies of penitents, he built monkish cells at Vincennes for himself and the companions of his pleasures: he made a shew of worshipping God in public, while he committed the most unnatural acts in private: he went clad in white sackcloth, with a discipline and a string of beads hanging at his girdle, and called himself friar Henry. Such a conduct at once exasperated and emboldened the leaguers. The pulpits of Paris publicly re-founded with censures against his infamous devotion. The faction of sixteen* was formed

* The faction of the sixteen was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of the town, and who had shared the administration of affairs among one another; they were staunch friends to the duke of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king.

under the duke of Guise, and nothing of Paris remained to the king but the name.

Henry de Guise, now become master of the catholic party, had already procured troops with the money of his adherents, and began to attack the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who like Francis I. was the most generous cavalier of his time, offered to terminate this mighty difference by fighting the duke of Guise singly, or with ten against ten, or with any number that he should chuse. He wrote to Henry III. his brother-in-law, remonstrating to him that the league was aimed much more against his crown and dignity, than against the Huguenot party; he pointed out to him the precipice on which he stood, and offered to deliver him at the hazard of his life and fortunes.

At this very time pope Sixtus V. fulminated that famous bull against the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, in which he calls them, "The bastard and detestable race of the house of Bourbon," and declares them to have forfeited all right of inheritance and succession. The league made their own use of this bull, and obliged the king to prosecute his brother-in-law, who endeavoured to assist him, and to protect and second the duke of Guise, who was dethroning him with respect. This was the ninth civil war since the death of Francis II.

Henry IV. (for we must already call him so, since that name is so famous and dear, and is become a kind of proper name) Henry IV. had at once upon his hands, the king of France, Margaret his own wife, and the league.

Mar-

Margaret, by declaring against her husband, revived the old barbarous times, when excommunications broke the ties of society, and made a prince execrable to his nearest relations. Henry now shewed himself the great man he was: he braved the pope even in Rome itself, caused papers to be fixed up at the corners of the high streets, in which he gave Sixtus V. the formal lye, and appealed from his bull to the court of peers.

He easily prevented his imprudent wife from seizing upon Agenois, which she attempted to do; and as to the royal army which was sent against him under the command of the duke of Joyeuse, all the world knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common soldier at the head of his troops, took several prisoners with his own hand, and shewed as much humanity and modesty after his victory, as he had shewn courage during the fight*.

This day gained him more reputation than it brought him real advantages. His army was not like that of a king, which is kept in pay, and always ready for service; it was that of the

* The duke de Joyeuse threw down his sword to two officers, and offered them one hundred thousand crowns for his ransom; but a captain called St. Herai, riding up at that instant, shot him dead with a pistol. His brother, the marquis de St. Sauveur, likewise lost his life. The Catholics were totally routed, with great slaughter; but Henry, instead of improving his victory, by advancing towards the Loire, and joining his German auxiliaries, or by reducing the provinces of Xaintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, and part of Anjou, where he would have met with little or no opposition, repaired to Bearn, to visit the countess of Grammont, at whose feet he laid all the standards which he had taken in the battle,

head of a party, and had no regular pay. The officers could not prevent their soldiers from returning home to gather in their harvests, and were obliged to retire themselves to their estates. Henry IV. has been accused of having lost the fruits of his victory by going to Bearn, to pay a visit to the countess of Grammont, of whom he was enamoured. These people do not reflect that his army might easily have acted in his absence, could he have kept it together. Henry of Condé, his cousin, a prince whose manners were as austere as those of Navarre were gay and sprightly, quitted the army as well as him, and retired to his estate, after having remained some time in Poitou, as did all the rest of the officers, after solemnly swearing to reassemble again by the twentieth of November. Such was the method of making war at that time.

But the prince of Condé's stay at St. John of Angeli was one of the most fatal events of these horrid times. After Jan. 1588 having supped with his wife Charlotte de la Trimouille, at his return he was seized with convulsions, which carried him off in two days. The judge of St. John of Angeli by his own authority committed the princess to prison, examined her himself, entered a criminal process against her, condemned a young page named Permillac de Belle-Castel for contumacy, and sentenced Brillaut the prince's *maitre de hotel* to be drawn asunder by four horses, in the town of St. John of Angeli, which sentence was afterwards confirmed by commissioners appointed by the king of Navarre himself. The princess, who was with child, appealed to the court of peers, who

declared her innocent, and ordered the proceedings against her to be burnt. It may be necessary in this place to refute the story which has been repeated by so many different writers, that this princess was delivered of the great Condé fourteen months after her husband's death, and that the Sorbonne was consulted concerning the child's legitimacy. Nothing can be more false; it has been sufficiently proved, that the young prince of Condé was born within six months after his father's decease.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the king's army at the battle of Coutras, the duke of Guise on his side, almost at the same time, routed an army of Germans, which was upon the march to join Henry, in which action he gave proofs of as great conduct as that prince had of courage. The unfortunate affair of Coutras, and the duke of Guise's reputation, proved two fresh subjects of uneasiness to the king of France. Guise, in concert with all the princes of his house, drew up a petition to the king, in which they requested of him the publication of the council of Trent, and the establishment of the inquisition; that he would order the estates of all the Huguenots to be confiscated, for the use of the heads of the league; that new places of security should be put into their hands; and that he would banish such favourites as they should name to him. Every article of this petition was a barefaced outrage upon the royal authority. The people of Paris, and especially the cabal of sixteen, publicly insulted the king's favourites, and were even wanting in a proper respect to his own person.

But

But the real administration of the state at that time is best shewn by a small circumstance, which proved the cause of that year's disasters. The king, in order to prevent the troubles which he saw were likely to arise in Paris, forbade the duke of Guise to enter that city. He wrote him two letters on this subject, which he ordered to be dispatched by two couriers; but there being no money in the treasury to defray this necessary expence, the letters were put into the post, and the duke of Guise arrives at Paris with the specious excuse that he had not received the order. This occasioned the battle of the Barricadoes*. It would be superfluous to repeat what has been said by so many historians relating to this affair. Every one knows that the king quitted his capital and fled before his subjects, and that he afterwards convoked the second assembly of estates at Blois, where he caused the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother to be assassinated†, after having

* The king having introduced six thousand troops into the city of Paris, with a view to over-awe, and perhaps to seize the malcontents of that capital, the burghers, under the conduct and direction of the duke of Guise, or his dependants, raised barricadoes in the streets as they advanced, firing upon the king's troops, who being obliged to abandon the city in disgrace, the king thought he was no longer safe at the Louvre, and fled to Chartres.

† When Henry, by the advice of his mother and a few counsellors, had resolved to take off the duke by assassination, he would have employed for this purpose Crillon, colonel of the guards; but that gallant officer rejected the proposal with disdain. He told the king he was a gentleman, and not an executioner; but that if his majesty would allow him to challenge the duke, he would do his endeavour to kill him fairly in single combat. Henry expressed no resentment

having taken the sacrament with them, and solemnly sworn upon the host to live in friendship with them for ever.

The laws are held so respectable and sacred, that had Henry III. only kept up the appearance of them, or if, when he had the duke and the cardinal in his power at Blois, he had, as he might have done, coloured his revenge with the forms of justice, his reputation and his life might have been safe: but the murder of a hero

at this refusal, but enjoining Crillon to secrecy, made the same proposal to Loignac, captain of the band of Gascon gentlemen, and he readily undertook the office. The duke of Guise had repeated intimations of some design against his life; but he told his friends he was too far advanced to retreat: he observed, that the king and he were like two armies facing each other, the first that turned their backs would run the risk of a defeat. The day that preceded his death, he found at table a note under his napkin, assuring him there was a design against his life. Having perused this intimation, he wrote with his pencil on the same paper, "They dare not," and threw it under the table. On the twenty-third day of December, in the year 1588, about eight o'clock in the morning, Revol, the secretary of state, told the duke of Guise that the king wanted to speak with him in his closet. He forthwith passed through the antichamber, and lifting up the hangings in order to enter the closet, was suddenly stabbed in six different places, by those individuals of the Gascon guard whom Loignac had selected for the purpose. He exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and falling dead on the floor, the king, who had with his own hands presented the daggers to the assassins, came out of the closet, and ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, then retired to wait till the rest of his orders should be executed. The cardinal de Guise with the archbishop of Lyons being in the antichamber, and hearing the duke's expiring groan, ran out in great consternation; but their escape was prevented by the Scottish guard: they were confined to different apartments, and next day the cardinal was murdered by the king's order.

and

and a priest made him execrable in the eyes of all the Catholics, without adding any thing to his power.

And here I think I am bound to rectify an error which is found in many of our books, especially in the State of France, a work which is frequently reprinted, and in which it is said that the duke of Guise was assassinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bedchamber; the orator Maimbourg also, in his History of the League, pretends, that Loignac, the principal of the murderers, was first gentleman of the bedchamber. All this is manifestly false. The registers of the chamber of accounts which escaped the fire, and which I have consulted, prove, that the marshal de Retz and the count de Villequier were taken from the number of gentlemen in ordinary, to be made first gentlemen of the bedchamber, a new post created by Henry II. for the marshal de St. André. These same registers likewise give the names of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bed-chamber, who were then of some of the principal families of the kingdom. They had succeeded in the reign of Francis I. to the place of chamberlains, and these latter to that of knights of the household. The gentlemen called the Forty-five, who assassinated the duke of Guise, were a new body formed by the duke of Epemon, and payed by the royal treasury on this duke's notes: and none of their names are found among the gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

Loignac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their accomplices, were poor Gascon gentlemen, whom Epemon had provided for the

king on this occasion. They were handy people, serviceable people, as they were called at that time. Every prince and great nobleman entertained one or more of these about him in those troublesome times. They were men of this stamp whom the Guises had employed to assassinate St. Megrin, one of Henry III.'s favourites. These practices were very different from the noble folly of ancient chivalry, and those times of generous barbarism, when all disputes were decided within lists by equal arms.

So strong is the force of opinion among men, that those murderers, who made no scruple of assassinating the duke of Guise in the most cowardly manner, refused to dip their hands in the blood of the cardinal his brother; and the contrivers of this bloody tragedy were obliged to employ four soldiers of the regiment of guards, who knocked him on the head with their halberds. Two days passed between the murder of the two brothers; this is an irrefragable proof that the king had time enough before him to have made some shew of justice, if ever so sudden.

Henry III. was not only wanting in the artifice necessary on this occasion, but he was likewise wanting to himself in not hastening immediately to Paris with his army. And though he told Catherine of Medicis, his mother, that he had taken all the necessary measures, he had only provided for his revenge, and not for the means of reigning. He remained at Blois uselessly employed in examining into the journals of the estates, while the cities of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, and Toulouse,

re-

revolted at one and the same time as it were by agreement. He was now looked upon as no other than an assassin, and a perjured wretch. The pope excommunicated him; and this excommunication, which at any other time would have been held in contempt, became now of the most dreadful consequence, as being joined to the public outcry for justice, 1589 and seeming to unite both God and man against him. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne in assembly declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance. The clergy refused absolution to such of their penitents as continued to own him for king. The cabal of sixteen committed to the Bastille those members of parliament who are most devoted to his interest. The duke of Guise's widow appears to demand justice for the murder of her husband and brother-in-law; and the parliament at the request of the procurator-general, appoints two of its counselors, Courtin and Michon, to draw up an indictment against "Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland."

This monarch had acted so blindly through the whole of this affair, that he had no army ready: he therefore sent Sancy to negotiate a supply of men from the Swiss, and had the meanness to write a letter to the duke of Mayenne, who was now at the head of the league, beseeching him to forget the murder of his brother. He likewise employed the pope's nuncio to speak to him; but Mayenne's answer was, "I never will forgive this miscreant." The letters which mention this negotiation are still preserved at Rome.

At length he is obliged to have recourse to that very Henry of Navarre, who was at once his conqueror and his lawful successor, and whom he ought from the first moment of the forming of the league to have taken for his support, not only as a person who was the most interested in the maintenance of the royal dignity, but as a prince whose generosity he was acquainted with, who had a soul far superior to the rest of his cotemporaries, and who would never have made an ill use of his presumptive right to the crown.

By the assistance of Navarre and the efforts of the rest of his party, he at length saw himself at the head of an army. The two kings now appear before the gates of Paris. It would be needless to recount how that city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I shall only observe with the president de Thou, that when the Dominican friar, James Clement*, a fanatic priest, who had been encouraged to this

* This desperate fanatic obtained admittance to the king at St. Cloud, by means of a letter with which he said he was charged by the president de Harlay, one of his majesty's friends at Paris. While Henry perused this letter, Clement pulled a knife out of his sleeve, and stabbing his sovereign in the belly, left it sticking in the wound. The king drew it forth with his own hand, and wounded the assassin in the eye; but he was immediately dispatched by the guards, who hearing the noise ran into the apartment, and the body was thrown out at the window. Henry expired next morning, after having declared the king of Navarre his successor. The council of sixteen, who governed Paris, in all probability knew of Clement's design; for that very morning, they imprisoned a great number of persons who were known to have relations in the king's army, that they might serve as hostages to save the life of the assassin, in case he should have been taken alive.

action by his prior Bourgoïn and the rest of his convent, full of the spirit of the league, and sanctified, as he thought, by the sacrament which he had taken, came to demand an audience of the king in order to assassinate him, Henry felt a secret pleasure in seeing him approach, and declared that his heart danced within him every time he saw a monk. I shall pass over the detail of what passed at Paris and Rome on this occasion; with what zeal the inhabitants of the first of these cities placed the picture of the regicide on the altars, how the guns were fired at Rome, and the monk's eulogium publicly pronounced. But it will be necessary to observe, that in the general opinion of the people, this wretch passed for a saint and a martyr, who had delivered the people of God from a persecuting tyrant, on whom they bestowed no other appellation than that of Herod. This man had devoted himself to certain death: his superiors, and all those whom he had consulted, had commanded him in God's name to do this holy deed. His mind was in a state of invincible ignorance, and he had an inward persuasion that he was going to offer himself a sacrifice for God, the church, and his country; in short, in the opinion of the divines, he was hastening to eternal happiness, and the king he murdered was eternally damned. This had been the opinion of some Calvinistical divines concerning Poltrot de Meré, and what the catholics said of the murder of the prince of Orange; and I remark the spirit of the times more than the facts, which are sufficiently known.

C H A P. CXLIV.

OF HENRY IV.

IN reading the history of Henry IV. by father Daniel, we are surpris'd at not finding him the great man. His character is but half drawn; there are none of those sayings which were the lively images of his soul, nor that speech which he made in the assembly of the principal citizens of Rouen, and which is worthy of eternal memory; nor yet any notice taken of the great good he did to his country. In short, father Daniel's reign of Henry IV. consists only of a dry narrative of military operations, long speeches in parliament in favour of the Jesuits, and the life of father Cotton.

Bayle, who is as erroneous and superficial, when he treats of historical and worldly matters, as he is learned and solid in his logical writings, begins his article of Henry IV. by saying, that "Had he been made an eunuch while he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and Cæsar." This is one of those things which he ought to have struck out of his dictionary; besides, his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition, for Cæsar was much more addicted to debaucheries than Henry IV. was to women, and we can see no reason why Henry should have surpassed Alexander. In fine, it is to be wish'd, for the example of kings, and the satisfaction of the people, that they would consult some better historian than Daniel, such as Mezeray's great history, *Perseux*,

refixe, and the duke of Sully, for what relates to the reign of this excellent prince.

Let us, for our private use, take a summary view of the life of this glorious prince, a life which was, alas! of too short a date. He was from his infancy brought up in the midst of troubles and misfortunes. He was present at the battle of Moncontour*, when he was but fourteen years old. He was recalled to Paris by Charles IX. and married to that king's sister only to see his friends murdered around him, to run the hazard of his own life, and to be detained near three years a prisoner of state. He escaped from his confinement only to undergo all the fatigues and vicissitudes of war; he was frequently in want of the common necessities of life, a continual stranger to rest, exposing his person like the meanest soldier, performing actions which are hardly credible, but by being so often repeated; witness that at the siege of Cahors in 1599, when he was five days successively under arms, and fighting from street to street, without taking a moment's rest. The victory of Coutras was principally owing to his courage, and his humanity after the victory was such as gained him every heart.

By the murder of Henry III. he became king of France; but religion served as a pretext for one half of the chiefs of his army to desert him, and for the leaguers to refuse to ac-

* Moncontour fought on the third day of October, in the year 1569, between the army of Charles IX. commanded by his brother the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. and the Huguenots, under the admiral de Coligny; which last were defeated with great slaughter.

knowledge him. They set up a phantom of a king in opposition to him, Vendôme cardinal of Bourbon; and the Spanish monarch, Philip II. who had gotten the mastery of the league by his money, already reckoned France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, Philip's son-in-law, invades Provence and Dauphiné. The parliament of Languedoc forbid any one to acknowledge him as king under pain of death, and declare him "Incapable of possessing the crown of France, agreeable to the bull of our holy father the pope."

Henry IV. had only the justice of his cause, his personal courage, and a few friends on his side. He never was in a condition to keep an army on foot for any considerable time; and what sort of an army was his! It hardly ever amounted to twelve thousand men complete; a less number than a detachment now-a-days. His servants took their turns to follow him into the field, and left him again after a few months service. The Swiss troops, and a few companies of spearmen, which he could with difficulty keep in pay, formed the standing force of his army. He was obliged to run incessantly from town to town, fighting and negotiating; and there is hardly a province in France where he did not perform some great exploits, at the head of an handful of men.

At first he fought the battle of Arques near Dieppe, with about five thousand men against the duke of Mayenne's army, which was twenty-five thousand strong; after that he carried the suburbs of Paris, and only wanted more men to make himself master of the city itself. He was then obliged to retreat, and to storm several fortified

fortified villages in order to open a communication with those towns which were in his interest.

While he is thus continually exposed to fatigues and dangers, cardinal Cajetan^{us} arrives as legate from Rome, and in the pontiff's name quietly gives laws to the city of Paris. The Sorbonne constantly declare against his sovereignty, and the league reigns in the name of the cardinal of Vendôme, to whom they gave the title of Charles X. and coin money in his name, while Henry detains him prisoner at Tours.

The monks and priests stir up the people, and the Jesuits run from Paris to Rome and Spain, to excite factions against him. Father Matthew, who was called the courier of the league, labours incessantly to raise bulls and armies to distress him. The king of Spain sends one thousand five hundred spearmen, fully accoutred, making in all about four thousand horsemen, and three thousand of the old Walloon infantry, under the command of count Egmont, son to that Egmont whom this king had beheaded. Then Henry rallies the few forces he could get together, and at length finds himself at the head of no more than ten thousand men. With this little army he fights the famous battle of Ivry*, against the leaguers commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and the

* Henry had actually invested Dreux, when, being informed that the duke de Mayenne was on his march to relieve it, he called a council of war, and told them; "Gentlemen, we must raise the siege; but it will be no dishonourable step, as we do it in order to give battle."

Spaniards, vastly superior in numbers, artillery, and all necessaries for a large army. He gains this battle as he had gained that of Coutras, by throwing himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and confronting a forest of spears. His words will be for ever remembered by posterity: "If you lose your colours, repair to where you see my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory." "Spare the lives of Frenchmen," cried he, when the victors were dealing death among the vanquished.

This victory was not like that of Coutras, where he had barely the superiority. He does not lose an instant in taking advantage of his good fortune. His army follows him with alacrity, and is reinforced on its march. But after all, he is able to muster no more than fifteen thousand men; and with this handful of troops he lays siege to Paris, in which there were at that time near two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. It is past doubt that he would have reduced the city by famine, had he not, by an excess of compassion, permitted his own troops to relieve the besieged. His generals in vain issued orders that no one, under pain of death, should presume to furnish the besieged with provisions; the very soldiers of his army sold them to them. One day that they were going to make an example of two peasants who had been detected in carrying two waggon-loads of bread to one of the posterns of the city, Henry chanced to meet them on the way to execution, as he was visiting the quarters: they immediately fell on their knees, and pleaded in excuse, that they had no other way of getting;

ting their livelihood : " Go your ways in peace," said the king, giving them at the same time all the money he had about him ; " The Gascon is poor ; had he more, he would give it you." A generous mind cannot refuse a few tears of admiration and tenderness on reading such passages.

While he was thus carrying on the siege, the priests were making continual processions clad in armour, with a musket in one hand and a crucifix in the other. The parliament, the supreme courts, and the citizens, took an oath on the Gospel, in presence of the legate and the Spanish ambassador, not to receive him for their king. But at length provisions began to fail, and the city suffered the most dreadful extremes of famine.

Philip sends the duke of Parma to the relief of Paris with a powerful army. Henry hastens to give him battle. Every one knows the letter which he wrote to Gabrielle d'Estree, (whose name has been rendered so famous thro' him,) from the field where he expected to come to an engagement : " If I die, says he, my last thoughts shall be on my God, and the last but those on you." The duke of Parma did not accept the battle he offered him ; he came only to relieve the city, and make the league more dependant on the king of Spain. To continue the siege with so few troops, in the face of so powerful an enemy, was impossible. Here then his successes were again retarded, and his former victories rendered fruitless. However, he prevents the duke of Parma from making any conquests ; and, by keeping close to him with his little army as far as the frontiers of Picardy,

Picardy, he obliges him to return back into Flanders.

No sooner is he delivered from this enemy, than pope Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati) makes use of the treasures amassed by his predecessor Sixtus V. to hire troops to send to the assistance of the league. The king had still the joint forces of Spain, Rome, and France, to encounter; for the duke of Parma, when he retreated, had left the duke of Mayenne behind him with an army of eight thousand men. One of the pope's nephews enters France with an army of Italians and letters of admonition, and joins the duke of Savoy in Dauphiny. Lesdiguières, the same who was afterwards the last constable of France, and the last of the powerful French nobles, beat the duke of Savoy's and the pope's armies. He, like Henry IV. made war with generals and soldiers who served only once, and yet he defeated these regular troops. Every one carried arms at that time in France, the peasant, the artificer, and the citizen; this ruined the kingdom, but at the same time it prevented its falling a prey to its neighbours. The pope's troops dispersed of themselves, after having committed such excesses as were till then unknown beyond the Alps. The country-people burnt the goats which followed their regiments.

Philip II. from his palace in Madrid continued to feed this flame, by constantly supplying the duke of Mayenne with a few succours at a time, that he might neither grow too weak nor too powerful, and by scattering his money thro' Paris in order to get his daughter, Clara Eugenia, acknowledged queen of France, with
the

the prince whom he should chuse to give her for an husband. With this view he sent the duke of Parma again into France, when Henry was besieging the city of Rouen, as he had done during the siege of Paris. He promised the league that he would send an army of fifty thousand men into the kingdom, as soon as his daughter should be declared queen. Henry quits the siege of Rouen, and drives the duke of Parma again out of France.

In the mean time the faction of the fifteen, who were in Philip's pay, were very near completing that monarch's scheme, and the ruin of the kingdom. They had caused the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two of the principal magistrates, to be hanged for having opposed their contrivances. The duke of Mayenne, who saw himself on the point of being overpowered by this faction, had caused four of them to be hanged in return. In the midst of these divisions and horrors, the general estates were convoked at Paris, under the direction of the pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador; the legate himself sate as president in the chair of state, which was left empty, to denote the place of the king they should elect. The Spanish ambassador had likewise a seat in this assembly. He harangued against the Salique law, and proposed the infanta for queen. The parliament of Paris presented a remonstrance to the duke of Mayenne in favour of this law; but who does not perceive that this remonstrance had been previously concerted between the parliament and the duke? Would not the nomination of the infanta to the crown have deprived him

him of his office? and would not the proposed marriage of this princess with his nephew the duke of Guise, have made him the subject of a person whose master he was desirous of remaining?

During the sitting of this assembly, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it. He had some few friends in the city, and there were several true citizens, who, wearied with their sufferings and the yoke of a foreign power, sighed after peace; but the people were still biased by religion. The dregs of the people in this case gave law to the nobles, and the wisest men of the nation; they were blindly led, and fanatic; and Henry was not in a condition to imitate the examples of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth. It was necessary therefore to change religion, which is always disagreeable to a noble soul. The laws of honour, which ever remain the same among a civilized people, however other things may alter, always affix a kind of infamy to such a change, dictated by interest; but this was so great, so general a concern, and so connected with the good of the kingdom, that the best servants the king had among the Calvinists advised him to embrace a religion which they themselves detested. "It is necessary, said the duke of Sully to him, that you should become a papist, and that I should remain a protestant." This was all that the league and the Spanish faction had to fear; the names of heretic and apostate were the principal arms they had against Henry, which his conversion would render useless.

less*. It was necessary for him to be instructed by the bishops, for form's sake; for in fact he knew more of the matter than those who pretended to instruct him. His mother had carefully brought him up in the knowledge of both the Old and New Testament, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and all his conversations turned upon controversial points in religion, as well as upon war and love. Quotations from scripture, and allusions to the sacred writings, formed what we call the *bel esprit* of those times; and the Bible was so familiar to Henry, that at the battle of Coutras, when he made one of the enemy's officers, named Chateau Renard, prisoner with his own hand, he cried out to him in the scripture-phrases, "Yield, Philistine."

We may sufficiently perceive what he himself thought of his conversion, by his letter to the fair Gabrielle †, in which he says, "To-morrow

* In the year 1592 the king heard mass at St. Denis, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges, in consequence of which a truce of three months was proclaimed, to the no small mortification of the leaguers; some of their preachers declaring from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's conversion, though published by an angel from heaven. Their harangues instigated one Pierre Barrier, a waterman, to undertake the assassination of the king; but he was discovered by an honest friar, one Seraphin Branchi, whom he consulted about the means of execution. He was apprehended at Meulan, and confessing his intention, put to death. The king had a very narrow escape from the poignard of this desperate fanatic; for, having occasion one day to alight upon the road, he gave this Barrier his horse to hold, supposing him to be a peasant.

† This lady was daughter of Anthony d'Estrées, seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery, and a man
of

morrow is the day that I am to take the adventurous leap. I believe these people will make me hate St. Denis as much as you hate —.” It is sacrificing truth to a false delicacy, to pretend, as father Daniel does, that Henry IV. had been a catholic in his heart long before his conversion. His conversion doubtless secured his eternal welfare, but it added nothing to his right to the crown.

In the conferences which he held, he made himself personally admired and esteemed by all who came from Paris to see him. One of the deputies, surprised at the familiarity with which

of a good character. He endeavoured as much as lay in his power to prevent her amours with Henry, which began in the year 1591; but these endeavours were baffled by her own inclination, and the management of her aunt, madame de Sourdis, who assisted the intrigue. Gabrielle is mentioned in history by the different names of mademoiselle de Cœuvres from her father's title; madame de Liancourt, or de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas D'Amerval, seigneur de Liancourt, and de la Roche Guyon; marchioness de Monceaux, and dutchess of Beaufort, from the titles bestowed upon her by the king. Tho' she was a weak woman, she had gained an absolute ascendancy over the mind of Henry, whom the love of this woman betrayed into a thousand dangers and indiscretions, that greatly prejudiced his character; she even aspired to the dignity of queen, although his queen Margaret was then alive; and he weakly countenanced this ambition. He even sent monsieur de Sillery to Rome, to solicit a divorce; and how far he might have carried his folly in this particular is not easily determined, had not death interposed and taken her off suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. By this lady Henry had two sons and a daughter, namely, Cæsar duke of Vendosme, Alexander grand prior of France, and Catherine Henrietta, who married Charles de Lorraine.

his

his officers behaved towards him, who crouded about him so as hardly to leave him room; "You see nothing here, said he, they croud much more about me in the day of battle." In short, after having taken the city of Dreux before he had learnt his new catechism, having made his abjuration in the church of St. Denis, having been anointed at Chartres, and having taken care to keep up a good correspondence in Paris, where there was at that time a garrison of three thousand Spaniards, besides Neapolitans and Lansquenets; he entered that city as its king, with fewer soldiers than there were foreigners on the walls to be spectators of his entry.

Paris had not beheld nor owned a king for above fifteen years. This revolution was brought about by two persons only, the marechal of Brissac, and an honest citizen, whose name was less illustrious, though his soul was equally noble; this was a sheriff of Paris, named L'Anglais. These two restorers of the public tranquillity soon got the magistrates and the principal citizens to join with them. They had taken their measures so well, and so artfully imposed upon the legate, cardinal Pellevé, the Spanish officers, and the faction of sixteen, and kept them so well within bounds, that Henry IV. entered his capital almost without bloodshed. He sent all the foreigners home, though he might have made them prisoners, and pardoned all the leaguers.

Several cities followed the example of Paris: nevertheless, Henry was still far from being master of the kingdom. Philip II. whose design had been always to make himself necessary

to the league, had hitherto hurt the king but by halves, but now he injured him in more than one province. Deceived in his expectation of reigning over the kingdom of France under his daughter's title, he now thought of nothing but dismembring it; and it seemed very probable that this kingdom would have been reduced to a worse state than when the English were in possession of one half of it, and particular nobles tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guise, son of Balafre, had Rheims, and a part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur possessed Britany; and the Spaniards Blavet, which is now Port Louis. Even those who had been chief officers under Henry, aimed at becoming independent: and the Calvinists, whose party he had quitted, fortified themselves against the leaguers, and began to contrive means for resisting the royal authority. Henry was forced to recover his kingdom foot by foot, partly by intrigue and partly by force; and notwithstanding his being master of Paris, his authority was for some time so weak, that pope Clement VIII. continued to refuse him absolution, of which he would not have stood in need in less troublesome times. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents; and in short the Roman Catholic part of the populace, were so possessed with the fury of fanaticism, that scarce a year passed without some attempt against his life. He was continually employed in fighting against one or another head of a party, in subduing, pardoning, negotiating, and purchasing the submission of his enemies. Would one think that it cost him two millions of the currency of those times to satisfy

satisfy the claims of the *grandeess*? and yet the duke of Sully's Memoirs prove it beyond contradiction; and that he punctually fulfilled all these pecuniary engagements when he came to the absolute and quiet possession of his kingdom, and might have refused to pay the price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not make his peace with him till the year 1596. Henry was sincerely reconciled to him, and made him, governor of the isle of France. One day that he had wearied the duke in walking with him, he said, "Cousin, this is the only injury I will do you whilst I live;" in which he kept his word, as he did with every one.

He at length recovered his kingdom, but in a poor and shattered condition, to the full as bad as it had been in the reigns of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. Several of the high roads were over-run with briars, and new paths struck out across the countries, which lay neglected and uncultivated. Paris, which at present contains upwards of seven hundred thousand inhabitants*, had not then above one hundred and eighty thousand†. The public finances, which had been dissipated under the reign of Henry III. were now only the remains of the blood of the people openly trafficked for

* At that rate Paris must be more populous than London, which, by the best and latest calculations, contains about six hundred thousand inhabitants.

† At the time that Paris was besieged by Henry IV. in 1590, there were two hundred and twenty thousand souls in that city: in 1593 there were but one hundred and eighty thousand.

between the officers of the treasury and the king's farmers.

The queen of England, the grand duke of Florence, the German princes, and the Dutch, had lent him money to support himself against the league and the courts of Rome and Spain. To pay these just debts, the general receipts and the demesnes were made over to the collectors of these foreign powers, who had the management of all the revenues of the state in the heart of the kingdom. Several chiefs of the league who had sold the king that fidelity they owed to him, had likewise receivers of the public revenues in their name, and shared amongst them this part of the royal prerogative. Those who farmed these alienated dues, exacted three, nay four times their value from the people, and what remained to the king were managed in the same manner; and at length when the general depredation obliged Henry to commit the whole management of the revenues into the hands of the duke of Sully; that minister, whose knowledge was equal to his integrity, found in 1596, that above one hundred and fifty millions were raised upon the people, to bring about thirty into the king's treasury.

Had Henry IV. been only the bravest, most merciful, most upright, and most honest man of his age, his kingdom must have been infallibly ruined. It required a prince who knew equally well how to make war and peace, who was acquainted with all the wounds of his kingdom, and the remedies to be applied to them; who was capable of attending to the most important and most trivial affairs, of re-
forming

forming whatever was amiss, and of doing every thing that could be done ; all these qualifications met in Henry IV. To the policy of Charles the Wise, he added the openness of Francis I. and the goodness of Lewis XII.

To provide for all these pressing wants, and to carry on so many different negociations and wars, Henry found it necessary to call an assembly of the chief men of the kingdom at Rouen ; this was a kind of general estates. The speech he made to this assembly is still fresh in the memory of every good citizen, who is the least acquainted with the history of his own country. It was as follows :

“ Already, by the blessing of heaven, the advice of my faithful servants, and the swords of my brave nobles, among whom I also include my princes, as the quality of gentleman is our fairest title, I have extricated this kingdom from servitude and ruin. I am now desirous to restore it to its antient splendor ; I invite you therefore to partake in this second glory, in like manner as you had a share in the first. I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you to approve blindly of my will, but to receive your advice, to confide in it, to follow it, and to put myself entirely into your hands. Such an intention has seldom been found in kings, in conquerors, or in grey-beards ; but the love I bear to all my subjects, makes every thing possible and honourable to me.” This eloquence, which flowed from the heart of an hero, far transcends all the boasted harangues of antiquity.

In the midst of all these toils and dangers, the Spaniards surpris'd the city of Amiens, which

the inhabitants attempted to defend themselves. This fatal privilege, which belonged to them, and which they made so bad an use of, served only to subject their city to plunder, to expose all Picardy, and to give new courage to those who attempted to dismember the kingdom. Henry at the time of this fresh misfortune was in want of money, and in an ill state of health; nevertheless he assembles a few troops, marches to the borders of Picardy, flies back again to Paris, and writes a letter with his own hand to the parliaments and principal communities, "For necessities to feed those who defended the state;" these are his own words. He goes in person to the parliament of Paris; "Give me but an army, says he, and I will joyfully lay down my life to defend you, and succour the kingdom." He proposed the creation of new posts, in order to raise the speedy supplies that were wanting; but the parliament, looking upon these resources as an additional calamity to the nation, refused to verify the edicts, and the king was obliged to issue several mandatory letters before he could procure means to lavish his blood at the head of his nobility.

At length by loans, and the indefatigable pains and oeconomy of Roni duke of Sully, that worthy servant of so illustrious a master, he found means to assemble a fine army, which was the only one for upwards of thirty years that had gone to the field provided with all necessities, and the first that had a regular hospital, in which the sick and wounded were taken care of, in a manner to which they had hitherto been strangers. Before that every company had taken care of its wounded men as well as it could,

could, and as many had been lost through the want of proper care as by the fortune of arms.

He now retook Amiens, in sight of the archduke Albert, and obliged him to retire. From thence he hastened to suppress the troubles in other parts of the kingdom, till at length he saw himself master of all France. The pope, who had refused him absolution when he was but weakly established, granted it to him as soon as he saw him victorious. Nothing now remained but to make peace with Spain, which was concluded at Vervins; and this was the first advantageous treaty that France had made since the time of Philip Augustus.

He now employed all his endeavours to polish and aggrandize the kingdom he had conquered. He disbanded the useless troops, he substituted order and decorum in the public revenues, in the room of the hateful rapine which had hitherto prevailed in them. He paid off the debts of the crown by degrees, and without stripping the people. The peasants to this day repeat a saying of his, which, though trifling in itself, shews a fatherly tenderness, that he wished "they had a chicken in the pot every Sunday." He made an improvement in the administration of justice, and, what was still more difficult, he brought the two religions to live peaceably with each other, at least in appearance. Commerce and the arts were held in honour. The manufactories for gold and silver stuffs, which had been forbidden by a sumptuary edict, in the beginning of a troublesome and necessitous reign, were now revived with double lustre, and enriched the city of Lyons and all France. He also established ma-

nufactories for raised work in tapestry, both of woollen and silk, interwoven with gold. And they began to make small plate glasses, after the manner of those at Venice. It was to him alone that the nation was indebted for its silk-worms, and the planting of mulberry-trees, against the opinion of the great Sully, who excelled in his faithful and expert management of the finances, but was no friend to new inventions. Henry likewise caused the canal of Briare to be dug, by which the river Seine is joined to the Loire. He beautified and enlarged the city of Paris, made the place royal, or king's square, and repaired all the bridges. The suburb of St. Germain did not at that time join to the city, and was not paved; the king undertook to do this, and built that beautiful and noble bridge where the people still behold his statue with an affectionate remembrance. He enlarged, and in a manner rebuilt the royal palaces of St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre, particularly the latter; and appointed apartments in the long gallery of the Louvre, which he built himself, for artists in all branches, whom he not only encouraged by his protection, but frequently rewarded. Lastly, he was the real founder of the royal library.

When don Pedro of Toledo was sent as ambassador to Henry by Philip III. he hardly knew that city again, which he had formerly seen in so unhappy and languishing a condition. "The reason is, said Henry to him, that at that time the master of the family was absent, but now that he is at home to take care of his children, they thrive and do well."

The

The gaities and diversions which had been introduced at court by Catherine of Medicis, in the midst of the troubles, were under Henry IV. the ornaments of a peaceful and happy reign.

By rendering his own kingdom thus flourishing, he became the arbiter of others. The popes never imagined, in the time of the league, that the Gascon would one day become the pacificator of Italy, and a mediator between them and the state of Venice, and yet Paul V. was very glad to apply to him for his assistance to extricate him from the unadvised step he had taken in excommunicating the doge and senate of Venice, and laying the whole republic under an interdict, on account of certain lawful rights which the senate maintained with its accustomed vigour. Henry was made arbiter in this dispute; and he whom the popes had excommunicated, now obliged them to take off the excommunication from Venice*.

He

* Father Daniel relates a particular circumstance which appears very extraordinary, and which is related by no other author. He says, that Henry IV. after having reconciled the pope and the republic of Venice, spoilt the agreement himself, by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris, an intercepted letter of a minister of Geneva, in which this minister boasts that the doge of Venice, and several of the senators, were protestants in their hearts, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of declaring themselves; that father Fulgentio, of the order of the Servites, the companion and friend of the famous Sarpi, so well known by the name of Fra Paolo, "laboured with much success in this vineyard." He adds, that Henry IV. ordered his ambassador to shew this letter to the

He protected the infant-republic of Holland, supplied it with money from his private purse, and contributed not a little in making the court of Spain acknowledge it a free and independent state.

His reputation was now established both at home and abroad, and he was esteemed the greatest man of his age. The emperor Ro-

senate, only striking out the doge's name. But after Daniel has related the substance of this letter, in which Fra Paolo's name is not to be found, yet he says that this Fra Paolo was mentioned and accused in the copy of the letter shewn to the senate. He does not name the minister who wrote this pretended intercepted letter. It is likewise to be observed that the Jesuits are concerned in this letter, who had been banished from the republic of Venice. In short, father Daniel makes use of this story, which he ascribes to Henry IV. as a proof of that prince's zeal for the catholic religion. It would have been an odd zeal in Henry to throw dissention into the midst of the Venetian senate, who were his best allies, and to mingle the despicable personage of an incendiary with the glorious one of a peace-maker. It is very possible that there might be a real or fictitious letter from a Genevan minister, and that this letter produced some little intrigues quite foreign to the great objects of history; but it is not in the least probable that Henry IV. should have descended to the meanness which Daniel pretends to honour him for; adding, "That whosoever has connections with heretics, is either of their religion, or of no religion at all." This odious reflection is even against Henry IV. who had the most connections with the reformed of any man of his time. It is to be wished that father Daniel had entered more minutely into the administration of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, rather than have descended to all these trifling circumstances, which shew more partiality than equity, and unfortunately discover the author to be more of a Jesuit than a citizen. The count of Eoulainvilliers is much in the right when he says, that it is almost impossible that a Jesuit should ever write a good history of France.

dolph

dolph was only famous among philosophers and chymists. Philip II. had never fought a battle, and was after all only an indefatigable, gloomy, and dissembling tyrant; and his prudence was by no means to be compared with the courage and openness of Henry IV. who with all his vivacity was as deep a politician as himself. Elizabeth had acquired a great reputation; but not having had the same difficulties to surmount, she could not challenge the same glory. That which she really deserved was dimmed by the double dealings with which she was accused, and stained by the blood of Mary queen of Scots, which could never be washed away. Sixtus V. had raised himself a name by the obelisks which he had caused to be raised, and the noble monuments with which he beautified Rome. But exclusive of this merit, which is far from being of the first rank, he would never have been known to the world otherwise than for having obtained the pontificate by fifteen years of continual falsity, and a severity which even bordered upon cruelty.

Those who still reproach Henry so bitterly on account of his amours, do not reflect that his weaknesses were those of the best of men, and that they never prevented him from attending to the good government of his kingdom. This he gave sufficient proofs of when he made preparations for acting as the arbiter of Europe, in the affair relating to the succession of Juliers. It is a ridiculous calumny in le Vassor, and some other compilers, to assert that Henry engaged in this war only on account of the young princess of Condé: we should rather believe the duke of Sully, who candidly owns the

weaknesses of this monarch, and at the same time proves that the king's great designs had not the least connection with any love affair. It certainly was not on the prince's of Conde's account that Henry made the treaties of Quiérasque, secured all the Italian powers, and the protestant princes of Germany in his interest, and proposed to put the finishing hand to his glory, by holding the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand men. He had forty millions in reserve, immense preparations, sure alliances, skilful generals formed under himself; the protestant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the Netherlands ready to second him; every thing seemed to promise certain success. The pretended division of Europe into fifteen principalities is known to be an idle chimera that never entered his head*. If he had

* If we may believe the duke de Sully, it certainly entered his head, and was the object of his perpetual meditation. He imagined that the states of Europe might be united into a kind of christian common-wealth, the peace of which might be maintained by establishing a senate by which all differences should be determined; and he conceived that such a confederacy might easily overturn the Ottoman power. The number of the states to be thus united was fifteen, namely, the papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States General, the Swiss cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, to consist of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to reduce these states to a sort of political equality, he proposed that the empire should be given to the duke of Bavaria; Naples, to the pope; Sicily, to the Venetians; Milan, to the duke of Savoy, who should become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries,

had ever entered upon a negociation relating to so extraordinary a design, we should have found some traces of it either in England, in Venice, or in Holland, with whom it is supposed that Henry concerted matters for this revolution; but there is no such thing, and this project is neither true nor likely: but by his alliances, his arms, and his oeconomy, he was on the point of altering the system, and of rendering himself the arbiter of Europe. In a word, he compleated the career of his glory.

Were we to give this faithful description of Henry IV. to a stranger of good understanding, who had never heard him spoken of before, and were to conclude with telling him, that this is the man who was assassinated in the midst of his people, and whose life had been several times attempted, and that by men to whom he had never done the least injury, he would not believe it.

It is a very deplorable thing, that the same religion which enjoins the forgiveness of injuries, should have occasioned so many murders to be committed, and this only in consequence of the maxim, that all who think differently from us are in a state of reprobation, and that we are bound to hold such in abhorrence.

to the Dutch; Franche Comté, Alsace, and the country of Trent to the Swiss. After all, this was a visionary scheme, which could not have been executed without involving all Europe in war and confusion: for how well soever it might have been relished by those states who were to be gainers by it, it must have been obstinately opposed by all the powers that were to be dismembered, especially the house of Austria, which Henry without all doubt intended to crush.

It is still more strange, that the catholics did not conspire against the life of this excellent king till after he became a catholic. The first who made an attempt upon his life at the very time that he was making his abjuration at St. Dennis, was a wretch from the dregs of the people named Peter Barriere. He had some scruples when the king had made his abjuration; but was confirmed in his design by a few of the most furious of the leaguers, namely, Aubri, curate of St. Andrew des Arts, a capuchin friar, a regular priest, and Varade rector of the Jesuits college. The famous Stephen Paquier, advocate general to the chamber of accounts, declares that he was informed from the mouth of this Barriere himself, that he had been encouraged to this action by Varade. This accusation receives an additional degree of probability from the flight of Varade and Aubri, who took refuge at the cardinal legate's, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome, at the time that Henry IV entered Paris. And what renders this probability still more strong is, that Varade and Aubri were afterwards quartered in effigies by an edict of the parliament of Paris, as we find related in the journal of Henry IV. Father Daniel uses unpardonable endeavours to disculpate the jesuit Varade; whereas, the curates take no pains to justify the unwarrantable violence of the curates of those times. The Sorbonne acknowledges the detestable decrees it issued; the Dominicans still agree that their brother Clement assassinated Henry III. and that he was instigated to this murder by the prior Burgoin. Truth is superior to every consideration and regard, and it

is the voice of truth that no churchman of the present time is obliged to answer for, or blush at the bloody maxims and barbarous superstition of their predecessors, since there is not one of them who does not hold them in abhorrence: it only preserves the remembrance of these crimes, to the end that they may never be imitated.

So universal was the spirit of fanaticism at that time, that a weak Carthusian friar, named Owen, was persuaded that he should gain a quicker admittance into heaven by murdering Henry IV. This unhappy wretch was shut up in a mad house by his superiors. In the beginning of the year 1599, two Jacobine friars of Flanders, the one named Arger, and the other Ridicovi, originally of Italy, resolved to revive the action of their brother James Clement: the plot was discovered, and their lives paid the forfeit of a crime they did not commit. Their punishment did not deter a capuchin friar of Milan, who came to Paris with the same design, and was hanged like them.

The attempt made by John Chatel is the strongest proof we can have of the mad spirit which reigned at that time: born of an honest family, of rich parents, who brought him up well, young, and void of experience in the world, not having quite attained his nineteenth year, it was impossible that he should have formed this desperate resolution of himself. We know that he wounded the king with a knife in the Louvre, but struck him only on the mouth, because this good prince, who had a custom of embracing all his servants whenever they came to pay their court to him after a long absence,

was at that time stooping to embrace Montigni*.

He persisted at his first examination, "That he had done a meritorious action, and that the king not having yet received absolution from the pope, he might kill him with a safe conscience." This alone is sufficient to prove that he was seduced to commit this crime.

He had long been a student in the Jesuits college. Amongst all the dangerous superstitions of those times, there was one very well calculated to delude minds, this was the meditating chamber, in which a young man was shut up: the walls were painted with figures of devils, torments, and flames, and lighted with a dim taper: weak and susceptible imaginations have frequently been struck with these horrors even to madness; and it was with this kind of madness that the unhappy wretch we have mentioned was seized, and thought that he should redeem his soul from hell by assassinating his sovereign.

It is beyond doubt that the judges would have been wanting in their duty had they neglected to examine the Jesuits papers, especially after John Chatel had owned that he had often heard it said among these monks, that it was lawful to kill the king.

* The blow was struck with such a force as to beat out one of the king's teeth, though it was certainly intended for his throat. The count de Soissons, who stood by the king, perceiving a young man change colour, and endeavour to escape, laid hold of him, saying, "Friend, either you or I have wounded the king." He was the son of Peter Chastell, a rich draper, a person of very weak intellects, driven to a kind of religious despair.

They found among the papers of the professor Guignard, these words written with his own hand, "That neither Henry III. Henry IV. queen Elizabeth, the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, were real kings; that Henry III. was a Sardanapalus; the Gascon a fox; Elizabeth, a she-wolf; the king of Sweden, a griffin; and the elector of Saxony, a hog." This was called eloquence. "James Clement, adds this writer, did an heroic action, and was inspired by the Holy Ghost. If war can be made upon the Gascon, make war upon him, if not, let him be assassinated."

It is very strange that Guignard had not burnt this writing the moment that he heard of Chatel's attempt. They apprehended his person, and that of Gueret, professor of an absurd science they called philosophy, and of which Chatel had long been a student. Guignard was hanged, and afterwards burnt; and Gueret having made no confession when put to the torture, was only condemned to be banished the kingdom, together with all the rest of the Jesuits.

Prejudice must certainly draw a very tight bandage over the eyes of men since the Jesuit Jouvenci, in his history of the company of Jesus, compares Guignard and Gueret "To the primitive christians who were persecuted by Nero." He particularly praises Guignard for refusing to ask pardon of the king and the court, when he performed the *amende honorable*, with a lighted taper in his hand, with his writings pinned upon his back. He represents Guignard as a martyr, who asks forgiveness of God, because after all he might still be a sinner; but who
not-

notwithstanding the dictates of his conscience, would never acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more than by declaring in writing that he ought to be murdered, unless he had murdered him himself? Jouvenci considers the arret of the parliament as a most iniquitous sentence. *Meminimus*, says he, & *ignoscimus*, "We remember it, but we forgive it." It is certain that the sentence was severe, but doubtless it cannot appear unjust, if we consider the writings of the Jesuit Guignard, the furious sallies of another Jesuit named Hay, the confession of John Chatel, the writings of Toletus, Bel-larmin, Mariana, Emmanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jesuits of Naples, and the number of other writings in which this wicked doctrine of king-killing is found. It is true that Chatel had not been advised by any of the Jesuits; but it is likewise as true, that while he was a student among them, he had heard this doctrine, which was at that time too common.

How can the banishment of the Jesuits in these times be looked upon as so very unjust, when no complaint is made of the treatment of the father and mother of John Chatel, who were guilty of no other crime than that of having brought into the world an unhappy creature, whose understanding had been perverted? These unhappy parents were condemned to be banished and do penance; their house was levelled to the ground, and a pillar erected on the place where it stood, with the crime and sentence engraven on it; and where it is said that the court has for ever banished this society.

society of a new kind and a devilish superstition, which had instigated John Chatel to this horrid crime. It is farther worthy of observation, that the arret of the parliament was inserted in the Roman index. All this demonstrates that these were times of fanaticism; that if the Jesuits had, in common with others, taught these dreadful maxims, they appeared more dangerous than others, because they had the education of youth; that they were punished for past faults, which three years before had not been considered as faults in Paris; and lastly, that the unhappiness of those times rendered this arret of the parliament necessary.

These dreadful examples, however, did not destroy the spirit of the league, and Henry IV. at length fell a victim to it. Ravallac had for some time been a mendicant friar, and his mind was still heated with what he had heard in his youth. Never did superstition in any age produce such dreadful effects. This unhappy wretch thought exactly as John Chatel had done, that he should divert the wrath of God by murdering Henry IV. The people said that the king was going to make war upon the pope, because he was going to assist the protestants in Germany. Germany was at that time divided by two leagues, the one called the evangelical, which was composed of almost all the protestant princes, and the other the catholic, at the head of which they had put the pope's name. Henry protected the protestant league; this was the sole cause of his being murdered: for we must credit the constant deposition of Ravallac. He declared, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice, and that he had
been

been urged to this action by an instinct which he could not overcome. He signed his deposition, of which some sheets were afterwards found in the year 1720, by a secretary of the parliament, and which I have seen : his abominable name is distinctly written, and under it in the same hand, this distich :

*Que toujours dans mon cœur
Jésus soit le vainqueur.*

“ For ever in my heart

“ Let Christ have the first part.”

A fresh proof that this monster was no other than a furious madman ; and it is a great instance of the force of destiny, that France should have been deprived of Henry IV. and the state of Europe changed by such a man. Some have dared to impute this crime to the house of Austria, others to Mary of Medicis the king's consort, to Balzac d'Entragues his mistress, and to the duke of Epemon ; these invidious insinuations, which Mezeray and others have copied without properly examining them, destroy each other, and only serve to shew the great credulity of human malice.

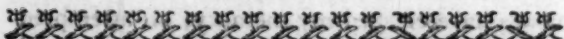
Ravaillac † was only the blind instrument of the spirit of times equally blind. Barriere, Cha-

† This infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his excursions, in quest of an opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. That very morning he intended to have stabbed him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass, but was hindered by the interposition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner the king appeared extremely

Chatel, Quin the Carthusian, and the vicar of St. Nicholas des Champs hanged in 1595, a tapestry weaver in 1596, a wretch who was, or pretended to be mad, and others whose names have escaped my memory, all attempted the same murder; they were all young, and all of the dregs of the people, so much does religion become fury in the minds of the com-

trremely uneasy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say softly, "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d'Epemon, the duke de Montbazon, the marquis de la Force, the marquis de Mirebeau, messieurs de Ravardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the cross of Tiroy. From thence it proceeded to the church-yard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was very narrow, there was a stop, occasioned by two loaded carts. The king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry: all the pages had gone round another way except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other stopped behind to tie up his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his shocking purpose. He mounted on the coach wheel, and with a long knife sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Epemon. Henry exclaiming, "I am wounded," the assassin repeated the blow with greater force, and the knife penetrated the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not seen by any person while he performed this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, he might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epemon called aloud, "Save him on your life," and the miscreant was taken alive. Every body knows the nature of the torments to which this desperate fanatic was subjected.

mon people and youth. Of all the assassins which this horrible age produced, only Poltrot de Mèré * was a gentleman.



CHAP. CXLV.

OF FRANCE under the Reign of LEWIS XIII. till the Administration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU. General Estates held in FRANCE. Misfortunes in the Administration. The Marechal d'ANCRE assassinated; his wife condemned to be burnt. Administration of the Duke de LUINES. Civil wars. In what Manner Cardinal RICHELIEU came into the Council.

AFTER the death of Henry IV. † it was seen how much the power, credit, manners, and spirit of a nation frequently depend

* The protestant fanatic who assassinated the duke of Guise at the siege of Orleans, in the year 1563.

† This great prince often expressed his desire of accomplishing ten things, which were called his ten wishes, viz. God's grace and assistance; the preservation of his senses to the hour of his death; the security of the protestant religion; a divorce from his first wife Margaret, with whom he lived unhappily; the restoration of the antient splendor of France; the recovery of Navarre, Flanders, or Artois, from Spain; a victory gained in person over the catholic king, and another against the grand signor; the reduction of his protestant subjects to obedience, without having recourse to violence; the humiliation of the dukes of Epemon, Bouillon, and Tremouille, so that they should implore his clemency; and finally, the execution of his grand design.

upon

upon a single man. This prince had by a vigorous, yet gentle administration, kept all orders of the state in union, lulled all factions to sleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All these advantages were lost in the very first year of the regency of his widow, Mary of Medicis. The duke of Epemon, the haughty minion of Henry III. the secret enemy to Henry IV. and the declared one of his ministers, went to the parliament the very day that Henry was assassinated. Epemon as colonel-general of the infantry, had the command of the regiment of guards: he entered the assemblies with his hand on his sword, and obliged the parliament to assume to itself the right of disposing of the regency, a right which till then had belonged only to the general estates. It has been an established law in all nations, that those who have a right to nominate a person to fill the throne when vacant, have likewise that of appointing the regency. To make a king is the first of all rights; to appoint a regent is the second, and this supposes the first. The parliament of Paris then tried the cause of the vacant throne, and disposed of the supreme power, by being forced to it by the duke of Epemon, and because that there had not been time to assemble the three orders of the state.

It published an arret, declaring Mary of Medicis sole regent. The next day the queen came to have the decree confirmed in presence of her son; and the chancellor de Sillery, in
that

that ceremony which is called the bed of justice†, took the opinions of the presidents before that of the peers, and even the princes of the blood, who pretended to a share in the regency.

You see by this, and you may have frequently remembered, how rights and customs are established, and how what has been once solemnly done contrary to the antient rules, becomes itself a rule thenceforward, till some future occasion causes it to be laid aside.

Mary of Medicis thus appointed regent, tho' not mistress of the kingdom, lavished in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had amassed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raised to carry the war into Germany was disbanded, the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally
1610 of Henry IV. was obliged to ask pardon of Philip III. of Spain, for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and sent his son to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spanish court, and to humble himself as a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thousand men, now found themselves almost without assistance. The state lost all its

† When the king of France goes to parliament to hold a bed of justice, the different chambers assemble in their red robes, with scarlet copes, the presidents having their mantles and copes of scarlet, with their caps called mortiers. The king is seated upon a throne under a canopy of blue velvet, powdered with golden flowers de lis. The first president begins his harangue on his knees; but the king bids him rise, and allows him to speak standing. The same ceremony is observed towards the advocate general.

credit abroad, and was distracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. and as afterwards, during the minority of Lewis XIV.

At length an assembly of the general estates * was called at Paris, the last 1614 that was held in France. The parliament of Paris was not admitted to a seat in it. Its deputies had assisted at the great assembly of the chief men of the kingdom, held at Rouen in 1594; but this was not a convocation of the general estates; the intendants of the finances,

* The states general of France were composed of three orders, the clergy, the noblesse, and the tiers etat, or third estate, consisting of magistrates representing the people. They were convoked occasionally, at the pleasure of the king, by his edict directed to the different parliaments, which distributed these edicts to the bailies and inferior judges. They were called to give their advice and assistance to the sovereign, and deliberate upon the state of the nation in all emergencies. In this last assembly of the states-general of France, the chamber of the clergy consisted of one hundred and forty deputies, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics: there were one hundred and thirty-two members in the chambre of the noblesse; and in that of the third estate one hundred and ninety-two deputies, mostly officers of justice, or of the revenue. In the general procession the tiers-etat went before, the noblesse came after, and lastly the clergy. During their session, Lewis XIII. being a child, was placed upon an elevated seat, accompanied by the queen-mother, monsieur the king's brother, the princes and great officers of the crown, placed each according to his rank, on a large theatre. The clergy were seated on benches to the right, the noblesse to the left, and behind them the tiers-etat. Cardinal Joyeuse was president for the clergy, baron de Senecey for the noblesse, and the prevot des marchands of Paris for the third order.

and

and the treasurers, had taken their seats there as well as the magistrates.

The university formally summoned the chamber of the clergy to receive it as one of the members of the estates, alledging that it was its ancient privilege; but the university had lost its privileges with its credit, as the minds of the people became more free, though not more enlightened.

These estates thus assembled in haste, had no trustees for the laws and customs of the kingdom, like the parliament of England, and the diets of the empire; they had no part in the supreme legislature, and yet they wanted to be law-givers; a privilege naturally sought after by every body which is the representative of a nation. From the private ambition of each individual, is formed a general ambition.

The most remarkable thing which happened in these estates was, that the clergy in vain demanded that the council of Trent should be received in France; and the third estate, with as little success, demanded the publication of the law, "That no power, spiritual or temporal, has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and that the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings is impious and detestable."

It was the third estate in particular, who moved for this law, after having attempted to depose Henry III. and suffering the utmost extremities of famine, rather than acknowledge Henry IV. But the factions of the league were extinguished, and the third estate, which makes the principal part of the nation, and cannot have any private interest, was attached to the

crown,

crown, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. Cardinal de Perron on this occasion forgot what he owed to the blood of Henry IV. and thought only of the interest of the church. He strongly opposed this law, and suffered himself to be carried away so far as to declare, "That he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining that the church has not the power of deposing kings." He added at the same time, that the pope's power "was full, most full, directly in spiritual matters, and indirectly in temporal." The ecclesiastical chamber, which was governed by the cardinal, persuaded the chamber of the nobles to join with it. The body of the nobles had always been jealous of the clergy, but it affected to think in every thing different from the third estates. The question now in dispute was, whether the spiritual and temporal powers had a right to dispose of the crown? The body of nobles, tho' it did not declare so much, thought itself essentially a temporal power. The cardinal told them, "That if a king should go about to force his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed." This was a very unreasonable speech, for there had been a number of emperors and kings who were Arians, and yet had not been deposed on that account. This supposition, however chimerical and absurd as it was, persuaded the deputies of the nobles that there were some cases in which the chiefs of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this privilege, though distant, was so flattering to self-love, that the nobles were desirous of sharing it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical
chamber

chamber signified to the third estate, that it was indeed their opinion that it was not lawful to kill the king, but were resolute as to the rest.

In the midst of this strange dispute, the parliament issued an arret, declaring it to be a fundamental law of the state, that the throne was absolutely independent.

It was doubtless the interest of the court to support the demand of the third estate, and the arret of parliament, after the many troubles which had endangered the throne in preceding reigns. Nevertheless the court gave way to cardinal Perron, the clergy, and the court of Rome, with which latter it was particularly desirous to keep fair, and suppressed an opinion on which its own safety was founded, from a persuasion at that time, that this truth would never be really opposed by any future event, and from a desire to put an end to disputes which were of too delicate and disagreeable a nature: it even suppressed the arret of parliament, on pretence that that court had not the least right to determine concerning the deliberations of the estates; that it had been wanting in the respect due to them; and that it did not belong to it to make fundamental laws. Thus did the court wrest the arms out of the hands of those who were fighting for it, as thinking it should have no need of them. At length the result of this assembly was, the laying open all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redress one.

France remained in confusion, and governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who rose to be marechal of France without ever having drawn a sword, and prime minister without

know-

knowing any thing of the laws. It was sufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be displeased with him.

Mary of Medicis was in a very unhappy situation, for she could not share her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malecontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor trust it in the hands of Concini, without displeasing the whole kingdom. Henry prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son to him who had gained the battle of Coutras, in conjunction with Henry IV. put himself at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made a dissembled peace with him, and afterwards clapt 1616 him up in the Bastile.

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, and was afterwards that of his son. His confinement increased the number of the malecontents. The Guises, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendome, son to Henry IV. the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga, the marechal de Bouillon, and all the rest of the malecontents, fortified themselves in the provinces, protesting that they continued true to their king, and made war only against the prime minister.

Concini *, marechal d'Ancre, secure of the queen regent's protection, braved them all. He raised

* A native of the county of Penna in Tuscany. He followed Mary of Medicis, who appointed him her gentleman-usher, and afterwards made him gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king her son. He owed his fortune to the

raised seven thousand men at his own expence, to support the royal authority, or rather his own, and this step proved his ruin. It is true that he raised these troops by virtue of a commission from the king ; but it was a great misfortune to France that a stranger, who had come thither without any fortune, should have wherewithal to raise as strong an army as that with which Henry IV. had recovered his kingdom. Almost the whole nation combined against him could not procure his fall ; and a young man, of whom he had not the least apprehension, and who was a stranger like himself, caused his ruin, and all the misfortunes of Mary of Medicis.

Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen in ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had insinuated himself into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch,

of his wife Leonora Galigai, who was the queen's favourite. He was created marquis d'Ancre, governor of Normandy, marechal of France, and had a considerable share in the administration, during the minority of Lewis XIII. He incurred the hatred of the French, by his insolence, ambition, and avarice, tho' perhaps at bottom they thought his greatest crime was his being a foreigner. When he first quitted Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to make in France, he replied, " My fortune, or perish." Christina of Lorraine, grand dutchess of Tuscany, having employed a person in whom she could confide, to advise him in her name to bring his ship softly into harbour, in order to avoid the tempest that seemed ready to burst upon his head ; he declared, that while the wind was aftern, he would keep the sea and continue his voyage, that he might see how far the gale of fortune would carry a favourite.

by

by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never supposed that these childish amusements would end in a bloody revolution. The marechal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboise, thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the design of murdering his benefactor, banishing the queen, and governing himself; all which he accomplished without meeting with any obstacle. He soon found means of persuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite seventeen years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Just, consented to the murder of his prime minister; the marquis of Vitri, captain 1617 of the king's guards, du Hallier his brother, Persan, and others, were sent to dispatch him, who finding him in the court of the Louvre, shot him dead with their pistols: upon this they cried out *Vive le roi*, as if they had gained a battle, and Lewis XIII. appearing at a window, cried out, *now I am king*. The queen-mother had her guards taken from her, and was confined to her own apartment, and afterwards banished to Blois. The place of marechal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer. The like honour had been conferred by the queen-mother on Thémynes, for seizing the prince of Condé; this made the duke of Bouillon say, that he was ashamed of being a marechal, since that dignity had been made the reward of a bailiff and an assassin.

The populace, who are always in extremes, and always cruel when let loose, ran to St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Concini had been buried, dug up his dead body, dragged it thro' the streets, and cut out the heart; nay, there were some of them so brutal, as to broil it upon a fire and eat it. His body they afterwards hung upon a gibbet. There was still a spirit of fierceness in the nation, which, though softened for a time by the happy years of Henry IV. and the taste for the arts, which had been introduced by Mary of Medicis, was still breaking out upon the least occasion. The populace treated the remains of the marechal d'Ancre in this cruel manner, only because he was a foreigner, and had been powerful.

The famous Nani in his history, the marechal d'Estrées in his memoirs, and the count de Brienne, do justice to Concini's merit and innocence; and such testimonies serve to set the living right, though they cannot do any thing for those who have suffered in so unjust and cruel a manner.

This furious hatred was not confined only to the common people: a commission is sent to the parliament for passing sentence upon the marechal after his death, and for trying his wife Eleanor Galigai, thus to screen the infamy of his murder under the appearance of legal cruelty. Five counsellors of the parliament refused to assist at the trial; but there were only five prudent and just men.

Never was there a proceeding so void of justice and so disgraceful to reason. They could not find any crime against the marechal's wife, but that of having been the queen's favourite:

she

she was accused of sorcery, and certain *agnus dei's* which she carried about her were taken for talismans. The counsellor Courtin demanded of her what charms she had made use of to bewitch the queen? Galigai incensed against the counsellor, and a little displeased with Mary of Medicis, replied, "My only charm was the power which all great minds have over weak ones." This answer did not save her: some of the judges had discernment and justice enough not to think her worthy of death; but the rest, carried away by the general prejudice, by ignorance, and still more by the persuasions of those who wanted to have a share in the spoils of this unhappy pair, passed sentence on the husband who was already dead, and his wife who survived him, as guilty of 1617 sorcery, Judaism, and mal-practices. Galigai was burnt, and the king's favourite, Luines, had the confiscated estates.

This unfortunate Galigai was the first promoter of cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and called the abbot of Chillon, *in* procured him the bishopric of Luçon, and at length got him made secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his protectors, and he who afterwards pronounced sentence of banishment against so many from that throne on which he was seated next his master, was now banished himself to a little priory, at the farther end of Anjou.

Concini, without ever having served, had been a marechal of France; Luines was four years afterwards constable of the same kingdom, without having been an officer. Such a ministry met with little respect; nothing was

seen but factions among the nobles and the people, and every one undertook the most daring enterprizes.

1619 The duke of Epernon, who had caused the queen to be declared regent, went to the castle of Blois, whither she had been banished, and carried her to his estate in Angoulême, like a sovereign who rescues his ally.

This was manifestly an act of high treason; but a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom, and which added to the duke of Epernon's glory. The nation had hated Mary of Medicis while she was in full power, and they loved her now that she was unfortunate. No one murmured when the king imprisoned his mother in the Louvre, nor when he banished her without any reason; and now they considered as a wicked attempt the endeavours he used to take his mother out of the hands of a rebel. They were so apprehensive of the violence of Luines's counsels, and the cruelty and weakness of the king, that his own confessor, the Jesuit Arnoux, as he was preaching in his presence, before the accommodation, made use of these remarkable words: "It can never be believed, that a religious prince would draw his sword to shed the blood of which he was formed: you would not suffer me, sire, to advance a falsehood from the seat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, not to hearken to violent counsels, nor to give this subject of scandal to all Christendom."

It was a fresh proof of the weakness of the administration, that any one durst speak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expressed himself otherwise had the king con-

condemned his mother to death. Lewis XIII. had then hardly begun to raise an army against the duke of Epernon ; it was therefore publicly revealing the secrets of the state, and speaking in the name of God against the duke of Luines. Either the confessor had an heroic and indiscreet freedom, or he had been gained over by Mary of Medicis. Whatever was his motive, this public discourse shews that there was a degree of boldness even in those minds, which seemed formed only for submission. A few years afterwards, the constable had the confessor discharged.

However, the king was so far from running into those violences of which people had been apprehensive, that he sought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Epernon, as between prince and prince. He did not even venture to 1619 say in his declaration that the duke of Epernon had given him cause of offence.

But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly signed when it was broken again ; this was the true spirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favour of the queen, and always to oppose the duke of Luines, as before it had been to oppose the marechal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Every favourite at that time drew after him a civil war. Lewis and his mother in fact made war upon each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a small army against her son ; they engaged each other on the bridge of Cé, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin.

This confusion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the queen-

queen-mother's household, and had supplanted all that princess's confidants, as he afterwards did all the king's ministers. His pliable temper and bold disposition must necessarily have acquired him the first rank every where, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the accommodation between the mother and son ; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen asked of the king for him, was the reward of his services. The duke of Epernon was the first to lay down arms without making any demands, whilst the rest made the king pay them for having taken up arms against him.

The queen-mother and the king her son had an interview at Brisac, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakness, intrigues, and divisions of the court, spread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the state had for a long time been attacked, were now encreased, and those which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew.

The church suffered greatly, and was still in more disorder than the state.

It was not consistent with the interest of Henry IV. to attempt a reformation ; the weak piety of Lewis X.II. suffered the disorder to continue. Regularity and decency were first introduced by Lewis XIV. Almost all the church-livings were in possession of the laity, who hired poor priests to officiate for them. The rich abbeys were all in the hands of the princes of the blood. Some of the church-lands were looked upon as family-estates ; an abbey was stipulated for a dowry with a wife, and

and a colonel recruited his regiment with the revenues of a priory. The court-clergy frequently wore the sword, and amongst the many private and public duels which desolated France, there were several fought by churchmen, from the cardinal of Guise, who drew his sword against Gonzaga duke of Nevers, in 1617, to the abbot, afterwards the cardinal de Retz, who had several engagements of this kind while he was soliciting for the archbishopric of Paris. The minds of men were in general gross and uncultivated. The genius of a Malherbe* and a Ra-

* Malherbe is considered as the father of French poetry. His works consist of paraphrases of psalms, odes, stanzas, sonnets, and epigrams; and it must be owned, he bears a considerable rank among the lyric poets. He was patronized by Henry IV. and afterwards obtained a pension of five hundred crowns a-year from queen Mary de Medicis. He was remarkably blunt in his conversation and address, of a very litigious disposition, and recited his own verses with a very bad grace, hawking and spitting five or six times in repeating every stanza. The cavalier Marini said he never saw such a moist man, and such a dry poet. But he could not bear to be censured for his bad pronunciation: one day that Racan told him he swallowed one half of his words, "Z---ds! (said he) if you plague me at this rate, I'll eat up all my verses; ---- they are my own, for I made them, and I may make of them whatever I please." In point of religion, he was a free-thinker. M. de Racan visiting him one Saturday, which happened to be next day to Candlemas, found him eating bacon at eight in the morning, and said to him by way of reprehension, "Oh! monsieur, the virgin is purified, ---- she is risen." "Not at all, (replied Malherbe) your ladies don't rise so early in the morning." When he lay on his death-bed, his confessor talking to him of the joys of heaven, in a stile that was by no means elegant, Malherbe begged he would say no more of the matter, for his stile was so bad that it gave him a disgust to the subject. His son, a promising young man,

a Racan * was only a new light, which did not spread itself over the nation. A savage pedantry, companion to that ignorance which passed for science, soured the manners of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even those of the magistracy. It is hardly credible that the parliament of Paris in 1621, forbid every one, under pain of death, to teach any thing contrary to the doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient authors; and that one de Clave and his companions were banished from that city, for having attempted to maintain theses against the Aristotelian principles, concerning the number of the elements, and matter and form.

Notwithstanding this severity and strictness of manners, the distribution of justice was venal in almost all the courts of the provinces. Henry IV. acknowledged as much to the parliament of Paris, which had always distinguished itself by its incorruptible integrity, and its constant opposition to the wills of ministers and pecuniary edicts. "I know, said that prince, that it is not your custom to sell justice, but in

being killed in a duel, he was so afflicted and exasperated, that, though in the seventy-third year of his age, he challenged the gentleman who had slain him, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to accommodate the affair, and receive as an atonement ten thousand crowns, which he proposed to expend in erecting a monument for his son; but his own death prevented the execution of this design.

* Honoratus de Bueil, marquis de Racan, was the friend and admirer of Malherbe, and, like him, acquired great reputation in lyric poetry. Boileau preferred him in point of genius to his friend, though he blames him for his negligence, and a desire of imitating Malherbe.

other

other parliaments there is frequently a necessity to support one's cause by dint of money ; I remember it, and have myself often been obliged to pay for it."

The husbandmen were oppressed by the noblesse, who fortified themselves within their castles, mounted on horseback to follow the governor of a province, or attached themselves to the service of those princes who raised commotions in the state. The towns were destitute of police, and the roads impassable, or infected with robbers. The registers of the parliament prove, that the Paris watch, appointed for the safety of the city, consisted at that time of forty-five men, who never did service. These disorders, which Henry IV. had not been able to remove, were not however in the number of those diseases of the body politic which could destroy it ; its truly dangerous maladies were, the disorder of the finances, the dissipation of the money raised by Henry IV. the necessity of laying taxes on the people during a peace, which Henry had exempted them from even when making preparations for a war of the greatest consequence ; the tyrannical methods used in levying these taxes, which only served to enrich the farmers of the revenue ; the immense fortunes raised by these farmers, whom the duke of Sully had removed, and who, under the subsequent administration, fattened upon the blood of the people.

To these diseases, which impaired the vigour of the body politic, were added others, which gave it frequent and violent shocks. The governors of provinces, who were only lieutenants under Henry IV. wanted to be indepen-

dent of Lewis XIII. Their privileges, or rather usurpations, were boundless: they disposed of all places; the poorer sort of gentry devoted their services chiefly to them, very little to the king, and still less to the state. Every governor of a province drew sums from his department, for maintaining a body of troops, in the place of those guards which Henry IV. had taken from them. The government of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke of Epemon.

We have just seen this subject taking the queen-mother under his protection, making war upon the king, and accepting peace with a haughty pride. The marechal de Lesdiguières had, three years before, viz. in 1616, signalled his own greatness and the weakness of the crown in a still more glorious manner; he raised a real army at his own expence, or rather at that of Dauphiny, the province of which he was not governor, but only lieutenant-general, led his army into the Alps, notwithstanding the positive and repeated prohibition of the court, assisted the duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, though the court had abandoned his cause, and returned home triumphant. France was then as full of powerful nobles as in the reign of Henry III. this only added to the weakness of the kingdom.

It is not in the least surprising, that France should at that time have let slip the most favourable occasion which had presented itself since the time of Charles V. to limit the power of the house of Austria, by assisting the elector Palatine, who was chosen king of Bohemia, and by keeping the balance of Germany agree-

able to Henry IV's plan, which was afterwards followed by the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine. The court had taken too great umbrage at the Huguenots in France, to assist or protect the protestants in Germany. It feared that the reformed would do that in France which their brethren were doing in the empire; but had the government been as powerful and well established as in the reign of Henry IV. in the last year of Richelieu's ministry, under Lewis XIV. it would have assisted the protestants of Germany, and at the same time have kept those of France in proper subjection. Luines did not conceive these great designs during his administration, and had he conceived them, he was not in a condition to fulfil them. It required a well respected authority, regularity in the finances, and large armies; all which were wanting.

The divisions of the court, under a king who always wanted to be master, and was always setting a master over himself, spread the spirit of sedition through all the cities of the kingdom. It was impossible but that this flame, sooner or later, must communicate itself to the reformed in France. This was what the court apprehended, and its weakness produced this apprehension; it was sensible that it would be disobeyed whenever it attempted to command, and it would always command.

Lewis XIII. at that time annexed Bearn to the crown by a solemn edict; 1620 this edict restored to the catholics those churches which the Huguenots had taken possession of before the reign of Henry IV. and which that monarch had continued to them. The party assembles at Rochelle, in defiance of the king's

prohibition. The love of liberty, so natural to mankind, inspired the reformed at that time with the flattering idea of forming themselves into a republic, in which they were not a little encouraged by the example of their protestant brethren in Germany. As their imaginations were warmed, they divided the provinces in which they were dispersed into eight circles, each circle had a general as those in Germany. The generals were the marechal de Bouillon, the duke of Soubise, the duke de la Trimouille, Chatillon grandson to admiral Coligni, and the marechal of Lesdiguières. The generalissimo to be chosen by them in time of war was to have a seal, with these words engraven on it, *pour Christ & pour le roi*, (for Christ and the king) that is against the king. Rochelle was destined to be the capital of this republic, which would be able to form a state within the kingdom.

The reformed from this instant made preparations for war. They appear to have been already pretty powerful, since they offered the post of general to the marechal of Lesdiguières, with a salary of one hundred thousand crowns per month. Lesdiguières however, who wanted to be constable of France, chose rather to fight against them than to command them, and soon after quitted their religion; but he presently found himself disappointed in his expectations from the court. The duke of Luines, who had never drawn a sword before, now made use of that of constable; and Lesdiguières having advanced too far to retreat, was
1621 obliged to serve under Luines, against those of whom he had hitherto been the chief protector.

The court was under the necessity of treating with all the heads of the party, in order to keep them within bounds, and with all the governors of the provinces, to raise troops. Lewis then marches towards the Loire, and from thence into Poitou, Bearn, and the southern provinces; the prince of Condé was at the head of a body of Huguenot troops, and the constable de Luines commanded the king's army.

On this occasion an ancient form was revived, which is now entirely laid aside. When they came near a town commanded by a suspected person, a herald at arms presented himself before the gates, the commanding officer listened to him uncovered, and the herald cried out, "Isaac or Jacob such an one, the king, thy sovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates, and to receive him and his army as in duty bound; on failure of which, I declare thee guilty of high treason in all its degrees, thou and thy posterity: thy goods shall be confiscated, thy houses razed to the ground, and those of all who are assisting or abetting to thee."

Almost all the towns opened their gates to the king, excepting that of St. John d'Angeli, whose ramparts he demolished, and the little town of Clérac, which surrendered at discretion. The court, puffed up with this success, caused the consul of Clérac and 1621 four ministers to be hanged.

This execution, instead of dismaying the Huguenots, only served to irritate them the more. Pressed on all sides, and deserted by the marechal Lesdiguières, and the marechal de Bouillon, they made choice of the famous duke
Ben-

Benjamin of Rohan for their general, whom they looked upon as the greatest captain of his age; they compared him to the princes of Orange, and thought him equally capable of founding a republic, even more zealous in the cause of religion, at least in appearance, vigilant, indefatigable, never suffering his pleasures to divert him from business, and formed to be the head of a party; a post which is at best but slippery, and where foes and friends are equally to be feared. The title, the rank, and the qualities of the chief of a party, had for a long time been the principal object and study of the ambitious throughout Europe. The Guelphs and Gibellines had begun it in Italy; the Guises and the Condés had afterwards established a kind of school for these politics in France, which continued till the minority of Lewis XIV.

Lewis XIII. was reduced to besiege his own towns. They thought to succeed before Montauban, as they had done before Clérac; but
1621 the constable de Luines lost almost the whole royal army, under his master's eye.

Montauban was one of those towns, which at present would not hold out a siege of four days; and it was so badly invested, that the duke of Rohan threw succours twice into the town, through the besiegers lines. The marquis de la Force, who commanded in the place, defended himself better than he was attacked. This was that James Nonpar de la Force, who was so miraculously saved when a child, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and whom Lewis XIII. afterwards made marechal
of

of France. The citizens of Montauban, whom the punishment of those of Clérac had inspired with a desperate courage, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their town, rather than capitulate.

The constable, finding he could not succeed by temporal arms, employed spiritual ones. He sent for a Spanish Carmelite, who was said by his miracles to have assisted the catholic army of the empire to win the battle of Prague against the protestants. This friar, whose name was Dominic, came to the king's camp, blessed the army, distributed his agnusses amongst them, and said to the king, "You shall cause four hundred cannon to be fired against the town, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate." It is probable that four hundred cannon-shot, well directed, might have produced this effect: Lewis ordered them to be fired, Montauban did not surrender, and he was obliged to raise the siege.

This disgrace made the king less respected among the catholics, and less dreaded by the Huguenots. The constable was hated by every one: he led the king to revenge the disgrace he had received before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur, where a fever put an end to his life. Every December, kind of rapine was at that time so common, that, as he was dying, 1621
he saw his furniture, equipage, and money, carried away before his face by his own servants and the soldiers, who hardly left a sheet to cover the corps of that man, who had once been the most powerful in the kingdom; who in one hand held the sword of constable, and in the
the

the other the seals of France. He died equally hated by the people and his sovereign.

Lewis XIII. was unhappily engaged in a war against one part of his subjects. This war was the work of the duke of Luines, who wanted to keep his master embarrassed, and to be constable. Lewis XIII. had been accustomed to consider this war as indispensably necessary. The remonstrances which du Pleffis-Mornay, when near eighty years of age, made to him on this subject, deserve to be transmitted to posterity. After making use of the most specious reasons he could devise, he writes thus to him: "A king who makes war upon his subjects, demonstrates his own weakness. Authority consists in the peaceable obedience of the people, and that is established by the prudence and justice of him who governs. The force of arms is to be employed only against a foreign enemy. The late king would have sent those new ministers of state back to school to learn the elements of politics, who like ignorant surgeons, could propose no other remedies but caustics and amputations; or had presumed to advise him to cut off the diseased limb with that which was sound."

This sound reasoning, however, had no effect upon the court. The diseased limb caused too many convulsions in the body, and Lewis XIII. who wanted his father's strength of understanding, by which he kept the protestants within bounds, thought there was no other way to reduce them but by force of arms. He therefore marches into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a small army of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men. He had besides

besides a few bodies of troops dispersed in these provinces. The bad state of the finances would not allow of larger armies at that time, and the Huguenots had not a stronger force to oppose him with.

Soubise, brother to the duke of Rohan, entrenched himself with eight thousand men in the island of Rhé, which is separated from Poitou by a small arm of the sea, which the king passed at the head of his army at ebb tide, entirely defeated the enemy, and obliged Soubise to fly over to England. It was 1622 impossible to shew greater intrepidity, or to gain a more compleat victory. Lewis's only weakness was that of suffering himself to be governed, and this one weakness made him miserable all his life, in his household, his government, his private affairs, and even in his least occupations. As to this victory it only served to furnish the Huguenot chiefs with fresh resources.

They negotiated even more than they fought, as was the case in the time of the league, and in almost all civil wars. More than one rebel lord who had been condemned to lose his life by the parliament, obtained rewards and dignities, while he was executed in effigy. This was what happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from Montauban, and who still kept the field against the king. He had a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and a marechal of France's staff. The greatest services could not have been better paid than he was for his submission. Chatillon, Colligni's grandson, sold the town of Aiguemortes to the king, and was likewise made a marechal.

Se-

Several sold their obedience in this manner; but Lesdiguières was the only one who sold his religion: he had fortified himself at that time in Dauphiny, where he still professed the reformed religion, and suffered himself to be openly solicited by the Huguenot party, to join them again; thus keeping the king in continual apprehension that he should go over to the faction.

It was proposed in the council either to murder him or make him constable: the king chose the latter, and then Lesdiguières became in an instant a catholic, which was necessary, in order to be constable, though not to be marechal of France. Such was the custom, otherwise the constable's sword might as well have been in the hands of a Huguenot, as the superintendency of the finances had for a long time been; but the generals of the army, and the chiefs of the council could not profess the reformed religion while they were fighting against it. This change of religion in Lesdiguières would have been infamous in a private man, who had only a small interest to answer; but the greater objects of ambition are strangers to shame.

Lewis XIII. then was obliged to be perpetually buying servants and treating with rebels. He laid siege to Montpellier; and fearing to meet with the same disgrace as he had done before Montauban, he consented to be received into the town, only on condition of confirming the edict of Nantes, and all the privileges granted to the protestants. It is probable that if he had left all the other protestant towns in the possession of their privileges, and had followed the advice of du Plessis-Mornay, he might

might have saved himself this war; and it is evident that notwithstanding his victory at Rhé, he gained very little by carrying it on.

The duke of Rohan finding that every one was making terms, made his likewise. It was he who prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpelier to receive the king into their town. He set on foot, and concluded the general peace with the constable Lesdiguières, at Privas. The king payed him, as he had done the rest, and gave him the dutchy of Valois 1622 as a pledge.

Every thing remained on the same footing as before the taking up of arms; so that the king and the kingdom were at a great expence to gain nothing. In the course of this war there were some few unhappy citizens hanged, and the heads of the rebellion were rewarded.

Lewis's council was as much distracted during this civil war as the state itself. The prince of Condé, who accompanied the king every where, wanted to have the government of both army and state. The ministers were divided amongst themselves, and they had pressed the king to give the constable's sword to Lesdiguières, only in order to lessen the prince of Condé's authority. This prince, wearied with the continual oppositions he had to encounter in the cabinet, went to Rome as soon as the peace was concluded, to obtain of the pope that the post which he possessed might be made hereditary to his house. He might have transmitted them to his children without the brief which he had applied for, and which he could not obtain. It was with difficulty that he could even get the title of Highness given him

him at Rome, and all the cardinal priests took the upper hand of him without ceremony. This was all the fruit of his journey to Rome.

The court, delivered from the burthen of a ruinous and unprofitable civil war, became a prey to fresh intrigues. The ministers were all declared enemies to one another, and the king equally distrusted them all.

It appeared plainly after the death of Luines, that it had been him rather than the king who had persecuted the queen-mother: for no sooner was that favourite deceased, than she was placed at the head of the council. This princess, in order to confirm her reassumed authority, resolved to introduce her favourite the cardinal Richelieu into the council, who was the comptroller of her household, and for whom she had procured the purple, and never ceased pressing the king to admit him into the ministry. Almost all the memoirs of those times take notice of the king's extreme repugnance to grant this request. He treated as an impostor the person in whom he afterwards placed all his confidence, and even reflected upon his moral character.

This prince, who was a scrupulous devotee, and naturally distrustful, had somewhat more than an aversion to the cardinal on account of his gallantries, which were indeed too barefaced, and even ridiculous. He would dress at times like a cavalier, and after writing tracts of divinity, go a courting in a hat and feather. De Retz tells us likewise in his memoirs, that he added pedantry to these fopperies: but you have no occasion for de Retz's testimony, since you have seen the love theses maintained by

Richelieu

Richelieu's orders in his niece's apartments after the form of the theses of divinity, maintained in the college of the Sorbonne. The memoirs of those times likewise inform us moreover, that he raised his insolent desires, real or feigned, even to the person of the queen consort, Anne of Austria, from whom he received such biting raillery as he never afterwards forgave. I lay these anecdotes before you, because they had an influence on great events. In the first place they shew us that in this famous cardinal, the follies of the man of gallantry took nothing from the greatness of the statesman, and that the littlenesses of private life may be compatible with the heroism of a public station. In the second place, they serve as a kind of demonstration that the political will which has been published in his name, could never have been of his framing. It was not possible that cardinal de Richelieu, who was so well known to Lewis XIII. for his amorous intrigues, and as the public gallant of Marion Delorme, could have had the front to recommend chastity to so chaste a prince as Lewis, who was at that time forty years old, and overwhelmed with diseases.

So great was the king's repugnance to admit him into the ministry that the queen-mother was obliged to gain over the comptroller la Vieuville, who was then the minister of most credit, and who feared Richelieu even more than Lewis did. At length he was admitted into the cabinet against the inclination of the king and that of the ministers; but he had not the first place in rank there, which was occupied by the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, nor yet in credit, which la Vieuville continued to hold for some time afterwards: he had no de-
part-

partment, no superiority over the other ministers. "He desired only, says the queen-mother in one of her letters to the king her son, to come sometimes to council." In this manner did he pass some months upon his first introduction into the ministry.

I must again remark that I am sensible that these minute particulars are in themselves beneath your notice, and ought to be lost in greater events; but here they are necessary to overturn a false notion which has so long prevailed with the public, that cardinal Richelieu was prime minister, and absolute master of the council. It is this erroneous opinion which has made the pretended author of the political will say, "When your majesty determined to honour me at the same time with a seat in your council and a great share of your confidence, I then promised to use all my endeavours to humble the pride of the great, to extirpate the Huguenots, and to raise your reputation in all foreign nations."

It is manifest that cardinal Richelieu could never have expressed himself in this manner, since he had not the king's confidence at first, not to mention how imprudent it would have been in a minister to have begun his harangue by telling his master, "I will raise your reputation," which was giving him to understand, that his reputation was low. I shall pass over the multitude of reasons which prove beyond contradiction that the political will attributed to cardinal Richelieu neither is nor could have been his, and shall now return to his administration.

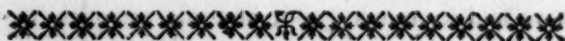
What

What was afterwards said in relation to the mausoleum erected to his memory in the Sorbonne, *magnum disputandi argumentum*, is the true character of his genius and actions. It is very difficult to know a man of whom his flatterers have said so much good, and his enemies so much ill. He had at once to defend himself against the house of Austria, the protestants, the grandees of the kingdom, the queen mother his benefactress, the king's brother, the queen consort, to whom he had the insolence to pay his addresses; and lastly, the king himself, to whom he was always necessary and always hateful. It was natural for his enemies to endeavour to defame him by libels; to these he opposed panegyrics, neither of which are deserving of our belief. We are to represent to ourselves facts.

To make ourselves as certain of these as possible, it is necessary to chuse proper writers. For example, what is to be thought of the author of the life of father Joseph, who quotes a letter of the cardinal's to this famous Capuchin, written, as he says, immediately upon his entrance into the council? "As you are the principal agent whom God has employed to bring me to those honours to which I now see myself raised, I look upon myself as bound to acquaint you that the king has been pleased to confer on me the office of prime minister, at the queen's intreaty."

The cardinal did not receive his patent for prime minister till the year 1629; and friar Joseph neither brought him to those honours, nor did he conduct him through them.

Books are but too full of such forgeries, and it is no small labour to separate truth from falsehood. Let us then take a summary view of the stormy ministry, or rather reign of cardinal de Richelieu.



C H A P. CXLVI.

Of the ADMINISTRATION of Cardinal de RICHELIEU.

THE comptroller la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to raise the cardinal de Richelieu to the ministry, was the first crushed by him about six months after his elevation. He was privately accused of misdemeanours, to which every comptroller is liable.

La Vieuville owed his greatness to chancellor Silleri, and had been the cause of his disgrace. He was now ruined in his turn by the person who owed his advancement to him. These vicissitudes, which are so common in all courts, were more so in that of Lewis XIII. than in any other. La Vieuville is confined in the castle of Amboise: he had set on foot a treaty of marriage between the princess Henrietta, sister to Lewis XIII. and Charles prince of Wales, who was soon afterwards king of Great Britain. The cardinal put the finishing hand to this treaty, notwithstanding the opposition of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He favoured underhand the protestants in Germany; but this did not in the least abate his intention of ruining those in France.

Before

Before he came into the ministry, they had vainly treated with all the Italian princes, to hinder the house of Austria, which was at that time so powerful, from remaining in possession of the Valteline*.

This little province, which was then of the catholic communion, belonged to the Grison leaguers, who were protestants. The Spaniards wanted to join these vallies to the dutchy of Milan. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, strenuously opposed all addition of power to the house of Austria in Italy. At length pope Urban VIII. got the sequestration of this province to be placed in his hands, and was not without hopes of keeping it altogether.

Monsieur de Marquemont wrote a long letter to Cardinal Richelieu, in which he set forth all the difficulties attending this affair. This latter answered him by the following famous epistle: "The king has changed his council, and the ministry its maxims: an army will be sent to the Valteline, which will make his holiness less wavering, and the Spaniard more tractable." Accordingly, the marquis of Cœuvres was immediately sent to the Valteline, at the head of an army. No respect was shewn to the pope's colours, and the country was freed from the Austrian invasion. This was the first event which rendered France of some consideration abroad.

* The south-east subdivision of the Grisons, a fine valley and populous country in Switzerland, through which runs the river Adda,

Under the former administration there had been a continual complaint of want of money; but now enough was found to assist the Hollanders with a loan of three millions two hundred thousand livres to put them in a condition to carry on the war against the Spanish branch of Austria, their ancient sovereign. A sum was likewise sent to the famous count Mansfeldt *, who

* This was Ernest, natural son of Peter Ernestus III. count of Mansfeldt: he was bred a Roman Catholic at the court of Brussels, under his godfather the archduke Ernest of Austria, and afterwards served with reputation the king of Spain in the Low Countries, as well as the emperor in Hungary. About the year 1610, he quitted the Austrian service in disgust, embraced Calvinism, and engaged in the service of the protestant princes. He was undoubtedly the most celebrated partizan of the age in which he lived: for though he was generally defeated in pitched battles, he always found resources, by means of which he rendered himself a very formidable enemy. He was famous for surprising towns, routing detachments, traversing provinces, and extricating himself out of the most dangerous difficulties. Never was there a captain more indefatigable and undaunted, more patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue, more dextrous at raising armies, or more fruitful in all the expedients of war. His friends called him the Ulysses of Germany, his enemies stiled him the Attila of Christendom. He introduced the custom of letting troops for hire; and kept them up at such a price, that the Dutch used to say of him, *bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio*. Being defeated at Dessau by Wallstein the imperial general, he retired with his cavalry into the marche of Brandenburg, and in a little time assembled another army of five and twenty thousand men, with which he advanced into Hungary, with a view to join Bethlem Gabor; but this prince having made his peace with the emperor, left Mansfeldt's troops to perish of cold and famine, among the mountains. The count being extremely chagrined, and finding his health impaired, gave up the remainder of his army to the duke of Saxe-Weymar,

who almost singly supported the cause of the palatine family and of the protestants, against the imperial house.

It was natural to expect, that after assisting the protestants without doors, the Spanish ministry would stir up those in France, and repay them (as Mirable the Spanish ambassador said,) the money that had been lent to the Hollanders. Accordingly the Huguenots, protected and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war in France. It had been the standing maxim of politics among the catholic princes ever since the time of Charles V. and Francis I. to assist the protestants in each other's kingdoms, and to persecute them at home. During this new war against the duke of Rohan and his party, the cardinal still went on negotiating with those powers he had insulted; and neither the emperor Ferdinand II. nor the Spanish king Philip IV. attempted any thing against France.

Rochelle began now to become powerful. It had at that time almost as good a fleet as the king. It wanted to follow the example of the Dutch, and might have succeeded, had it found among the nations of its own faith an ally able or willing to furnish it with proper assistance: but cardinal Richelieu took care in the first place to set the Dutch against it, who from the interest of religion ought to have assisted it; and likewise the English, who, from interests of

Weymar, and set out on his journey to Venice; but was overtaken by death at a village in Dalmatia. Perceiving his end near, he caused himself to be armed at all points, and being held up by his attendants, died standing, in the year 1626.

State, were under a stronger obligation to defend it. The money which had already been given to the United Provinces, and what was farther promised, prevailed on them to equip a fleet against those whom they called their brethren: thus the catholic king assisted the French protestants with money, and the Dutch protestants fought for the Roman Catholic religion; while cardinal de Richelieu was driving the pope's troops from the Valteline in favour of the Giron Huguenots.

It is matter of surprize, that Soubise at the head of the Rochelle fleet should venture to attack the Dutch fleet off the isle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over them who passed for the best seamen in the world. This success would at any other time have made Rochelle an established and powerful republic.

Lewis XIII. at that time had a good admiral, but no fleet. The cardinal on his coming to the ministry found every thing to new-model or to repair. It was impossible for him in the short space of a year to have established a navy. It was with difficulty that he could even equip ten or twelve small men of war. The duke of Montmorenci, the same who had afterwards so tragical an end, was at that time admiral: he was obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral's ship; and it was with the Dutch and English ships that he beat the Rocheller's fleet.

This victory shewed how necessary it was for France to make itself powerful both by sea and land, while it had the Huguenot party to suppress at home, and the Austrian power to undermine in Europe. The ministry then granted a peace

2 peace to the Huguenots; in order to have time to strengthen itself.

Cardinal Richelieu had still more powerful enemies to encounter at court. Not one of the princes of the blood liked him. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, hated him mortally. Mary of Medicis began to look upon the creature of her raising with jealousy. All the grandes caballed against him.

He took the place of admiral from the 1626 duke of Montmorenci, to bestow it on himself under another name, and by this he made another irreconcilable enemy. Two sons of Henry IV. Cæsar of Vendome, and the grand prior, attempted to oppose him; he had them confined in the castle of Vincennes. The marechal Ornano and Talleron Chalais, stirred up Gaston the king's brother against him. He caused them to be accused of a design against the king himself. In this accusation he included the duke of Soissons, Gaston the king's brother, and the queen consort.

One time the conspirators were accused of a plot to take away the king's life, at another, that they had formed a design of declaring him impotent, of shutting him up in a cloister, and of giving his crown and wife to his brother Gaston. These two accusations manifestly contradicted each other, and neither the one nor the other were probable. Their real crime was that of having joined to oppose the minister, and of having talked of taking away his life. The commissioners passed sentence of death upon Chalais, and he was executed at Nantz. The marechal d'Ornano died in his confinement at Vincennes: the count of Sois-

sons fled to Italy : the dutchess of Chevreuse, to whom the cardinal had formerly paid his addresses, but whom he now accused of having joined in the cabal against him, escaped with difficulty from the guards, who were sent to arrest her, and fled over to England. Anne of Austria was summoned before the council, forbidden to speak to any man, but in the presence of the king her husband, and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

Distrust, fear, and desolation had now taken possession of the royal family and the whole court. Lewis was now the most unhappy man in his kingdom; he was in continual apprehensions of his wife and brother, uneasy in his mother's presence, whom he had formerly used so ill, and who every now and then let fall hints of her not having forgotten it; and still more perplexed with the cardinal, whose yoke he already began to feel. The critical situation of affairs without doors was a fresh subject of uneasiness to him, and he found himself unavoidably linked to the cardinal by his fears and perplexities, by the necessity he was under of suppressing the cabals in his court, and of preserving his credit with other nations.

Three ministers, equally powerful, were at that time in a manner masters of the fate of Europe; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They had all three a natural hatred to each other, and were at once negotiating against one another. Cardinal de Richelieu quarrelled with the duke of Buckingham, at the very time that the English were supplying him with a fleet against the

the Rochellers, and joined with the count-duke Olivarez at the time that he was depriving the king of Spain of the Valteline.

Of these three ministers the duke of Buckingham passed for the least politic. He shone as a favourite and a nobleman, was liberal, open, and daring, but was not a statesman. The mastery he had gained over Charles I. was not owing to his intrigues, but to that ascendancy which he had had over the father, and which he still retained over the son. He was the handsomest man of his time, the most generous, and the most proud. He fancied that no woman could resist the charms of his person, nor man the superiority of his understanding. Intoxicated with this double self-love, he had carried Charles, while prince of Wales, into Spain, to marry the infanta, and that he himself might make a figure at that court. Here, by adding the Spanish gallantry to his own assurance, he attacked the wife of the prime minister Olivarez, and by this indiscreet action hindred the prince's marriage. Being sent afterwards to France in 1625, to conduct the princess Henrietta to England, whom he had procured for king Charles I. he was again on the point of making this design miscarry by an indiscretion of a still bolder nature: he made a declaration to queen Anne of Austria, and made no secret of his passion for that princess, though he could expect nothing from this adventure but the vain honour of having dared to explain himself. The queen, who had been brought up in notions of gallantry, which were then allowed in Spain, looked upon the duke of Buckingham's

rashness only as a homage paid to her beauty, which could not offend her virtue.

The pomp assumed by the duke of Buckingham was very displeasing to the court of France, though without making him ridiculous; for greatness and assurance are not regarded in that light. He conducted the princess Henrietta to London, and carried back with him in his heart a passion for the queen, which was increased by the vanity of having declared it. This same vanity led him to venture upon a second voyage to the court of France. The pretext was to make a treaty with the cardinal against the duke Olivarez, as the cardinal had before made a treaty with Olivarez against him. The true reason was, to be nearer the queen, which he sufficiently shewed by all his behaviour: however, he was not only refused leave to see her, but the king discharged several of his wife's servants whom he suspected of favouring the duke of Buckingham's designs. This Englishman then, at his return home, caused war to be declared against France, for no other reason than that he had been refused leave to declare his unjust passion. This adventure has the appearance of those in the times of knight-errantry. So oddly are the affairs of the world connected, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of Rochelle.

The leader of party takes advantage of all circumstances. The duke of Rohan, whose designs were as deep as those of Buckingham were weak and shallow, made use of this English-

fishman's resentment to obtain a fleet of an hundred armed ships and transports*, and engaged the Rochellers, who with the rest of the party were then at peace, to receive a fleet of English ships not in the harbour of Rochelle, but in the isle of Rhé. Buckingham himself makes a descent upon the island with about seven thousand men. He had only a small fort to take to make himself master of the island, and separate Rochelle for ever from France. The Huguenot party would then have become unconquerable. The kingdom was divided, and all the mighty projects of cardinal Richelieu would have vanished into air, had the duke of Buckingham been only half as great, or at least as fortunate a warrior as he was a bold and enterprising man.

The marquis, afterwards marechal de Thoiras, saved the reputation of France by keeping the isle of Rhé with a small body of troops against the superior force of the

July,
1627

* The seventh article of the duke's impeachment by the house of commons imports, " That he the said duke, as admiral, did by indirect and subtle practices procure one of the principal ships of his majesty's navy-royal, called the Vanguard, and six other merchant ships, to be put into the hands of the French king." To this charge he replied, " The article was so mixed with actions of great princes, that he dared not in his duty publish every passage thereof: but he could affirm that those ships were lent to the French king at first without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belonged to an admiral of England, and a true Englishman." One cause assigned for the war which the king this very year declared against France was, the most christian king's employing against his protestant subjects of Rochelle, the English ships which were lent by treaty, expressly on condition that they should only assist the French on the coast of Italy.

H 6

English,

English, and gave Lewis XIII. time to send an army before Rochelle. The command was at first given to the king's brother, Gaston; but the king himself soon joined it in person, accompanied by the cardinal. Buckingham was obliged to return to England, after having lost half his army, without being able to throw any succours into Rochelle, where his appearance had only served to hasten its ruin. The duke of Rohan, who had instigated the Rochellers to take up arms, was absent from the town, and engaged in carrying on the war in Languedoc, against the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorenci.

All three generals were fighting for their own interest: the duke of Rohan to continue himself at the head of a party; the prince of Condé at the head of the king's army, and to recover his credit at court, and the duke of Montmorenci to keep the command of the troops which he had raised of his own authority, to make himself master in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to raise an independent fortune, as Lesdiguières had done. Rochelle then had only itself to depend upon. The citizens, animated by religion and liberty, those two powerful motives with the populace, elected one Guiton their mayor, who was, if any thing, rather more determined than themselves. This man, before he would accept an office which gave him the chief command both in civil and military affairs, took a poinard, and holding it in his hand, "I accept, said he, the place of your mayor, only on condition of striking this poinard to the heart of the first who shall talk of
sur-

surrendering; and that it be in like manner used against me, if ever I think of capitulating."

While Rochelle was thus preparing for the most obstinate resistance, cardinal Richelieu made use of every resource to reduce it, by building ships with the most surprising expedition, procuring a reinforcement of men and artillery, and even assistance from Spain, by taking a speedy advantage of the animosity between duke Olivarez and Buckingham, employing the cause of religion, and making the most specious promises, and obtaining a fleet from the king of Spain, at that time the natural enemy to France. To take from the Rochellers all hopes of assistance from England, the count-duke sent Frederick of Toledo with forty sail of ships before the port of Rochelle.

The Spanish admiral arrives: but would one believe that these succours were rendered useless by a mere matter of ceremony, and that Lewis XIII. suffered the Spanish fleet to return home because he would not permit its admiral to be covered in his presence? Whether an affair of so much importance was determined by this trivial circumstance, as too frequently happens, or that the court of Spain had taken umbrage at some new disputes relating to the Mantuan succession, its fleet just appeared and returned back again.

The duke of Buckingham was sitting out a new armament to deliver the town, and he might in a very short time have rendered all the efforts of the French king fruitless. It has always been the opinion of the court, that cardinal Richelieu warded off this blow by taking
advan-

advantage of Buckingham's passion for Anne of Austria, and that he prevailed upon the queen to write to that duke. It is said that she requested of him only to suspend the embarkation of his troops for a little time; and that Buckingham suffered his weakness to prevail over his honour and reputation.

This anecdote may possibly be false; but it has gained so much credit, that we cannot dispense with relating it: it is perfectly agreeable to the known character of Buckingham, and the spirit of court-politics at that time; and we cannot otherwise account for Buckingham's contenting himself with sending only a few vessels*, which shewed themselves before the town to no purpose, and returned again into their own ports.

It is no less astonishing to see the cardinal commanding alone at this siege, after the king's return to Paris. He had a general's commission, and this was his first essay in the military art. He now gave proofs that resolution and genius can overcome all things, being as exact in preserving discipline among the troops, as he was careful in establishing a good police in Paris, and both the one and the other were

* A fleet of fifty ships, having on board two thousand landmen, was equipped, and sailed under the command of the earl of Denbigh, who found twenty sail of French ships riding at anchor before the harbour of Rochelle, and might have destroyed them with great ease; but, instead of attacking the enemy, he weighed anchor and sailed away to Plymouth, where one Le Brun, a Frenchman, who commanded an English ship, made some depositions that implied a charge of cowardice or treachery.

equally

equally difficult. Rochelle could not be reduced so long as its port was open to the English fleet; it was therefore necessary to shut it up by subduing the sea. In the foregoing civil war, when Lewis XIII. had a design to besiege this place, just as the peace was concluded, one Pompeo Targoni, an Italian engineer, had contrived a barricado to keep out the sea. The cardinal followed this plan, but the sea soon threw down the works; he, not in the least discouraged, began them anew. He carried a mole, near seven thousand four hundred feet in length, into the sea; this was destroyed by the winds: nevertheless he still persisted, and having his Quintus Curtius with him, with the description of the mole which Alexander the Great raised across the harbour of Tyre, he set his people to work again; and at length, by the labour and vigilance of Metefan and Tercan, two French engineers, the mole was put into a condition to resist the winds and waves.

Lewis XIII. now repaired in person to the siege, and remained there from March, the month of March 1628, till the 1628. place was reduced. He was frequently present at the attacks, and encouraged his officers by his example, and hastened the finishing of the great work of the mole. Yet still they were in apprehension of the arrival of another English fleet, which would destroy all they had been about. Fortune however favoured their undertakings. The duke of Buckingham, when just ready to sail with a formidable fleet to the assistance

September, assistance of Rochelle, is stabbed
1628. by an * Irish fanatic, without its be-
ing ever discovered who set him on.

Nevertheless Rochelle, though destitute of assistance and even of provisions, still maintained a courageous defence. The citizens were inspired by the example of the mother and sister of the duke of Rohan, who suffered the greatest extremity of want in common with the rest. As some unhappy wretches, ready to expire with hunger, were bewailing their calamitous situation before the mayor Guiton, he told them, "That if one man only was left alive, he ought to keep the gates fast."

The besieged found their hopes somewhat revived at the sight of the fleet which had been fitted out by Buckingham, and which now appeared under the command of admiral Lindsey. The English were not able to break through the mole, and their ships were scattered by forty large pieces of cannon, which had been mounted

* This was John Felton, who had been lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission. He certainly was a fanatic; but, in this case, his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with sir Thomas Frier through an entry from one apartment to another, when Felton stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. Buckingham exclaimed "The villain hath killed me!" and pulling out the knife, dropped dead on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but he seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice. He had pinned on the lining of his hat an inscription, declaring his only motive to this action, was the late remonstrance of the commons against the duke: for he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from such an enemy.

on a wooden fort built in the sea. Lewis was in person in this fort, and exposed himself to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which was obliged to retire, after finding all its efforts to relieve the town ineffectual.

Famine at length subdued the courage of the Rochellers; and, after a whole year's siege, which they had sustained by themselves, they were obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the mayor's poniard, which always lay, Oct. 28,
upon the table in the town-hall, 1628.
ready to pierce the heart of him who

should mention a capitulation. And here it may not be improper to remark, that neither Lewis XIII. as king, cardinal Richelieu as minister, nor the marechals of France as officers of the crown, signed the articles of capitulation, but only two field-marsbals. Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges, and no one lost his life. The Roman catholic religion was established in the town, and the country round about, and the inhabitants were left to their Calvinism, as the only thing which they had remaining.

The cardinal was determined not to leave his work unfinished; he marched into the other provinces of the kingdom, where the reformed had several strong holds, and where their numbers were still formidable. He knew that he must subdue and disarm the Huguenot party entirely, before he could be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the house of Austria in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. It was requisite that the state should be in unity and peace at home, in order to disturb the quiet of other states.

The

The interesting affair of giving a duke to Mantua, that might be dependent on France instead of Spain, after the death of the last prince, had already invited the arms of France into Italy. Gustavus Adolphus at the same time was meditating the invasion of Germany, and he was to be supported.

In this intricate situation of affairs the duke of Rohan, who still continued firm amidst the ruins of his party, makes a treaty with the king of Spain, who promises to give him assistance, after having furnished succours against him the very year before. Philip IV. after consulting his council of conscience, promises a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats to the chief of the Huguenot party in France; but the money came slowly, and the king's troops laid all Languedoc waste. Privas was given up to plunder, and all who were found in it slain. The duke of Rohan, unable to carry on the war, still found means to make a general peace for his party on as good terms as he could; and the same man who had but lately entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, in quality of head of a party, now treats in the same character with the king of France, his master, at the very time that he stands condemned by the parliament as a rebel; and, after having received money from the Spanish court to maintain his troops, he demands and receives
1628 100,000 crowns from Lewis XIII. to complete their pay and dismiss them.

The other protestant towns in France had the like treatment with Rochelle; their fortifications were demolished, and they were deprived of all those privileges which might prove dan-

dangerous; they were allowed liberty of conscience, and the use of their churches, municipal laws, and chambers of edicts, which could not do any hurt. Every thing was appeased; and the powerful Calvinistical party, instead of establishing a state, was disarmed and depressed beyond recovery. Switzerland and Holland were not so powerful as this party when they erected themselves into independent sovereignties; Geneva, which was far less considerable, made itself free, and continued so; and yet the protestants of France fell in the attempt. The reason was, that the party itself was dispersed in its provinces; that one half of the people and the parliaments were catholics; that the royal army sent against them found their country open and defenceless; that they were attacked by troops much superior and better disciplined than their own; and lastly, that they had to deal with cardinal Richelieu.

Lewis XIII. whose character is not sufficiently known, never gained so much personal reputation as at this juncture; for, after the taking of Rochelle, while his armies were reducing the Hungarians to obedience, he supported his allies in Italy; he marched over the Alps to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, in the midst of a severe winter, 1629, forced three barricadoes in the pass of Suza, made himself master of that town, obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards out of Cassel.

In the mean while the cardinal de Richelieu was treating with all the crowned heads of Europe, and against the greater part of them. He sent a capuchin friar to the diet of Ratisbon, to impose

impose upon the Germans, and to tie up the emperor's hands from meddling in the affairs of Italy. At the same time Charnassé was employed to encourage Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to invade Germany; a project to which Gustavus was already very well disposed. While Richelieu was thus trying to shake all Europe, the cabal of the king's brother and the two queens vainly attempted to ruin him at court. His great credit occasioned as much disturbance in the cabinet, as his intrigues excited disorders in other kingdoms. We must not suppose that these commotions at court were the effects of a deep policy or well concerted designs, which united a party skillfully formed for overthrowing him, and raising a person in his room worthy of succeeding him. These fatal divisions were for the most part produced by a humour which frequently governs men, even in the greatest affairs. The queen-mother, though she still kept her place in the council, and had been regent of the provinces on this side the Loire, during her son's expedition to Rochelle, was exasperated against the cardinal, who affected to appear no longer dependent on her. The memorial drawn up in defence of this prince takes notice, that the cardinal coming one day to pay his court to her, and her majesty enquiring after his health, he replied, with his eyes flaming with anger, and his lips trembling, "I am better than some here would wish me to be." The queen expressed her indignation at his insolence: the cardinal flew in a passion; he afterwards asked pardon, and the queen grew pacified; and two days afterwards they quarrelled again,
that

that policy which sometimes subdues the passions in the cabinet, not being always master of them in conversation.

Mary of Medicis at that time took from the cardinal the place of Nov. 21.
comptroller of her household. The 1629
first fruit of this quarrel was the patent for prime minister, which the king made out with his own hand for the cardinal, and addressed to him, extolling his valour and magnanimity, and leaving a blank space for the salary of the office, to be filled up by the cardinal himself. He was already high admiral of France, under the title of comptroller of navigation; and, after depriving the Huguenots of their strong holds, he secured to himself Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre-de-grace, and the isles of Oleron and Rhé, which became so many cautionary places in his hands against his enemies. He was attended by guards, and his pomp eclipsed that of the crown: he was accompanied with all the exteriors of royalty, and all authority was vested in him.

The situation of affairs in Europe made him more necessary than ever to his master and the state; the emperor Ferdinand II. since the battle of Prague, had made himself despotic in Germany, and was become very powerful in Italy. His troops were at that time besieging Mantua; Savoy was wavering between France and the house of Austria; the marquis of Spinola was in the dutchy of Milan with a Spanish army. The cardinal resolved to oppose Spinola himself; he procures a patent creating him generalissimo of the army destined for Italy, and the king in this patent orders the same obedience

dience to be paid to him as to his own person. Thus this prime minister exercising the office of constable, and having under him two marshals of France, marches into Savoy.

1630 He enters into a treaty on his march; but in the character of a crowned head, and insists upon the duke's coming to Lyons to meet him: this however was refused. The French army makes itself master of Chamberry and Pignerol in two days. At length

1630 the king himself sets out for Savoy, taking with him the two queens, his brother, and a whole court, declared enemies to the cardinal, who only arrive to be witnesses to his triumphs. The cardinal comes back to Grenoble to meet the king, and they march together into Savoy.

July, Lewis XIII. is seized with an epidemical disorder, and returns to Lyons. At

1630 this juncture the duke of Montmorenci, with a handful of men, gains a signal victory over the conjoined army of Imperialists, Spaniards, and Savoyards, at Vegliana, and wounds and takes prisoner with his own hand their general Doria. This action crowned him with glory, and the king wrote to him in these terms: "I think myself as much obliged to you, as a king can be to a subject." This obligation however did not prevent this great man from being brought to the scaffold two years afterwards.

There was nothing less than such a victory required to support the interest and reputation of France, at a time that the Imperialists had taken and sacked Mantua, were pursuing the duke which Lewis XIII. protected, and had beaten the Venetians, his allies. The cardinal,

nal, whose greatest enemies were those he had at court, left the duke of Montmorenci to fight against the enemies of the kingdom, and applied himself to observe the motions of those he himself had about the king. This monarch was then dangerously ill at Lyons, inasmuch that his life was despaired of. The confidents of the queen-consort, who were too much in a hurry, already began to propose to Gaston to marry his brother's wife, who was in all appearance on the point of becoming a widow. The cardinal made preparations for retiring to Avignon. The king recovered, and those who had founded their hopes on his death were confounded. The cardinal followed him to Paris, where he found more intrigues than there were in Italy, between the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, had joined with the two queens against him. The two brothers of the name of Marillac, the one marshal of France, and the other keeper of the seals, who were indebted to him for their preferments, flattered themselves with the hopes of ruining him, and succeeding in his credit. The marshal of Bassompierre, without pretending to any thing, was in their secret. The king's first valet de chambre, Beringhen, communicated to the cabal all that passed in the king's apartment. The queen-mother a second time deprives the cardinal of his place of comptroller of her household, which she had been obliged to restore to him; an office which the cardinal looked upon as beneath his dignity and pride, but which that pride would not suffer him to lose. His niece, afterwards dutchess of Aiguillon,

lon,* was dismissed; and Mary of Medicis, by dint of reiterated entreaties and complaints, obtained her son's promise to divest him of the ministry.

There was nothing more in these intrigues than what we every day meet with in the houses of private persons who have a great number of servants; they were common trifles; but here the fate of France, and even of Europe, depended on them. The private treaties with the Italian princes, with Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, against the emperor and Spain, were in the hands of Richelieu, and could not be taken from thence with-

Nov. 10, out endangering the state. Nevertheless, the king's weakness, with
1630 the inward dislike he had taken to

the cardinal on account of his superiority, determined him to give up this necessary minister, and, overcome by the obstinate solicitations and tears of his mother, he promised to disgrace him. The cardinal entered by a back-door into the room where they were concluding his ruin; the king rose and left the apartment without speaking to him; he now looked upon himself as lost, and prepared for a retreat to Havre-de-Grace, as he had a few months before done to retire to Avignon. His ruin appeared the more certain, as the king the same day gave the marechal de Marillac, the cardinal's declared enemy, a power to make peace and war in Piedmont. Then the cardinal prepared in earnest for his departure; he had already sent his riches five and twenty leagues off, on mules, with orders not to pass through any town, a

precaution he had taken against the hatred of the populace. His friends advise him to try one effort more with the king.

The cardinal accordingly goes to the king at Versailles, which was at that time a small hunting-seat which Lewis XIII. had bought for twenty thousand crowns, and which has since been made by Lewis XIV. one of the noblest palaces in Europe, at an immense expence. The king, who had sacrificed his minister thro' weakness, by the same weakness puts himself again into his hands, and gives up to him all those who had plotted his ruin. This day, which still goes by the name of the day of dupes, fixed the cardinal's absolute power.

The very next morning the
keeper of the seals was arrested and
committed prisoner to Chateaudun, Nov. 11,
1630

where he died with grief. The same day the cardinal dispatched a messenger of state, in the king's name, to the two marechals, de la Force and Schomberg, with orders to arrest the marechal de Marillac, at the head of the army of which he was going to take the sole command. The messenger arrives an hour after the marechal had received the news of Richelieu's disgrace, and he finds himself a prisoner in the very instant that he thought himself master of the state, in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu resolved to bring this general to an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner, for extortion: the trial lasted near two years. We must relate the consequences that attended it, in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the thread of this affair, and to shew what revenge can effect when armed with

supreme power, and coloured with the appearances of justice.

The cardinal was not satisfied with depriving the marechal of the right of being tried by the courts of parliament assembled, a right which had been so often violated, nor with having appointed commissioners to try him at Verdun, on whose severity he thought he might depend. These first judges having, notwithstanding the threats and promises used to work upon them, agreed to admit the criminal to justify himself; the cardinal annulled the sentence, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's most inveterate enemies; in particular Paul Hay du Chastelet, known by the bitter satire he wrote against the two brothers. Never was greater contempt shewn to the forms of justice and common decency, than by the cardinal on this occasion, who had the prisoner removed to his own country-house, where the trial was carried on in his presence.

It is expressly forbidden by the laws of the kingdom to detain any one prisoner in a private house; but there were no laws against powerful revenge. The laws of the church were as little respected as those of the state, and decency. The new keeper of the seals, Chateauneuf, who had lately succeeded the prisoner's brother, sat as president of the court, where decency forbid his appearance; and tho' a sub-deacon, and possessed of benefices, he presided at a criminal process; the cardinal had procured a dispensation from Rome, in virtue of which he had the power of passing sentence of death.

This

This trial shews us, that the lives of the unfortunate depend on a desire of pleasing men in power. The most minute actions of the marshal's life were enquired into. They pretended to have discovered some abuses in the exercise of his command, some illicit though customary profits, which he had formerly made either by himself or his servants, in the building the citadel of Verdun. "It is an unheard of thing," said he to his judges, that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much rigour and injustice; my whole trial relates to nothing but hay, straw, stones, and lime."

Nevertheless, this general, covered with wounds, and bending beneath the servitude of forty years, was condemned to die, under the same king who had bestowed rewards on thirty subjects, who had been in open rebellion against him.

During the first preparations for this strange trial, the cardinal ordered Beringhen to leave the kingdom, and imprisoned all those who had attempted to overthrow him, or of whom he had the least suspicion. This display of a revenge as mean as cruel, seemed little to agree with a mind occupied with the fate of Europe.

At that time he concluded that treaty with Gustavus Adolphus against Frederick II. which was intended to shake the imperial throne. It cost France only three hundred thousand livres per annum, to sow divisions in Germany, and to oppress both emperors at once till the peace of Westphalia; and Gustavus Adolphus had already entered upon the course of his victories, which gave France all the time and liberty it

could desire to establish its greatness, and to secure its own peace by the troubles of other nations; but the minister, by his want of moderation, excited the public hatred against him, and made his enemies implacable. Gaston duke of Orleans, the king's brother, fled from court to his appenage of Orleans, and from thence to Lorraine, protesting that he would never set foot in the kingdom so long as the cardinal, the persecutor of himself and his mother, continued at the helm of affairs. Richelieu caused all the friends and adherents of the duke to be declared guilty of high treason, by a decree of council. This decree was sent to the parliament to be registered; the voices were divided on this occasion. The king, incensed at this division, sent for the parliament to the Louvre, who went thither on foot, and addressed the king upon their knees. The act of division was torn before their faces, and three of the principal members were banished.

The cardinal was not contented with supporting his authority, now connected with that of his master, in this arbitrary manner. Having forced the presumptive heir of the crown to fly the kingdom, he made no scruple of causing the queen-mother to be put under arrest. This was a delicate undertaking, considering that the king had already repented of his behaviour to his mother, and of having sacrificed her to a favourite. The cardinal made use of arguments of state to stifle the voice of nature in the king, and set all the engines of religion to work to quiet his scruples. On this occasion, he employed the talents of father Joseph du Tremblay, a capuchin, as extraordinary a personage

sonage in his way as Richelieu himself; he was a cunning enthusiast, who could occasionally be either the fanatic or the impostor, and who attempted at one and the same time to set up a crusade against the Turks, to found the order of the nuns of mount Calvary, to turn poet and negociator, and to raise himself to the purple and the ministry. This man, being admitted into one of the private councils of conscience, invented to do evil under the appearance of good, undertook to prove to the king, that he not only might, but ought to put it out of his mother's power to oppose his minister. The court was then at Compeigne; the king quitted it, and left his mother surrounded with guards, who prevented her from stirring. Her friends, creatures, and servants, and even her own physician, were sent to the Bastile and other prisons. The Bastile was always full during this administration; the marechal de Bassompierre, only for being suspected of not being in the cardinal's interest, was shut up there during the life of that minister.

From that time Mary never saw her son nor Paris more, that city which she had beautified with the famous palace called the Luxembourg, with noble aqueducts unknown till her time, and with the fine public walk which still goes by the name of the Queen's. Continually a prey to favourites, she passed the rest of her days in a voluntary but unhappy exile. The widow of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, and the mother-in-law of three crowned heads, wanted sometimes the necessities of life. The foundation of all these quarrels

quarrels was, that Lewis XIII. would be governed, and that he chose rather to be governed by his minister than his mother.

This Queen, who had so long governed the kingdom, fled first to Brussels; and, from her asylum there, calls to her son and the supreme courts of the kingdom for justice against her enemy. She becomes a petitioner to that parliament, (of Paris) whose remonstrances she had so often rejected while regent, and sent back from her presence to confine themselves to the trial of causes: so strongly does our way of thinking change with our fortunes. Her petition is still to be seen in these terms: "The petition of Mary, queen of France and Navarre, sheweth, that, since February 23, she has been detained prisoner in the castle of Compeigne, without being accused or suspected of, &c." The repeated complaints preferred against the cardinal by the queen's friends, lost great part of their force by being too strongly urged, and because those who dictated them for her, by mingling their own grievances with her sorrows, joined too many false accusations with the true ones; in short, she only added to her misfortunes by complaining of them.

1631 The minister answered the queen's representations against him, by getting himself created a duke and peer, and appointed governor of Brittany. Every thing seconded his wishes, not only in the kingdom, but also in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarine, who had been employed by the pope as his minister in the affair of Mantua, was now become the minister of France, by his happy dexterity in negociations; and, by serving cardinal

dinal de Richelieu, he, without foreseeing it, laid the foundation of that fortune which afterwards made him that minister's successor. An advantageous treaty had lately been made with Savoy, by which that state ceded Pignerol for ever to France.

In the Low Countries the prince of Orange, by the assistance of the money he received from the French court, made several conquests upon the Spaniards, and the cardinal had intelligence even in Brussels.

In Germany, the extraordinary success of Gustavus's arms contributed to augment the merit of the cardinal's services in France. In a word, the uninterrupted prosperity of his administration deprived all his enemies of the power to hurt him, and left him at full liberty to pursue his revenge, which the good of the state seemed to authorize. He erected a court of justice, which passed sentence against all the friends and adherents of the queen-mother and the king's brother. The number of proscribed was prodigious; not a day passed without seeing gibbets loaded with the figures in effigy of those of both sexes, who had followed the fortunes, or shared in the councils of the two royal exiles; search was made after some physicians and drawers of nativities, who had said that the king had not long to live, and two were actually sent to the galleys. In short, the queen-mother's estates, and even her dowry, were confiscated; who thereupon wrote thus to her son: "I am not willing to charge you with the seizure of my estates, nor the inventory which has been taken of them, as if I was already dead; I can never believe that

1631 you would deprive her of nourishment who gave you your life."

The whole kingdom murmured at these proceedings, but no one dared to speak out. Those who would have taken part with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, were withheld by their fears. The marechal duke of Montmorenci, who was governor of Languedoc, was the only one who at that time thought himself sufficiently powerful to withstand the cardinal's fortune, and to set himself up as the head of a party; but his great courage was not alone sufficient to support this dangerous part. He was not master of two provinces, like Lefdiguieres, who had found means to make himself absolute in Dauphiny; his prodigality had put it out of his power to purchase a number of dependents, and his love of pleasure and amusement did not suffer him to attend wholly to business. In a word, to be the head of a party, he should have had a party, but he had none.

Gaston gave him the flattering title of avenger of the royal family. They thought themselves sure of the assistance of Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, whose sister the duke of Orleans had married; but Charles could not defend himself against Lewis, who had already made himself master of part of his dominions. The court of Spain gave the king's brother hopes of an army in the Netherlands and at Treves, to lead into France; but he with difficulty got together three thousand German horsemen, whom he could not pay, and who lived entirely upon plunder. It was supposed, that as soon as he appeared in France with this handful of men,
all

all the nation was to join him; instead of which, not one stirred in his favour during his whole march, from the borders of Franche Compté to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He hoped likewise that the duke of Epernon, who had marched over the whole kingdom to deliver the queen his mother, and who had carried on a war, and afterwards concluded a peace, in her favour, would now declare for that queen whose cause he had so warmly supported, and for one of her sons, the presumptive heir of the crown, against a minister, whose pride had so frequently mortified his own. This resource, however, powerful as it seemed, failed as others had done. The duke of Epernon, who had almost ruined himself in assisting the queen-mother, complained of having been neglected by her, after such essential services. He hated the cardinal more than any person living, but at the same time he began to fear him.

The prince of Condé, who had engaged in a war to oppose the marechal d'Ancre when minister of state, was far from thinking of declaring against Richelieu; he yielded to this minister's genius, and, solely intent upon making his own fortune, solicited the command of the army on the other side the Loire, against his brother-in-law, Montmorenci. The count of Soissons had then only an impotent hatred to the cardinal, and did not dare to declare himself.

The duke of Orleans thus deserted, only because he was not strong enough, traversed the kingdom more like a fugitive at the head of a foreign banditti, than a prince marching to

give battle to a king. At length he comes to Languedoc, where he is joined by the duke of Montmorenci with six or seven thousand men, which he called an army, and which he had raised partly at his own expence, and partly by promises. Discord, which always insinuates itself into parties, weakened these forces almost as soon as they were gathered together. The duke of Elbeuf, Gaston's favourite, wanted to share the command with Montmorenci, who had been at all the charge and trouble, and was in his own government.

The very day of the battle of Castlenaudari was opened by a dispute between Gaston and Montmorenci. This could hardly be
 Sept. 1, called a battle; it was an encounter,
 1631 a skirmish, in which the duke fell upon a small detachment of the royal army, commanded by marechal Schomberg; and, whether through his natural impetuosity, through vexation and despair, or by having drank too freely, which was but too common at that time, he leaped a large ditch, followed only by five or six of his people. This was fighting like the old knight-errants, and not like a general. After breaking through several of the enemy's ranks, he fell to the ground wounded, and was taken in sight of the duke of Orleans and his little army, who made not the least motion to assist him.

There was another of Henry IV.'s sons present at this battle besides Gaston; this was the count of Moret, the natural issue of that monarch and mademoiselle de Beuil, who ventured his person more than the lawful heir, and would not quit Montmorenci, but was slain fighting

fighting by his side. This is the same count of Moret whom report afterwards brought to life and made an hermit; an idle story which was blended with these fatal events.

The taking of Montmorenci totally dispirited Gaston, and dispersed the army which he owed wholly to that nobleman.

The prince had now nothing left but to submit. The court sent Bullion, counsellor of state, and comptroller of the finances, to him, with a promise of Montmorenci's pardon. Nevertheless this pardon was not stipulated in the treaty the king made with his brother, or rather the amnesty he granted him: it is not acting nobly to deceive the weak and unfortunate; but the cardinal was bent upon humbling the king's brother, and putting Montmorenci to death. Gaston himself promised in an article of this treaty, "To love the cardinal de Richelieu."

The fatal end of the marechal duke of Montmorenci* is well known. His punishment was just, though that of the marechal de Marillac's had not been so. But the death of so hopeful an officer, who, by his great courage, generosity, and amiable qualifications, had gained the

* He was tried at Tholouse before commissioners, of whom the chief was an ecclesiastic, monsieur de l'Aubestine de Chateaneuf, who obtained a dispensation from the pope for being present as judge at a trial for life: but this dispensation could not screen him from the guilt of ingratitude, in condemning a nobleman to whose father he had been page. The duke de Montmorenci was beheaded at Tholouse, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1631, and fell universally regretted, as the most accomplished and amiable nobleman in France.

love and esteem of all France; made the cardinal more odious than that of Marillac had done. It has been said, that when he was committed to prison, a bracelet was found on his arm with the picture of Mary of Medicis. This circumstance always passed for certain with the court, and is perfectly agreeable to the spirit of the times. Madam de Motteville, that princess's confident, acknowledges in her memoirs, that the duke of Montmorenci had, like Buckingham, prided himself in being touched with her charms. It was the Spanish Galanteria*, somewhat like the Italian Ciciabei, the remains of chivalry, which however did not at all contribute to abate the severity of Lewis XIII.

Oct. 30, Montmorenci, before he went to
1632 death, bequeathed a famous picture
of Carrachio to the cardinal. This was not the spirit of the times, but a new turn of thinking inspired by the approach of death, and looked upon by some as an instance of Christian magnanimity, and by others as weakness.

Nov. 15, The king's brother, after re-
1631 turning to France only to see his
friend and protector die upon the scaffold, and himself banished from the court as a favour, and in hourly apprehension for his liberty, once more left the kingdom, and fled to Spain, where he joined his mother in Brussels.

Under any other administration, a queen and the presumptive heir of the crown, fled for refuge in an enemy's country, the general discontent that prevailed among all orders of the state, and the blood of an hundred families to be

be revenged, would have distracted the kingdom under the new circumstances in which Europe then was. Gustavus Adolphus, the scourge of the house of Austria, had been killed in the battle of Lutzen near Leipfick in the midst of his victories; and the emperor, freed from that powerful enemy, might, in conjunction with Spain, have overwhelmed France; but, what had hardly ever happened, the Swedes maintained themselves in a strange country even after the death of their chief. Germany was likewise a prey to the same bloody troubles as before, and the Spanish monarchy was every day growing weaker. All cabals then must necessarily sink beneath the cardinal's power, and yet not a day passed without intrigues and factions, of which he was the chief cause himself, by those private weaknesses which are always intermingled with important affairs; and which, in despite of the artifices used to disguise them, discover the littlenesses of grandeur. It is pretended that the dutchess of Chevreuse, who was always intriguing and still preserved her charms, had by her artifices drawn in the cardinal to have that passion for her with which she wanted to inspire him, and that she made a sacrifice of him to Chateauneuf, the keeper of the seals. The commander de Jars, and others, had likewise a share in her confidence. Queen Anne, Lewis's consort, had no other consolation in the loss of her credit at court, but that of assisting the dutchess of Chevreuse to make him contemptible whom she could not otherwise destroy. The dutchess pretended to have an inclination

for

for the cardinal, and formed her intrigues in expectation of his death, which frequent disorders had made as near in appearance as she could wish. A term of reproach which the cardinal always made use of in mentioning the cardinal, was what offended him the most *.

The keeper of the seals was imprisoned without form of trial, because they could not bring him to trial. The commander de Jars, 1633 and others, who were accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the queen-mother and duke of Orleans, were condemned by commissioners to be beheaded. The commander was pardoned upon the scaffold, but the others were executed.

Not only those who were suspected or accused of being in the duke of Orleans interest were persecuted, but Charles IV. duke of Lorraine was likewise made the victim of the cardinal's 1635 designs. Lewis having made himself master of Nanci, promised the duke to restore him his capital, provided he would put his sister Margaret into his hands, who had been privately married to his brother Gaston. This match was the source of new disputes and quarrels in the church and state: these disputes were of a nature to bring about a great revolution; no less than the succession to the crown was concerned, and there had not happened so important a matter of controversy, since that about the Salique law.

The king insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled; and by that means, if a prince should be born

* They called him *Cu pourri*, or rotten a---s.

of this marriage, he wanted to have this prince, his nephew, and heir to the kingdom, declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting. The duke of Orleans' marriage had been celebrated in the presence of witnesses, authorised by the father and all the relations of his wife, consummated, and legally acknowledged by all parties, and solemnly confirmed by the archbishop of Malines. This marriage was regarded as valid and indissoluble by the whole court of Rome, and all the foreign universities; and even the family of Lorraine declared afterwards, that it was not in the pope's power to annul it, and that it was an unalterable sacrament.

The welfare of the state required that the princes of the blood should not be allowed to dispose of themselves without the king's will. The same reason might hereafter require of them to acknowledge as lawful king of France the issue of this marriage, now declared unlawful, but this danger was at a distance; the voice of present interest prevailed, and it became necessary, notwithstanding the opinion of the church, that a sacrament like that of marriage should be annulled, if it had not received the previous assent of him who was in the place of father of the family.

An edict of the council did that which Rome and the council had never done; and the king went with the cardinal to the parliament of Paris to have it verified. The cardinal spoke at the bed of justice in character of prime minister, and peer of France. You may frame some idea of the eloquence of those times from two or three passages in the cardinal's harangue: he said that "To convert a
soul

Sept.
1934

soul was more than to create a world ; that the king no more dared to touch his mother than he did the ark ; and again, that there never happens more than two or three relapses in acute diseases, unless the noble parts are injured." Almost all his harangue was in this stile, and yet it was perhaps as good as any that was pronounced at that time. This bad taste, which then prevailed, was no abasement to the minister's genius ; and the spirit of government has at all times been found compatible with false eloquence and false wit. The marriage of the duke of Orleans was solemnly annulled, and even the general assembly of the clergy in 1635, in conformity with the edict, declared all marriages contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, to be null and void. The see of Rome, however, did not confirm this law of the church and state of France.

The situation of the royal family of France became the point of controversy in all Europe. If the presumptive heir to the crown of that kingdom persisted in maintaining the marriage which had been annulled by this law, the children born of that marriage were bastards in France, and could not succeed to their inheritance without a civil war : if he took another wife, the children born of this fresh marriage were bastards at Rome, and would raise a civil war against the children of the first.

The duke of Orleans by his resolution, of which this was the only example, prevented things being brought to such extremities ; and a few years afterwards the king consented to acknowledge his brother's wife. But that part of the edict which renders null the marriages
con-

contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, remains still in force.

This obstinacy of the cardinal's, in pushing his revenge against the prince, even to his domestic affairs, in taking from him his wife, in stripping his brother-in-law, the duke of Lorraine, of his dominions, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and indigence, at length roused the friends of the royal refugees, who entered into a plot to assassinate him. Father Chanteloube, a priest of the oratory, and almoner to Mary of Medicis, was juridically accused of having hired murderers, one of which was broken on the wheel at Metz. There were but few of these attempts; many more had been made against the life of Henry IV. but fanaticism produces greater crimes than the most inveterate hatred.

The cardinal, who was much better guarded than Henry IV. had nothing to fear, and he triumphed over all his enemies. The queen mother's and the duke of Orleans little court, which was wandering and desolate, was filled with dissensions and factions, which always attend misfortune.

Richelieu had more powerful enemies to oppose. He resolved, notwithstanding the secret troubles which preyed upon the vitals of the kingdom, to establish the power and reputation of France abroad, and to complete the grand scheme of Henry IV. by making open war with the whole house of Austria, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. By this war he rendered himself necessary to a master who did not love him, and with whom his enemies were incessantly labouring to ruin him. His reputation was concerned
in

in this undertaking, as the time seemed to be come for crushing the Austrian power, now on its decline. Picardy and Champagne were still the limits of France; these limits might be enlarged while the Swedes were still in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, provided they could depend upon the least assistance from France. These were the sole motives of the war against the emperor, which continued till the treaty of Westphalia; and of that against Spain, which lasted for a long time after, till ended by the treaty of the Pyrenees. All other reasons were only pretences.

The court of France had hitherto endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the title of ally to the Swedes, and mediators in the empire. The Swedes had lost the great battle at Nordlingen, and even their defeat proved serviceable to France, as it brought them to be dependent on that kingdom. Chancellor Oxenstiern came to Compeigne, to do homage to the cardinal's fortune, who was now master of affairs in Germany, which had before been in the chancellor's hands. At the same time he made a treaty with the states-general, to share with them the Spanish Netherlands, which he looked upon as an easy conquest.

Lewis XIII. sent an herald at arms to Brussels to declare war. This herald was to present a cartel of defiance to the cardinal-infant, son to Philip III. who was at that time governor of the Low Countries. It is to be observed that this cardinal prince, agreeable to the customs of those times, had the command of the army, and was one of the chiefs who gained the battle
of

of Nordlingen against the Swedes. In this age we see the cardinals Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis, putting on armour and marching at the head of armies. All these customs are now changed. This was the last declaration of war made by an herald at arms; since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish it at home, without sending into the enemies country to declare it.

Cardinal Richelieu drew the duke of Savoy and the duke of Parma into this alliance: he likewise made sure of Barnard duke of Saxe-Weimar, by giving him a pension of four millions of livres *per ann.* and promising him the landgravate of Alsace. None of these events, however, answered the political views with which they were framed. Alsace, which was to be given to Weimar, fell a considerable time afterwards into the hands of France; and Lewis XIII. who was in one campaign to share 1636 the Spanish Netherlands with the Dutch, lost his army, and was very near seeing all Picardy fall a prey to the Spaniards. They had actually taken Corbie; and the count of Galas, the imperial general, and the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighbourhood of Dijon. The French army were at first unsuccessful on all sides, and stood in need of the greatest efforts to resist those whom they thought to beat so easily.

In a word, the cardinal saw himself in a very short time on the point of being ruined by that very war which he had raised for the establishment of his own greatness and that of France. His power at court suffered for some time by the bad success of public affairs. The duke of Orleans,

Orleans, whose life was a perpetual reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king his brother, was returned to France; and the cardinal was obliged to resign the command of the army to this prince and the count of Soissons, who retook Corbie. He now saw himself exposed to the resentment of these two princes. This was a time of conspiracies and duels, as I have already observed. The same persons who afterwards, in conjunction with cardinal de Retz, brought about the first troubles of the Fronde, and were concerned in the barricadoes, from that time took every opportunity of exercising that factious spirit with which they were devoured. Gaston and the count of Soissons countenanced them in all their attempts against the cardinal. It was resolved to assassinate him even in the king's presence: but the duke of Orleans, who always did things by halves, terrified at the attempt, neglected to give the signal which had been agreed on by the conspirators.

The Imperialists were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards from Picardy. The duke of Weimar was successful in Alsace, and made himself master of almost that landgravate, which the court of France had guaranteed to him. In fine, after a series of greater advantages than there had been losses, fortune, who preserved the cardinal's life from so many plots against it, preserved his reputation likewise, which depended on success.

This love of glory put him upon endeavouring to gain the first place in the empire of wit and learning, even in the most critical situation of national affairs and his own, and in the
midst

midst of those attempts to which his life was continually exposed. He erected the French academy at this time, and exhibited theatrical pieces in his own palace, in the 1637 composition of which he himself had sometimes a share. As soon as the danger was past, he resumed all his wonted pride and fierceness: for it was at this very time that he fomented the first troubles of England, and that he wrote that note which was the forerunner of all the misfortunes of Charles I. "Before a year is elapsed, the king of England will find that I am not to be despised."

When the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia, after 1638 his army was beaten, and the duke de la Vallette was accused of not having properly assisted him, he caused that duke, who had fled, to be condemned by a court of commissioners, at which the king himself presided. This was an ancient custom in the constitution of the peerage, when kings were looked upon only as the heads of the peers: but under a government purely monarchical, the presence and opinion of the sovereign had too much influence on the opinions of the judges.

This war of the cardinal's raising, was not fully successful till the complete victory gained by the duke of Weimar over the Imperialists, in which he took four generals of the empire prisoners, took possession of Fribourg and Brisac; and till at length the Spanish branch of the house of Austria lost Portugal by the only successful conspiracy which had happened in those times; and that it afterwards lost Catalonia by an open revolt towards the end of the year

year 1640. But before fortune had disposed of all these extraordinary events in favour of France, the country was exposed to ruin. The troops began to be ill paid; Grotius, who was ambassador from Sweden to the court of Paris says, that the finances were badly managed. His observation is very just; for the cardinal was obliged some time after the loss of Corbie to create twenty-four new counsellors of the parliament and one president. Certainly there was no want of new judges, and it was shameful to create them merely for the sake of raising money by the sale of their places. The parliament accordingly complained of it; and all the answer they received was, that the cardinal imprisoned five of its magistrates who had represented their grievances like men of spirit. Every one who dared to oppose him at court, in the parliament, or in the armies, were disgraced, banished, or imprisoned.

Lewis XIII. always stood in need of a confidant called a favourite, who was capable of amusing his melancholy disposition, and of being the depository of his uneasinesses. This post was occupied by the duke of St. Simon; but not having taken sufficient care to keep well with the cardinal, he was driven from court, and banished to Blayes*.

The king sometimes devoted himself to the fair sex: he was fond of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, maid of honour to the queen his wife, so far as a weak, scrupulous, and indifferent person could be said to love. The jesuit Caussin,

* A town of Guienne in France, on the river Garonne.

the king's confessor, countenanced this connection, as it might prove instrumental in procuring the queen-mother's return. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, at the same time that she encouraged the king's passion was in the interest of the two queens against the cardinal: but the minister soon prevailed over the mistress and the confessor, as he had done over the two queens. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, through fear of his resentment, threw herself into a convent, and soon afterwards father Caussin was arrested, and sent into banishment 1637 in Lower Brittany.

Christina, dutchess of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV. widow to Lewis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had also a Jesuit confessor, who caballed against the court of France, and exasperated his royal penitent against the cardinal. That minister, preferring revenge and the interest of the state to the law of nations, made no scruple of seizing the Jesuit in the dutchess's dominions. The queen consort herself was treated like a common culprit, for having wrote to the dutchess of Chevreuse, who was the cardinal's enemy, and had fled the kingdom. Her papers were seized, and she herself obliged to undergo an examination before the chancellor Sequier.

All these particulars collected together, form a faithful portrait of this minister. The same man seemed made to lord it over all the family of the great king Henry IV. to persecute his widow in foreign countries; to ill use his son Gaston; to raise factions against his daughter, the queen of England; and lastly, to humble Lewis XIII. by making him powerful, and his

wife tremble. Thus he passed his whole administration in raising the public hatred and revenging himself; and every year produced new rebellions, and new punishments. The revolt of the count of Soissons was the most dangerous. It was supported by the duke of Bouillon, son to the marechal of that name, who received him into Sedan †; by the duke of Guise, grandson to Balafree, who with the courage of his ancestors resolved to restore the fortunes of his house; and lastly, by the king of Spain, who furnished him with money and troops from the Low Countries.

The count of Soissons, and the duke of Bouillon had a good army and knew how to conduct it; and for the greater security, it was resolved, while the army was advancing, to assassinate the cardinal, and make an insurrection at Paris. The cardinal de Retz, who was at that time very young, served his first apprenticeship to conspiracies in this plot. The battle of Marfée, gained by the count of Soissons over the king's troops near Sedan, would have greatly encouraged the conspirators; but the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement, again extricated the cardinal
1641 from this new danger. It was now for once out of his power to punish; for he did not know of the conspiracy against his life, and the rebel army was victorious. He therefore found it necessary to enter into a treaty with the duke of Bouillon, who was in possession of Sedan. The duke of Guise, the same who

† A strong town of Champagne in France.

afterwards made himself master of Naples, was the only one who suffered on this occasion, being condemned for contumacy in the parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, who was restored to favour at court, and outwardly reconciled to the cardinal, swore fidelity, and at the same time formed a new conspiracy. As every one who was about the king hated his minister, and as the king could not be without a favourite, Richelieu himself gave him one in the person of young Effiat Cinq-Mars, that he might have a creature of his own about the throne. This young man, who was soon made master of the horse, wanted to be in the council, and the cardinal, who would not suffer it, had immediately an irreconcilable enemy in him. What the more emboldened Cinq-Mars to plot against him was, the king's own behaviour, who being frequently displeased with his minister, and offended with his pride and state, used to impart his dislike to his favourite, whom he always called his Dear Friend, and spoke in such sharp terms against Richelieu, that it encouraged Cinq-Mars to propose to his majesty several times to have him assassinated. This is proved by a letter which Lewis XIII. himself wrote to chancellor Seguier. But the king afterwards took such a dislike to his favourite, that he frequently banished him from his presence; so that Cinq-Mars conceived an equal hatred to Lewis and his minister. He had engaged in a correspondence with the count of Soissons before his death, and afterwards continued to carry it on with the duke of Bouillon; and the king's brother, who after his many unsuccessful

schemes remained quiet in his apennage of Blois, grown weary at length of a life of idleness, and being importuned by the conspirators, entered into the confederacy. His chief object in all his undertakings was the cardinal's death, a scheme which had been frequently attempted and as often frustrated.

1642 Lewis XIII. and Richelieu, who were at that time both attacked by a disorder which was more dangerous than conspiracies, and which soon brought them both to the grave, marched together into Roussillon, to divest the house of Austria for ever of that province. The duke of Bouillon, whom they should not have entrusted with a command, just after having been in arms against the king, was at the head of an army in Piedmont, against the Spaniards, and at that very time were plotting with the king's brother and Cinq-Mars. The conspirators made a treaty with Spain for a body of troops to be sent into France in order to throw every thing into confusion during a regency, which they looked upon as very near, and of which every one hoped to make advantage. Cinq-Mars, who at that time had followed the king into Narbonne, was more in his good graces than ever; and Richelieu, who was ill at Tarascon, had lost all his credit, and kept his ground only by being necessary.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it that this plot likewise should be discovered; a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. This cost Cinq-Mars his life *. There was an anec-

* He was beheaded at Lyons, together with monsieur de Thou.

dote handed about by the courtiers of those days, that the king, who was frequently wont to call the master of his horse his Dear Friend, pulled out his watch at the hour appointed for his execution, and turning to those about him said, "I fancy my Dear Friend makes a very bad figure just now." The duke of Bouillon was put under arrest at the head of his army at Casal. He saved his life because they wanted his principality of Sedan more than his life: and he who had twice betrayed the state, preserved his dignity of prince, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands of a much greater value given him. De Thou †, whose only fault was the having

† This was the son of the historian: he was king's counsellor, and master of requests of the king's household, a man of profound erudition and unblemished integrity. Some people believed that the cardinal revenged on him what his father had said in his history, of Anthony du Plessis de Richelieu, one of the cardinal's great uncles. Speaking of the conspiracy of Amboise, the historian says, *Antonius Plessiacus Richelieus, vulgo dictus monachus, quod eam vitam profectus fuisset; dein voto ejurato, omni se licentiae ac libidinis genere contaminasset.* "Anthony du Plessis de Richelieu, commonly called a monk, because he had professed that kind of life; afterwards renouncing his vows, he defiled himself with every species of licentiousness and libertinism." Francis Augustus de Thou suffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, with the most philosophical composure. About an hour before his execution, he wrote with his own hand the following classical inscription, to be put upon a chapel he had founded at the Cordeliers of Tarrafcon, in performance of a vow which he had made at that town when he was first imprisoned.

Christo Liberatori,

Votum in carcere pro libertati conceptum,

Franc. Augustus Thuanus

E carcere vita jam jam liberandus,

Merito solvit. Sept. 12, 1642.

K 2

been

been privy to the conspiracy, which he at the same time disapproved, was condemned to die for not having discovered it; notwithstanding that he pleaded in excuse that he could not have been able to prove a deposition of that kind; and that he should have been much more deserving of death, had he accused the king's brother of a crime against the state, without sufficient evidence to make good his charge. This obvious justification was not allowed by the cardinal, who was his mortal enemy. The judges condemned him upon a law made by Lewis XI. whose name is alone sufficient to prove it to have been a cruel one. The queen herself was privy to the plot; but not being accused, she escaped the mortifications she must otherwise have suffered. As to Gaston duke of Orleans, he, as usual, impeached his accomplices, and humbled himself, consenting to remain at Blois without guards, or any other of the honours belonging to his dignity; it had been always his fate to bring his friends to a prison or a scaffold.

The cardinal displayed all his haughty rigour in his revenge authorised by justice. He carried the master of the horse after him from Tarascon to Lyons on the Rhone, in a boat fastened to the stern of that in which he himself was; and, though struck with death himself, exulting in the fall of him who was going to suffer by the hand of the executioner. From thence the cardinal was carried to Paris upon the shoulders of his guards, in a large litter, where two men could stand by his bed-side: a breach was made in the walls of the towns through which he passed, in order to give him a more

commodious entrance. In this manner he went to finish his life in Paris, at the age of fifty-eight, leaving the king Dec. 4, 1642 pleased with being rid of him, and yet perplexed with being his own master. It is said that this minister governed after his death, because some vacant places were filled with those of his nomination: but the commissions had been made out before his death; and what proves beyond contradiction that he had already governed too long and had lost his power is, that all those whom he had shut up in the Bastile, were released as soon as he was dead, as victims who were no longer to be sacrificed to his vengeance. He left the king three millions of our money, at fifty livres to the mark, which sum he always kept by him in reserve. The expence of his household after he came to be prime minister, amounted to a thousand crowns a-day. Every thing about him was splendid and stately; whereas, in the king's family, all was plain and simple. His guards attended him quite to the room-door whenever he went to his master. He took precedence of all the princes of the blood: he wanted nothing but the crown; and even while he lay on his death-bed, and still entertained hopes of surviving the king, he took measures for being made regent of the kingdom. Henry IV's widow died July 3, 1642 about five months before him, and Lewis XIII. followed him about five months afterwards.

It was difficult to say which of the three was most unhappy. The queen mother, after having been long a wanderer, died very poor in Cologne. The son, though master of a no-

ble kingdom, neither tasted the sweets of greatness, if it affords any, nor those of society; he was always under a yoke, and always endeavouring to shake it off; subject to an ill state of health, gloomy, melancholy, and insupportable even to himself: he had not one servant who loved him, he distrusted his own wife, was hated by his brother, deserted by his mistresses, without having experienced the pleasures of love, betrayed by his favourites, and abandoned on the throne. The condition of the meanest of his subjects who lived in peace was infinitely preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was the most hated; and that though labouring under a bad state of health, he was obliged to support an immense burthen with hands imbrued in blood.

In these times of conspiracies and punishments the kingdom however was in a flourishing condition; and notwithstanding the troubles which prevailed, the age of politeness and the liberal arts began to discover itself. Lewis XIII. contributed nothing towards this change; it was chiefly owing to the care and industry of cardinal Richelieu. Philosophy indeed could not as yet shake off the rust of the schools; but Corneille in 1635, began that famous æra of science, known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. by his incomparable tragedy of the Cid; Le Pouffin equalled Raphael d'Urbain in some parts of painting. Sculpture was soon brought to perfection by Girardon, as may be seen by Richelieu's monument. The French began to make themselves esteemed every where by their agreeable and polite manners. In a word

word, this was the dawn of good taste. The nation was not yet what it became afterwards; neither was trade so well cultivated, nor the general police established. The inner parts of the kingdom were yet to be regulated. Paris was the only handsome city, and that wanted many necessary things, as we shall see hereafter in the age of Lewis XIV. The manner of living as well as the dress of those times, was in every respect different from what it is at present; insomuch, that were the people of our days to see those of that time, they would not think they saw their fathers. The buskins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the whiskers, and the little pointed beard, would render them as strange to us as their passions for plots, their eagerness for duels, their tavern debaucheries, and their universal ignorance, notwithstanding their natural good sense.

The nation was not so rich as it has since become, either in coined specie or wrought silver; and though the administration drew all it could from the people, it was not able to raise above one half the annual income of Lewis XIV. They were likewise inferior to us in the riches of industry. The coarse cloth manufactures of Rouen and Elbeuf were the finest then known in France: there was no tapestry, nor crystal or plate glass. The art of watch-making was but in its infancy, and consisted in putting a string upon the fusee of a watch, pendulums not being then invented. The maritime commerce in the sea-ports of the Levant was ten times less than it is at present; that of America consisted only in a few furs from Canada: they sent no ships to the East Indies,

while the Dutch had large kingdoms there, and the English very considerable settlements.

Consequently there was much less money in the nation than there is at present; the government borrowed at higher interest: the least it gave for annuities at cardinal Richelieu's death was seven and a half per cent. This may serve as an incontestable proof among many others, that the Political Will said to be made by that minister could not be his. The ignorant and absurd impostor who has forged his name, says, in the first chapter of the second part, that the possession of these annuities brings in the first purchase money in seven years and an half: he has taken the seventh penny, for seven and a half per cent, and does not perceive that the reimbursement of a capital in seven years and an half, instead of giving seven and a half, gives fourteen per cent per ann. The whole of what he says throughout this chapter, shews him to be equally ignorant of the first elements of arithmetic, as he is of state-affairs. I enter into this short detail only to shew how mankind may be imposed on by a name: so long as this work of darkness passed for cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled for a masterpiece; but those who have discovered this to be a forgery, have found it full of errors and falsehoods.

C H A P. CXLVII.

Of the Government and Manners of SPAIN,
from the Reign of PHILIP II. to that of
PHILIP IV.

WE have seen that after the death of Philip II. the Spanish monarchs confirmed their absolute power in their own dominions, and insensibly lost their authority in Europe. This decline began to manifest itself in the first year of the reign of Philip III. the weakness of whose character communicated itself to all parts of his administration. It was difficult to extend a constant and equal care and vigilance to the vast possessions in Asia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands: but his father had overcome these difficulties; and the riches of Mexico, Peru, the Brazils, and the East Indies, might have empowered his son to overcome all obstacles. But there was such a remissness in the administration, and such treachery in the management of the public revenues, that in the war against the United Provinces, there was not money sufficient to pay the Spanish troops, who thereupon mutinied and deserted, to the number of three thousand, over to prince Maurice. A private stadtholder by a prudent oeconomy, was able to pay his troops better than the sovereign of so many kingdoms. Philip III. might have covered the ocean with his fleets, and yet the small provinces of Holland and Zealand were superior to him at sea. With their fleet they took from him the principal

1604

Molucca islands, particularly that of Amboyna, which has ever since continued in the
1606 possession of the Dutch. In a word, these seven small provinces baffled all the forces of this vast monarchy by land, and made themselves superior by sea.

Philip III. though at peace with France and England, and engaged only in this one war, with a new formed republic, was obliged to
1609 conclude a truce of twelve years with it, and to leave it in possession of all it had taken from him; to secure to it its trade in the great Indies; and finally, to restore to the house of Nassau all the possessions it had situated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. Henry IV. had the glory of concluding this truce by his ambassadors. It is generally the weakest side that asks a truce, and yet prince Maurice would not apply for one: it was even more difficult to get his consent to it than the king of Spain's.

The expulsion of the Moors was still more prejudicial to the monarchy. Philip III. could not crush an inconsiderable number of Hollanders, and yet he was unfortunate enough to be able to expel between six and seven hundred thousand Moors from his dominions. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were for the most part destitute of arms, employed wholly in trade and agriculture, far less formidable in Spain than the protestants were in France, and much more useful, because they were laborious in a country given up to idleness. They were obliged to put on the appearance of being Christians: the inquisition persecuted them without ceasing; this persecution

cution occasioned some few insurrections, but they were very weak and easily quelled. Henry IV. designed to take these people under his protection: but his correspondence with them was discovered by a clerk of the office for foreign affairs; and this discovery occasioned their dispersion. It had already been resolved to drive them out of the kingdom. They made an offer of two millions of gold ducats for permission to breathe the air of Spain, but in vain; the council was inflexible. Twenty thousand of these proscribed wretches took refuge among the mountains; but having no other arms than slings and stones, they were soon put to the rout. Two whole years were taken up in transporting subjects out of the kingdom, and depopulating the state. Philip thus deprived himself of the most laborious part of his subjects, instead of imitating the Turks, who know how to keep the Greeks under proper subjection, without obliging them to seek for settlements in foreign countries.

The greatest part of these Spanish Moors took refuge in Africa, their ancient country; some removed to France during the regency of Mary of Medecis; those who would not renounce their religion, embarked in the ports of that kingdom for Tunis; a few families, who embraced the christian faith, settled in Provence and Languedoc, and some in Paris, where their race was not unknown: but at length these refugees were incorporated with the rest of the nation, who profited by the fault of the Spanish monarch, which it after imitated by the expulsion of the reformed. Thus have all nations been intermingled, and one people swallowed

up in another, sometimes by persecutions, and at other times by conquests.

This great emigration, added to that which happened under Ferdinand and Isabella, and to the numerous colonies which avarice had transplanted into the new world, insensibly exhausted Spain of its inhabitants, and that monarchy soon became a mighty body without substance. Superstition, the vice of weak minds, was another subject of disgrace to the reign of Philip III. his court was only a chaos of intrigues, like that of Lewis XIII. These two princes could neither of them live without favourites, nor reign without prime ministers. The duke of Lerma, who was afterwards cardinal, governed for a long time both king and kingdom, till the general confusion of affairs drove him from his place. He was succeeded by his son; but the kingdom was not the better for it.

1621 The disorder in the state increased under the reign of Philip IV. son to Philip III. His favourite, the count duke of Olivarez, made him take the surname of Great on his accession to the throne. Had he been really so, he would not have needed a prime minister. Europe and his own subjects refused him this title; and afterwards when he lost Rouffillon, by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by his negligence, and Catalonia by the abuse he made of his power, the public voice gave him a ditch for his device, with these words: "The more is taken from it the greater it is."

This fine kingdom was at that time weak without doors, and miserable within. It was a stranger to all kind of police. Its domestic commerce was ruined, by the duties which they con-

continued to raise from one province to another. Every one of these provinces had formerly been a petty kingdom, and the ancient customs were still kept up. What had formerly been a necessary law was now become an absolute burthen. The government did not know how to form all these different parts into an uniform whole. The same error has been introduced into France; but in Spain it was carried to such an excess, that it was forbidden even to carry money out of one province into another. No industry seconded the gifts of nature in this happy climate: neither the silks of Valentia, nor the fine woollen stuffs of Andalusia and Castile were made by the hands of the natives. Fine linen cloaths were an article of luxury then very little known. The Flemish manufacturers, the remains of the establishments of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with all it then knew of magnificence. Gold and silver stuffs were prohibited in the kingdom, as in an indigent republic, afraid of being impoverished. And indeed, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain was so poor that Philip IV's ministry was reduced to the necessity of coining copper money, and giving it a price nearly equivalent to that of silver; so that the master of Mexico and Peru was obliged to make use of counterfeit coin, to defray the expences of the state. They did not dare, according to the wise Gourville, to impose personal taxes, because as the burghers and the country people had hardly any moveables, they could never be compelled to pay the sums assessed upon them. Never was the saying of Charles V. more completely

pletely verified: "France abounds in every thing, Spain wants every thing."

The reign of Philip IV. was only a series of losses and disgraces; and the count duke Olivarez was as unfortunate in his administration as cardinal de Richelieu was happy in his.

The Dutch, who began the war again at the expiration of the twelve years truce, 1625 took the Barzils from Spain, of which they still retain Surinam. They likewise took Maeftricht, which still continues in their possession. Philip's armies were driven out of the Valteline and Piedmont by the French, without a declaration of war; and at length after war was declared in 1635, his arms proved unsuccessful in all parts. Artois was invaded; Catalonia jealous of its privileges, upon which he had made encroachments, revolts all together, and puts itself under the dominion of France. Portugal shook off his yoke; and by a conspiracy as vigorously executed as it had been well conducted, the family of Braganza was seated on the throne of that kingdom. The prime minister, Olivarez, had the confusion of having himself contributed to this great revolution, by sending money to the duke of Braganza to take from him all pretence of not coming to Madrid. With this very money the duke paid the conspirators.

The revolution was not difficult. Olivarez had been imprudent enough to recal a Spanish garrison from Lisbon. There were few troops left to guard the kingdom. The people were exasperated with a new tax that was going to be laid upon them; and, to complete all, the prime minister thinking to deceive the duke of Bra-

Braganza, had given him the command of the arsenal. The dutchess of Mantua, who was vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom, without a single person to stir in her defence. A Spanish secretary of state and one of his clerks were the only victims sacrificed to the public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of Lisbon, almost in the same day. Don John of Braganza was universally proclaimed king without the least disturbance: a son does not succeed more peaceably to the possessions of his father. Ships were dispatched from Lisbon to all the cities of Asia and Africa, and to all the islands which belonged to the crown of Portugal, and they all with one accord expelled the Spanish governors. All that part of the Brazils which had not been taken from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned under the Portuguese dominion; and at length the Dutch made a league with the new king, don John of Braganza, and restored to him what they had taken from the Spaniards in the Brazils.

The Azores islands, Mosambique, Goa, and Macao, were animated with the same spirit as Lisbon. It seemed as if the conspiracy had been previously concerted in all these towns. It every where appeared how disagreeable a foreign ruler is, and at the same time how badly the Spanish ministry had provided for the preservation of so many states.

It was likewise seen how kings are flattered in their misfortunes, and how carefully disagreeable truths are disguised to them. The manner in which Olivarez acquainted Philip IV. with the loss of Portugal is famous. "I come

come to bring your majesty good news, said that artful minister: all the duke of Braganza's estates are fallen to you; he has taken it into his head to have himself declared king, and by his crime your majesty is intitled to the confiscation of all his estates." This confiscation however did not take place: Portugal became a considerable kingdom, especially when by the riches of Brazil, and its treaties with England, it established a flourishing trade.

The count-duke Olivarez, master of the Spanish monarchy, and rival to cardinal de Richelieu, was at length disgraced for having been unsuccessful. These two ministers had long been alike kings, the one in France and the other in Spain; both had the royal family, the grandees of the kingdom, and the people, their enemies; they were both very different in their characters, their virtues, and their vices. The count-duke was as reserved, mild, and gentle, as the cardinal was lively, haughty, and cruel. It was Richelieu's activity which continued him in the administration, and gave him almost always the ascendant over Olivarez. The Spanish minister lost every thing by his negligence. He died the death of all disgraced ministers: it is said that vexation kills them; but it is not so much the vexation of being left in solitude, after the hurry they have been accustomed to, as the vexation of knowing that they are hated, and cannot revenge themselves. Cardinal Richelieu shortened his days in a different manner, by the uneasinesses with which he was devoured in the fullness of his power.

After

After all the losses that the Spanish branch of the house of Austria had sustained, it still retained more dominions than the kingdom of Spain now possesses. The dutchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily, belonged to that monarchy; and notwithstanding the badness of its administration, it continued to give great uneasiness to France, till the peace of the Pyrenees.

From the time of Philip II. to Philip IV. the Spaniards were famous for the arts of genius. Their stage, imperfect as it was, was still superior to that of other nations, and served as a model for the English theatre: and afterwards, when tragedy began to appear with some degree of lustre in France, it borrowed a great deal from the Spanish stage. History, pleasing romances, ingenious fictions, and morality, were carried to a still greater perfection in Spain than the drama; but sound philosophy was always unknown to them. The inquisition and superstition perpetuated the errors of the schools. The mathematics were very little cultivated, and the Spaniards almost always employed Italian engineers in their wars. They had some painters of the second rank, but never any school for painting. Architecture did not make any considerable progress among them. The escorial was built after a Frenchman's design. The mechanical arts were still in a very rude state. The magnificence of the noblemen consisted in great heaps of silver plate, and a number of servants.

There was an ostentatious kind of generosity practised in the houses of the grandees, which deceived strangers, and was the custom no where
but

but in Spain; this was to distribute all the money won at play among the by-standers of whatsoever condition. Montresor relates that when the duke of Lerma received Gaston, brother to Lewis XIII. and his retinue in the Low Countries, he displayed a still more extraordinary kind of magnificence. This minister, at whose house Gaston remained for several days, caused two thousand louis d'ors to be laid every day upon a large gaming table for the princes retinue and himself likewise to divert themselves at play.

The entertainments of bull-fighting were very frequent, as they still are; this was a most magnificent and gallant spectacle, and at the same time the most cruel. At the same time there was a total want of the conveniences of life. The want of these conveniences was greatly increased after the expulsion of the Moors. Hence it comes to pass, that you travel in Spain as you would in the deserts of Arabia, and that the towns are destitute of every kind of conveniency. Society was as little improved as the handicraft arts. The women, who were almost as closely confined as those in Africa, comparing this slavery with the liberty enjoyed by those of their sex in France, became doubly miserable. This restraint brought to perfection an art unknown to us, that of discoursing with the fingers. In this manner only did a lover explain himself under his mistress's window, who at the same time opened one of those little window grates called Jealousies, which supplied the place of sashes, and answered him in the same language. Every one played upon the guittar, and yet it did not
en-

enliven the general gloom that was spread over the face of the whole country. The practice of religious duties supply the place of other occupations among the common people, who were all unemployed. It was said then that pride, devotion, love, and idleness, composed the character of the Spanish nation; but at the same time there were none of those bloody revolutions, conspiracies, and cruel punishments, which were so frequent in the other courts of Europe. Neither the duke of Lerma nor the count Olivarez shed the blood of their enemies on the scaffold: their kings were not assassinated there as in France; nor did they fall, as in England, by the hand of the executioner.

C H A P. CXLVIII.

Of the GERMANS, under the Emperors RO-
DOLPH II. MATTHIAS, and FERDINAND
II. Of the Misfortunes of the Elector Pa-
latine FREDERICK. Of the Conquests of
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. Of the Peace of
WESTPHALIA, &c.

WHILE France was recovering new life under Henry IV. that England flourished under its Elizabeth, and Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II. Germany and the North did not make so great a figure.

If we consider Germany as the seat of the empire, that empire was but an empty name; and

and it may be observed, that from the abdication of the emperor Charles V. till the reign of Leopold, it never had any credit in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were suppressed, as useless ceremonies, which had before been looked upon as essential: but after that Ferdinand I. the brother and successor of Charles V. had neglected to make the journey to Rome, it began to be thought of no consequence. The pretensions of the emperors upon Rome, and that of the popes to the bestowing the imperial dignity, fell insensibly into oblivion; all was confined to a letter of congratulation, which the supreme pontiff writes to the emperor elect. Germany still retained the title of empire, tho' weak, as being always a prey to divisions. It was in fact a republic of princes, of which the emperor was chief; and these princes, having all pretensions upon one another, were almost always engaged in a civil war, either private or public, which was continually fed by their contrary interests, and by the three different religions then in Germany, which were still more contrary than the interests of the princes.

It was impossible that this vast state, divided into so many detached principalities, destitute of trade at that time, and consequently of riches, could have much influence on the system of Europe. It was not strong without doors, but it was within, because it was always an industrious and warlike nation. Had the Germanic constitution fallen to decay, had the Turks invaded one part of Germany, and the other had called in foreign masters, politicians would not have failed to declare, that Germany, already torn in pieces by intestine divisions,

sions, could not subsist any longer, and would have demonstrated that the peculiar form of its government, the great number of its princes, and the plurality of religions, had necessarily prepared the way to ruin and inevitable slavery. The causes of the decline of the ancient Roman empire were not near so obvious, and yet the Germanic body has remained unshaken, while it carried in its bosom every thing that appeared most likely to overturn it; and it is difficult to ascribe this permanence of constitution to any other cause than the genius of the nation.

Germany had lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in 1552, during the reign of Charles V. but this territory, which belonged to ancient France, might be considered rather as an excrescence of the Germanic body, than a natural part of the state. Ferdinand I. nor his successors had made the least attempt to recover those towns. The emperors of the house of Austria, after they became kings of Hungary, had always the Turk to fear, and were not in a condition to disturb France, weak as she was, from the time of Francis II. to Henry IV. The princes of Germany might plunder her, while the Germanic body could not assemble all its forces to destroy her.

Ferdinand I. in vain endeavoured to reconcile the three religions which divided the empire, and to unite the princes, who were frequently at war with each other. The old maxim, "Divide to reign," by no means suited him: Germany must be united before he could be powerful; but it was so far from being in a state of union, that it was dismembered. It

was

was precisely in his reign that the Teutonic knights gave the Poles Livonia, which was reputed a province of the empire, and which at present is in the possession of the Russians. The making all the bishoprics in Brandenburg and Saxony secular, was not a dismembering of the state, but only a great change, which made those princes more powerful, and the emperor weaker.

Maximilian II. was still less the sovereign than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preserved any remains of its vigour, he would have supported his right to the Netherlands, which were undoubtedly a province of the empire, and of which the emperor and the diet were the proper judges. These people therefore, who had so long been called rebels, ought to have been put by the laws under the ban of the empire; and yet Maximilian suffered the prince of Orange, William the Silent, to carry on the war in the Netherlands, at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. This emperor in vain caused himself to be elected king of Poland, in the year 1575, after the departure of Henry III. which was looked upon as an abdication; for Batteri, the vaivode of Transylvania, and the emperor's own vassal, carried it before his sovereign; and the Ottoman court, under whose protection Batteri then was, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rodolph II. who succeeded his father Maximilian II. held the reins of the empire with a still feeblèr hand. He was at the same time emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, but he had no influence either in Bohemia,
Hun-

Hungary, or Germany, and still less in Italy. Rodolph's reign seems to prove that there is no general rule in politics.

This prince was esteemed more incapable of governing than even Henry III. of France. Henry's conduct cost him his life, and almost occasioned the loss of the kingdom. Rodolph's conduct, tho' much weaker, caused not the least trouble in Germany. The reason is, that in France all the nobles wanted to establish their own power upon the ruins of the throne, and that the German princes were already all of them established.

There are times which absolutely require the prince to be a warrior; Rodolph, who was not such, saw his kingdom of Hungary over-run by the Turks. Germany was at that time so badly governed, that they were obliged to go a begging to raise money for opposing the Ottoman conquests. Begging-boxes were fixed up at the doors of all the churches. This was the first war that had been carried on by charity: it was looked upon as a kind of holy war, but it was not the more successful on that account; and had it not been for the troubles in the seraglio, it is probable that Hungary would have remained for ever in the hands of the Porte.

Exactly the same thing happened in Germany under this emperor, which had lately been seen in France under Henry III. a catholic league in opposition to a protestant one, without the sovereign having it in his power to put a stop to the proceedings of either. Religion, which had long been the cause of so many troubles in the empire, was now only the pretext. The affair in question was the succession

sion of the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers ; this was another consequence of the feudal government, and there was no other way of deciding the possession of these fiefs but by arms. The houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuburg, disputed for them. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's cousin, had taken possession of Cleves till the affair should be decided. This dispute, as we have already seen, was the sole cause of the death of Henry IV. He was preparing to march to the assistance of the protestant leaguers, at the head of a well disciplined army, attended by the greatest generals of the age, and the best ministers in Europe ; this victorious prince was ready to take advantage of the weakness of Rodolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV. which rendered this great enterprize abortive, did not make Rodolph more happy. He had ceded Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, to his brother Matthias, at the time the king of France was preparing to march against him ; and even when he was delivered from so formidable an enemy, he was still obliged to yield Bohemia to this Matthias, and lead a private life, though with the title of emperor.

Every thing in his empire was done without him ; he did not even interfere in the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchses, elector of Cologne, who wanted to keep his archbishopric and his wife at the same time, and who was driven from his electorate by force of arms, by his own canons, and the person who was his competitor. This extraordinary apathy to public affairs arose from a principle still more extraordinary in an emperor ; the study of philosophy,

lofophy, to which he was particularly addicted, had taught him every thing which he could know at that time, except to difcharge the duties of a fovereign. He preferred inftructing himfelf in aftronomy under the famous Tycho Brahe, to governing the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

The famous aftronomical tables of Tycho Brahe and Kepler bear the name of this emperor, being called the Rodolphine tables, as thofe which were formed in the twelfth century in Spain, by two Arabians, bore the name of king Alphonfo. The Germans principally diftinguifhed themfelves in this century by the beginnings of true natural philofophy. They had never fucceeded in the liberal arts like the Italians; indeed they never applied themfelves to them. The gift of invention in the natural fciences belongs only to thofe of an unwearied and induftrious difpofition; and the Germans had for a long time been remarkable for this kind of genius, which had communicated itfelf to their northern neighbours. Tycho Brahe was a native of Denmark. It was no fmall matter of furprize, efpecially at that time, to fee a private gentleman of Denmark expend one hundred thoufand crowns of his own fortune, in building, with the affiftance of Frederick II. king of that country, not only an obfervatory, but a fmall town inhabited by learned men, to which he gave the name of Uranibourg*, or the Starry City. Tycho Brahe

* Uranibourg would be better translated Heavenburgh, for Οὐρανός fignifies *cælum*, not *aſtrum*. Tycho Brahe was a ſtrange compoſition of learning and ſuperſtition, of good ſenſe

Brahe had indeed the weakness to give into judicial astrology; but he was no less the good astronomer and the skilful mechanic. He had the fate of most great men: he was persecuted by his own countrymen after the king his protector was dead; but he found another in the emperor Rodolph, who made him amends for all his losses, and the injustice of courts.

Copernicus had discovered the true system of the world before Tycho Brahe had invented his, which is at best but an ingenious thought. This ray of science, which now enlightens the world, came first from the little town of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

sense and absurdity. He lost his nose in a nocturnal squabble at Rostock, and is said to have made and fitted on an artificial one so dextrously, that the defect could not be perceived. He was not only a mathematician and mechanic, but a chymist, an alchymist, a physician, and poet. By his system the earth is placed immoveable, as a center, round which the sun and moon perform their revolutions. He supposes the earth also to be the center of the primum mobile; and the sun to be the center of motion to the planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Having rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis, he was obliged to retain the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic system; and to suppose the whole universe, to its farthest extent, was carried by the primum mobile about the axis of the earth every day. Notwithstanding these errors, his labours were of great service to astronomy. He discovered the refraction of the air, and determined the places of a great number of the fixed stars, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers. He demonstrated that comets were higher than the moon, from their having a very small parallax: he discovered what is called the variation in the moon's motion; and from his series of observations on the other planets, the theories of their motions were afterwards corrected and improved.

Kepler

Kepler *, who was a native of the dutchy of Wirtemberg, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, found out the mathematical laws of the course of the stars, and was looked upon as a law-giver in astronomy. Chancellor Bacon at that time proposed some new sciences; but Copernicus and Kepler invented them. Never had greater efforts been made in the most learned ages of antiquity, nor had Greece been adorned with more noble discoveries; but the other arts flourished at the same time in Greece; whereas in Germany natural philosophy alone was cultivated, and that only by a few learned men, unknown to the multitude, who still continued in ignorance. There were whole provinces where the people had hardly the gift of thinking, and knew only how to hate each other on account of religion.

At length the two leagues, catholic and protestant, plunged Germany into a civil war of thirty years, which reduced it to a more deplo-

* This philosopher discovered the true figures of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of the solar system. He found that each planet moves in an ellipsis, which has one of its foci in the center of the sun; that the motion of each is really unequable, varying in such a manner, that a ray supposed to be always drawn from the planet to the sun, describes equal areas in equal times. He discovered the analogy between the distances of several planets from the sun, and the periods in which they complete their revolutions. He perceived that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer: so that, on a double account, their periodic times were greater. Yet Kepler, with all his merit, was in some things a mere visionary, who gave into dreams of analogies and harmonies, endeavouring to find some relation between the dimensions of the five regular solids and the intervals of the planetary spheres.

rable condition than that of France, before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In the year 1619, the æra of the death of the emperor Matthias, who was Rodolph's successor, the empire was going to pass from the house of Austria; but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, found means to unite the suffrages in his own favour. Maximilian of Bavaria, who was his competitor in the empire, yielded it to him; he even went farther, for he supported the imperial throne at the expence of his blood and treasures, and fixed the greatness of that house, which afterwards crushed his own. Two branches of the house of Bavaria, had they been united, might have changed the fate of Germany. These two branches were the elector palatine and the duke of Bavaria; but there were two powerful obstacles to their union, rivalship and a difference in religions. The elector-palatine, Frederick, was one of the most unfortunate princes of his time, and the cause of long and heavy misfortunes to Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this time. Even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were as jealous of their privileges as the English themselves. This spirit had reigned in Germany ever since the time of Charles V. The example of the Seven United Provinces was continually present with these people, who pretended to the same rights, and thought themselves more powerful than those of Holland. When the emperor Matthias, in the year 1618, got his cousin Ferdinand de Gratz elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him

him Austria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, complained equally that sufficient regard had not been shewn to the privilege of states. Religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who then became furious. The protestants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; the council of state issued a declaration against the protestants; upon which these broke into the town-hall, and threw three of the principal magistrates out of the window into the street. This folly only shews 1618 the fury of the people, a fury which always exceeds the tyranny of which they complain. But what is very strange is, that the rebels pretended by a manifesto that they had only acted in pursuance to the laws, and that they had a right to break the necks of those ministers who went about to oppress them. Austria sided with the Bohemians, and it was in the midst of these troubles that Ferdinand de Gratz was elected emperor.

His new dignity made no impression upon the protestants of Bohemia, who were at that time very considerable: they looked upon themselves as entitled to depose the king whom they had elected, and actually made a tender of the throne to Frederick, the elector-palatine, son-in-law to James I. of England*, who accepted, of it, tho' he had no forces to maintain himself on it. His relation, Maximilian of Bava-

* Their daughter, the princess Sophia, was grandmother to the late king George II. and dying in the reign of queen Anne, the succession to the throne of Great Britain devolved to her son George, elector of Hanover.

ria; with the imperial troops and his own, de-
 Nov. 10, feated him at Prague; and, toge-
 1620 ther with that battle, made him
 lose his crown and palatinate.

This fatal day was the beginning of a thirty
 years slaughter. The victory of Prague deter-
 mined for some time the ancient quarrel be-
 tween the empire and the emperor, by making
 Ferdinand II despotic: he put the elector pala-
 tine under the ban of the empire by a private
 arret of his aulic council, and proscribed all the
 1621 princes and noblemen of his party, in
 defiance of the imperial articles, which
 could bind only the weakest side.

The elector-palatine fled into Silesia, Den-
 mark, Holland, England, and France. This
 unfortunate prince always failed of success, and
 was deprived of every resource on which he
 depended. He met with no assistance from his
 father-in-law the king of England, who shut
 his ears to the cries of his nation, the sollici-
 tations of his son-in-law, and the protestant
 interest, of which he might have been the head.
 Lewis XIII. refused him aid, notwithstanding
 it was visibly his interest to prevent the princes
 of Germany from being oppressed. Lewis was
 not at that time under the direction of cardi-
 nal Richelieu. The palatine family and the
 protestant league were soon reduced to depend
 on no other assistance than that of two warriors,
 who were each at the head of a little vagabond
 army, like the Italian Condottieri: one of these
 was the prince of Brunswick, whose whole do-
 minions consisted in the government, or rather
 usurpation of the bishopric of Halberstadt; and
 who took the title of "The Friend of God
 and

and the Enemy of the Priests;" which latter title he certainly deserved, since he subsisted entirely on plundering the churches: the other support of this already ruined party was a bastard-adventurer of the house of Mansfeldt, as well deserving the title of "Enemy of the Priests" as the duke of Brunswick. These two defenders might very well contribute to ravage a part of Germany, but could never be of any service in restoring the palatine, or settling the equilibrium of princes.

The emperor, whose power in Germany was now confirmed, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares, "That the elector-palatine having been guilty of high treason, his estates, goods, and dignities were fallen to the imperial demesnes; but that, not being willing to diminish the number of the electors, he wills, commands, and orders Maximilian of Bavaria to be invested with the electorate-palatine." He bestowed this investiture from his throne; his vice-chancellor declaring aloud, that the emperor conferred this dignity "By the plenitude of his power."

The protestant league, now on the point of being crushed, made fresh efforts to prevent its total ruin. It chose Christian IV. king of Denmark for its head; England supplied it with some money; but neither the money of the English, nor the troops of Denmark, nor yet the arms of Brunswick or Mansfeldt, availed aught against the emperor, and only served to lay Germany waste. Ferdinand II. triumphed over all opposition by his two generals, the duke of Walsstein and count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always defeated at

the head of his armies ; and Ferdinand, without stirring from home, was victorious and all powerful.

He put the duke of Mecklenburg, one of the chiefs of the protestant association, under the ban of the empire, and gave his dutchy to his general Wallstein. He in like manner proscribed duke Charles of Mantua, for having, contrary to his orders, taken possession of the country which belonged to him by the right of inheritance. Mantua was taken and sacked by the imperial troops, who spread terror throughout all Italy. He began to tighten the ancient chain which had linked Italy to the empire, and which had been slackened for a considerable time. One hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, living at discretion in Germany, gave him absolute power. This power was exercised over a people then under very unhappy circumstances, as we may judge by the state of the coin at that time, the numerical value of which was four times greater than its original value, and was at the same time greatly adulterated. The duke of Wallstein declared publicly, that the time was at length come for reducing the electors to the condition of the dukes and peers of France, and the bishops to that of chaplains to the emperor. This was the Wallstein who afterwards aimed at becoming independent, and who had endeavoured to pull down his superiors, only to rise upon their ruin.

But the use which Ferdinand II. made of his good fortune and power, was what destroyed both the one and the other. He pretended to interpose his authority in the affairs of Sweden and Poland,

Poland, and to oppose Gustavus Adolphus, who was supporting the pretensions of his family against Sigismund king of Poland, this emperor's relation; and he himself paved the way to his own ruin, by forcing this young prince to invade Germany, and by reducing the protestants to despair.

Ferdinand II. thought himself with reason powerful enough to break the peace of Passau, made by Charles V. and to order, by his sole authority, all the princes and great lords to restore the bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices which they had gotten possession of. This edict was a greater stretch of power than that by which the edict of Nantz was revoked under Lewis XIV. These two similar attempts were attended with very different success. Gustavus Adolphus, being invited by the protestant princes, whom the king of Denmark no longer dared to assist, entered Germany to revenge them and himself.

The emperor wanted to re-establish the church, that he might be its master, and cardinal Richelieu opposed him in his design; even the court of Rome joined against him, the fear of his power being greater than their regard to the interests of religion. It was no more extraordinary that the most Christian king's minister, and even the court of Rome itself, should engage in the support of the protestant cause, against a formidable emperor, than it had been to see Francis I. and Henry II. in alliance with the Turks against Charles V.

When one man has done many great things, we are fond of ascribing all to him. It is a common but mistaken notion in France, that

cardinal Richelieu was the only person who caused Gustavus to turn his arms upon Germany, and that the revolution there was entirely owing to his schemes; but it is evident that he did nothing more than take advantage of conjunctures. Ferdinand II. had in fact declared war against Gustavus; he attempted to seize upon Livonia, which that young conqueror had made himself master of; he supported Sigismund, who was his competitor in the kingdom of Sweden, and he refused him the title of king. Interest, revenge, and pride *, called Gustavus into Germany; and even if the French ministry had not assisted him with money, when in Pomerania, he would still have tried the fortune of arms, in a war that was already begun.

1631 He was victorious in Pomerania, at the time France made its treaty with him. The single payment of three hundred thousand crowns, and an allowance of one million two hundred thousand franks *per ann.* was neither an important object, a great effort in politics, nor a sufficient succour. Gustavus did every thing by himself. Having entered Germany with less than fifteen thousand men, his number soon encreased to forty thousand, by raising recruits in a country that furnished subsistence for them, and by making Germany itself contribute to his conquests in Germany. He obliges the elector of Brandenburg to se-

* Our author might have added the solicitations and subsidies of Charles I. king of England, who being anxious for the restoration of the palatine, not only assisted him with money, but also with a great number of excellent officers, and six thousand men from Scotland, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton.

cure to him the fortress of Spandau and all the passes, and compels the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his own troops.

He totally defeats the imperial army commanded by count Tilly, before the gates of Leipfick, and reduces all the places from the banks of the Elb to the Rhine. He presently reinstates the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions at one end of Germany, and almost at the same instant he appears at the other end, in the Palatinate, after taking the city of Mentz in his march.

The emperor, who remained all this time motionless in Vienna, and saw himself, in less than one campaign, fallen from that greatness which had been so formidable, was now obliged to solicit pope Urban VIII. for a supply of men and money, who refused him both the one and the other. He then endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus. Instead of a crusade, the holy father promises a jubilee. Gustavus in the mean time marches victorious through all Germany, and brings the elector-palatine to Munich, who had at least the consolation of being in the palace of him who had deposed him. This unfortunate prince was now on the point of being restored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror, when in the second battle, near Leipfic, fought in the plains of Lutzen, Gustavus was slain * in the

Sept. 17.
1631

Nov. 6,
1632

* The manner of his death is differently related by different historians. Puffendorf imputes it to the treachery

midst of victories. His death proved fatal to the palatine, who being at that time ill, and despairing of any farther resource, put an end to his unhappy life*.

Let those who enquire how the swarms of barbarians, which formerly came out of the North, conquered the Roman empire, cast their eyes upon what was performed by Gustavus in the space of two years, against a more warlike people than the Romans were at that time, and they will be no longer astonished.

It is a circumstance well worthy of attention, that neither the death of Gustavus, nor the minority of his daughter Christina, queen of Sweden, nor the bloody defeat which the Swedes sustained at Nortlingen, prejudiced these conquests. It was then that the French ministry played the principal part in the affairs of Germany; it gave laws to the Swedes and the protestant princes of Germany, at the same time that it supported them; and this first gained the king of France Alsace, at the expence of the house of Austria.

Gustavus Adolphus had left behind him very great generals, who were formed by himself; this has happened to almost all conquerors. These generals were seconded by a hero of the house of Saxony, duke Bernard of Weimar, a descendant of the ancient electoral branch, which had been deprived of their dominions by Charles V. who yet breathed revenge

of Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg: but the truth is, he happened in reconnoitring with two equeuries, to fall among a party of imperial Cuirassiers, by whom he was slain, after having made a desperate defence.

* The palatine did not make away with himself; but died of a fever, occasioned by grief.

against

against the house of Austria. This prince had nothing to depend upon but a small army which he had raised in the troublesome times, and disciplined himself, and whose swords were their only support. This army, as well as that of the Swedes, was then paid by the French. The emperor, who never stirred out of his closet, had no great general left to oppose to them; he had deprived himself of the only person who was capable of restoring the glory of his arms and throne; he was fearful that the famous duke Walstein, to whom he had given an unlimited power over his armies, should make use of so dangerous a power against him, and caused that general, who Feb. 3.
aimed at independency, to be assassi- 1634
nated*.

In this way did Ferdinand I. rid himself of cardinal Martinusius, who was grown too powerful in Hungary; and Henry III. in like manner caused the cardinal and the duke of Guise to be murdered.

Had Ferdinand II. commanded his troops in person, as he ought to have done in such a critical conjuncture, he would not have had occasion to employ this weak revenge, which he thought necessary, and which after all did not make him more happy.

Never was Germany more completely humbled than at this time: a Swedish chancellor

* Albert Winceslaus Eusebius, count of Walstein, duke of Mecklenbourg, Friedland, Segau, and Glogau, was assassinated at Egra, by three imperial officers, Lesly, Gordon, and Butler, the two first Scots, and the other an Irishman. The duke and his friends were first regaled at supper, and then perfidiously murdered by these infamous tools of arbitrary power.

ruled in that empire, and kept all protestant princes in subjection. This was the famous Oxenstiern, who, animated in the beginning with the spirit of his master Gustavus, would not suffer the French to share the fruits of that prince's conquests ; but, after the battle of Nortlingen, he was obliged to intreat the French minister to deign to take possession of Alsace, under the title of its protector. Richelieu promised Alsace to Bernard of Weimar, and at the same time did all in his power to secure it to France. Hitherto the French ministry had temporised and acted underhand ; but now it pulled off the mask, and declared war against the two branches of the house of Austria, who were both of them weakened in Spain and Germany. Such was the issue of this thirty years war. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy, attacked the house of Austria at the same time, and the real system of Henry IV. was now followed.

Feb. 15. Ferdinand II. died under these un-
 1637 happy circumstances, at the age of
 fifty-nine, after a reign of eighteen
 years, constantly disturbed with foreign or domestic wars, and having never fought but from his cabinet. He was very unhappy, because in the midst of his successes he thought himself obliged to exercise acts of cruelty, and afterwards he experienced a great reverse. Germany was still more unhappy than himself ; ravaged alternately by its own inhabitants, by the Swedes, and by the French ; a prey to famine and want, and over-run with barbarism, the inevitable consequence of a long and unsuccessful war.

This

This emperor has been praised as a great prince, and yet Germany was never so miserable as under his government. It was comparatively happy under that Rodolph who is so generally despised.

Ferdinand II. left the empire to his son Ferdinand III. who was already king of the Romans; but he left only a dismembered empire, of which France and Sweden shared the spoils.

During the reign of Ferdinand III. the Austrian power daily declined. The Swedes, who had settled in Germany, remained there; France, joined with them, still continued to assist the protestant party with money and arms; and, though she herself was embarrassed with an unsuccessful war against Spain, and her ministry had frequently conspiracies or civil wars to suppress, nevertheless she triumphed over the empire, as a wounded man, with a little assistance, overcomes his enemy who is deeper wounded than himself. Duke Bernard of Weimar, the descendant of the unfortunate duke of Saxony, who had been dispossessed by Charles V. revenged the sufferings of his family on the house of Austria. He had been one of Gustavus's generals, who to a man maintained the glory of Sweden after their master's death; and he was the most fatal of all of them to the emperor. At first indeed he lost the great battle of Nortlingen; but afterwards, having with French money got together an army who acknowledged no other master than himself, in less than four months he gained four battles against the Imperialists. He had even thoughts of raising a sovereignty to himself along the borders

ders of the Rhine. The court of France had guarantied Alsace to him by treaty.

1639 This new conqueror died at the age of thirty-five, and bequeathed his army to his brothers, as a person bequeaths an estate. But France, who had more money than Weimar's brothers, bought this army, and carried on its conquests for herself. The marechal de Guebriant, the viscount of Turenne, and the duke of Anguien, afterwards the great Condé, finished what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swedish generals, Bannier and Torstenson, pressed Austria on one side, while Turenne and Condé attacked it on the other.

1648 Ferdinand III. wearied out with so many shocks, was at length obliged to conclude the peace of Westphalia. By this famous treaty the French and the Swedes gave laws to Germany in politics and religion. The dispute between the emperors and the princes of the empire, which had lasted for above seven hundred years, was at length happily terminated.

Germany was a great aristocracy, composed of a king, electors, princes, and imperial cities. This empire which was already almost exhausted, was obliged moreover to pay six millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, who had ravaged it and made it sue for peace. The kings of Sweden became princes of the empire, by the cession made to them of the finest provinces of Pomerania, Stettin, Wismar, Rugen, Verden, Bremen, and several other very considerable territories. The king of France became landgrave

grave of Alsace, without being a prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length restored to all its rights, excepting in the Upper Palatinate, which continued with the branch of Bavaria. The claims of the meanest private gentleman were discussed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a supreme court of justice. There were an hundred and forty decrees of restitution ordered, all which were complied with. The three religions, the Roman catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, were equally tolerated. The imperial chamber was composed of twenty-four protestant, and twenty-six catholic members; and the emperor was even obliged to receive six protestants into his aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become what it had been under the descendants of Charlemagne, an almost savage country. All the towns from Silesia to the Rhine were ruined, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been burnt to the ground by count Tilly *, was not yet rebuilt. The trade
of

* John Tzerclaes, count de Tilly, was one of the greatest captains of the age in which he lived. He distinguished himself in a particular manner at the battle of Prague; he defeated Mansfeldt near Elbogen; routed the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen; gave Mansfeldt a second overthrow in the neighbourhood of Darmstadt; gained a complete victory over the duke of Halberstadt at Statlo, and defeated the army of Denmark at Lutter, in the dutchy of Brunswick. He took a great number of towns, and proceeded with equal rapidity and success, till the year 1631, when he was overthrown in a pitched battle at Leipzig, by Gustavus Adolphus king

of Augsburg and Nuremburg was entirely destroyed. There were no manufactories in the empire but those of iron and steel; money was extremely scarce; all the conveniencies of life were unknown; the manners were affected by the harshness which thirty years civil war had infused into all minds. In short, it has required an age to supply Germany with all that it wanted. The French refugees were the first who introduced this improvement, and no country has profited so much as Germany by the revoking the edict of Nantz. Every thing else has been brought about of itself, or by time. The arts have spread themselves from place to place; and Germany is at length become as flourishing as Italy was in the sixteenth century, when so many princes vied with each other in the splendor and politeness of their courts.

king of Sweden. He reassembled and recruited his forces, and gained some advantages over count Horn; but next year, at the passage of the Lech, he was mortally wounded, and died at Ingolstadt, unmarried. It is remarked of this great man, that he never drank wine, and never knew woman.

C H A P. CXLIX.

Of ENGLAND till the Year 1641.

AS the Spanish monarchy grew weak after Philip II. and France fell to decay and confusion after the reign of Henry IV. till restored again by the great successes of cardinal de Richelieu, so did the kingdom of England droop for a long time after the reign of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I. ought to have had more influence in Europe than herself, as having joined the crown of Scotland to that of England, and yet his reign was far less glorious.

It is to be observed that the laws of succession in England had not that incontestable sanction and force which they had in France and Spain. They reckon among James's chief rights, the will made by Elizabeth*, in which she calls him to the succession; and James himself was in continual apprehension, lest he should not be named in the will of a queen so beloved and respected by her people, who would necessarily be determined by her last desires.

* Queen Elizabeth never made a will, and constantly refused to name her successor. After she was deprived of the use of speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving James as her successor, and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation: but if she had made no such sign, the succession was already so settled, that the crown would have quietly devolved to the king of Scotland.

Not-

Notwithstanding his great obligation to Elizabeth's will, he did not put on mourning for the murders of his mother. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he looked upon himself as such by divine right, and for that reason assumed the title of "Sacred Majesty." This was the first foundation of the nation's discontent, and of the unparalleled misfortunes of his son and his posterity †.

In the first part, which was the most peaceable of his reign, there was formed one of the most horrid conspiracies that ever entered into the human imagination: all the other plots which revenge, politics, or the barbarity of civil wars, and even fanaticism itself had produced, were not to compare in blackness to the powder plot. The English Roman catholics expected greater concessions from the king than he chose to grant them. Some of them, more outrageous than the rest, and possessed with that gloomy melancholy which engenders the greatest crimes, had resolved to restore their religion in England, by extirpating at one blow the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the kingdom. One Piercy, of the Northumberland family, Robert Catesby, and others, contrived a scheme to place thirty-six barrels of gunpowder

† This trifling cause is by no means adequate to the great effects it is supposed to have produced. The commons of England were by this time grown rich and powerful. They resolved to assert their independency, and vindicate their privileges in the face of the prerogative; and never could have found a better opportunity than this of struggling against a foreign prince who had no personal interest in the kingdom, and was besides ridiculous and absurd enough in his conduct, to weaken the authority of his crown.

under the house of lords, where the king was to make his speech to the parliament. Never was crime more easy to be executed, nor attended with a more certain prospect of success. No one could have the least suspicion of so new a contrivance, nor could any thing happen to obstruct it. The thirty-six barrels of powder, which had been bought in Holland at different times, were placed ready immediately under the house of lords, in a coal-cellar, which Piercy had several months before hired for the purpose. They now waited only for the meeting of the parliament; and there was nothing to fear, unless the remorse of some one of the conspirators; but the two Jesuits, Garnet and Aldecorn, who were their confessors, had taken care to remove all scruples of conscience. Piercy, who could without pity be the instrument of destroying the king and all the nobility of the nation, felt an emotion of compassion for one of his friends, the lord Monteagle, who was a peer of the kingdom. This private attachment prevented the execution of the design. He wrote a letter to Monteagle*, in a feigned hand, advising him, "If he had any regard to his life, to be absent at the opening of the session, for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. The danger, added the writer, will be past in as little time as you shall take to burn the letter."

* It does not appear that this letter was written by Piercy: but the notice was probably given by Tresham, one of the conspirators, who was related to the lady of the lord Monteagle.

Piercy

Piercy was so secure, that he never imagined it possible for any one to guess that the whole parliament was to be blown up : however, the letter being read in the king's council, and no one being able to guess at the nature of the intended plot, of which there does not appear the least probable intimation, the king, after some few minutes reflection upon the short time that the danger was to last, fell upon the true design of the conspirators. Persons were sent by his orders the very night before the opening of the parliament to search the vaults and cellars under the house ; there they found a man at the cellar-door, with a match in his hand, and a horse waiting for him ; and upon searching they found the barrels of powder.

Piercy, and the chief of the conspirators, upon hearing of the discovery of their plot, had time to raise about an hundred catholic gentlemen, who all sold their lives dearly : only eight of the conspirators were taken and executed ; amongst these were the two Jesuits. The king declared that they had suffered according to law ; but their order declared them innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such was the spirit of the age in all those countries where the minds of mankind were blinded and led astray by religious disputes.

The gunpowder-plot was the only great instance of cruelty that the English gave the world during the reign of James I. Far from being a persecutor, that monarch openly embraced toleration, and even strongly censured the presbyterians, who taught at that time
that

that hell was the infallible portion of every papist.

He governed in uninterrupted peace for the space of twenty-two years, during all which time trade flourished, and the people lived in plenty. Nevertheless his reign was contemptible both at home and abroad; abroad, because, as being the head of the protestant party in Europe, he neglected to support it against its catholic adversaries in the grand crisis of the Bohemian war, and abandoned his son-in-law the elector-palatine: he treated when he should have fought, and was a dupe at the same time to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; he was continually sending splendid ambassies, and never had an ally †.

His little share of credit among other nations contributed not a little to make him despised in his own. His authority in England had suffered great diminution from his attempts to give it too much weight and lustre; by continually telling his parliament, that God had made him absolute masters over them, and that all their privileges were derived from the favour and condescension of his predecessors. By these and such like speeches he put the parliament upon examining into the limits of the royal

† About this time there was a theatrical piece exhibited at Brussels, in which a courier was introduced declaring the melancholy tidings, that the palatinate would soon be wrested from the emperor; inasmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furnish the expelled elector with one hundred thousand pickled herrings; the Dutch had resolved to give him the like number of butter-boxes; and the king of England to employ one hundred thousand ambassadors.

prerogative, and the extent of the national rights; and from that time they endeavoured to set bounds which they did not well understand. The king's eloquence only tended to subject him to severe criticisms, and the world did not his learning all the justice he expected from it. Henry IV. never called him by any other name than *Master James*, and his own subjects did not bestow more gracious titles upon him. Accordingly he told his parliament in one of his speeches, "I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned to you, and you have not lamented." By thus subjecting his prerogative to be canvassed by idle speeches badly received, he hardly ever obtained the supplies he demanded. His bounties and necessities obliged him, like many other princes, to dispose of dignities and titles, which the vanity of mankind is always ready to purchase. He created two hundred baronets †, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as an hereditary title. For this insignificant honour, each person paid two thousand pounds sterling. The only privilege enjoyed by these baronets was that of taking place of a knight: neither of them had a place in the house of peers; and this new distinction was very little regarded by the rest of the nation.

What chiefly alienated the affections of the English from him, was his giving himself en-

† He created only one hundred baronets by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of soldiers in Ireland: but this service was commuted for a sum of money. He likewise raised money by creating a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia, who purchased this distinction.

tirely up to favourites. Lewis XIII. Philip III. and James, were at one and the same time a prey to the same foible; and while the first was absolutely governed by Cadenet, whom he created duke of Luines, and the second by Sandoval, made duke of Lerma, James was wholly under the direction of a Scotchman, named Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and whom he afterwards left for George Villiers, as a woman leaves one lover for another.

This George Villiers is the same duke of Buckingham, who was at that time so celebrated in Europe for the beauty of his person, his amours, and his lofty pretensions. He was the first gentleman who had been made a duke in England, without being either a relation or an ally to the sovereign. It was one of the caprices of the human mind, that a king who wrote like a divine in controversial points, should give himself up, without reserve, to a hero of romance. Buckingham persuaded the prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Charles I. to visit Spain in disguise, without any attendants, and go to Madrid to make love to the infanta; who was then proposed for a match to this young prince, offering to accompany him as his esquire in this knight errant expedition. James, who was called the English Solomon, agreed to this extraordinary project, in which he hazarded the safety of his son and heir.

The more he was obliged to manage the house of Austria, the less able he was to assist the protestant cause or his son-in-law the palatine.

To make this romantic adventure complete, the duke of Buckingham, who had fallen in

love with the dutchess of Olivarez, affronted the duke her husband, who was prime minister, broke off the match with the infanta, and brought the prince of Wales back again to England as suddenly as he had taken him away. He immediately set on foot a treaty of marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. and sister to Lewis XIII. and though he behaved still more extravagantly in France than he had done in Spain, he succeeded in his negociation. But James never recovered the credit he had lost with his people. His high-flown notions of the royal prerogative, and the divine right of kings with which he perpetually interlarded all his speeches, and which he never maintained by his actions, gave birth to a faction which afterwards overturned the throne, and disposed of it more than once, after having stained it with blood. This faction was that of the puritans, which partly subsists to this day, under the title of the whig party; and the opposite faction, which stood up for the church of England and the royal prerogative, has taken the name of tories. These mutual animosities inspired the nation from that time with a cruel, outrageous, and gloomy spirit, which nipped the arts and sciences in the bud, that were as yet hardly disclosed.

Some men of genius had, in the reign of Elizabeth, cultivated the field of literature, which till then had lain fallow in England. Shakespear, and after him Ben Johnson*, had polished the stage. Spencer had revived epic poetry: Bacon, who had more merit as a scholar than a chancellor, opened a new road to philosophy. The understandings of men began to be polished

* Johnson was cotemporary with Shakespear.

and improved. The disputes of the clergy, and the bickerings between the king and his parliament brought back the age of barbarism.

It was a matter of no small difficulty to ascertain the just bounds of the royal prerogative, the parliamentary privileges, and the liberties of the people, as well in England as Scotland, as likewise to settle those of the Episcopal authority in both kingdoms. Henry VIII. had broken down all the fences of the constitution; † Elizabeth, at her accession, found some that had been newly settled, which she lowered and raised with a happy dexterity. James I. wasted his time in disputing, and while he pretended to level them all, he left them all standing: however the nation, who was put upon its guard by his declarations, prepared to defend them in case of an attack. Charles I. soon after his accession, attempted to execute what his father had too frequently proposed, without having ever effected.

It was in England, as well as in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, in the power of the people to grant subsidies to the sovereign in the nature of a free and voluntary gift. Charles I. was desirous to assist his brother-in-law the elector-palatine, and the protestants against the emperor. His father James had at length entered upon the same design towards the latter part of his reign, when it was too late. Money was wanting to raise troops to send into the lower Palatinate, and for defraying other expences; it is this metal alone that

† He had not broken them down, but overleaped them occasionally.

confers power, since it has become the representative of all things. The king then demanded it as a debt, and the parliament would not grant it otherwise than a free gift; and before they would grant even this, insisted upon a redress of grievances. Were they to wait for a redress of grievances in every nation before they could procure supplies for raising troops, they would never be able to make war. Charles I. had been persuaded to this armament by his sister, the princess palatine: it was she who had forced her husband to accept the crown of Bohemia, who had for five years together vainly solicited the king her father for assistance, and at length obtained it after it had been so long deferred, through the interest and instigation of the duke of Buckingham. The parliament granted but a very inconsiderable supply. There had been some instances in England of kings, who not being willing to call a parliament, and being in need of money, had raised sums from private persons, by way of loan. This loan was extorted; those who lent their money usually lost it, and those who refused were imprisoned. These arbitrary methods had been practised on certain pressing occasions, where the prince was sufficiently powerful to exercise small arts of oppression with impunity. Charles made use of the same method, but with restrictions, and borrowed some few sums with which he equipped a fleet, and raised troops, which returned without doing any thing.

1626 A new parliament was now to be called. The house of commons, instead of assisting the king's necessities, impeached the duke of Buckingham, whose power and insolence disgusted the whole nation. Charles,

unable to bear the insult offered him in the person of his minister, committed two of the members *, who had been the most forward in accusing him, prisoners to the Tower. He did not, however, properly support this arbitrary act, which was indeed a direct violation of the laws; and his weakness in releasing the two members, emboldened those whom their imprisonment had irritated. He had also confined a peer of the kingdom †, on the same account, whom he likewise set at liberty in the same manner. This was not the way to procure supplies; accordingly, they would not grant him any. The extorted loans were therefore continued, and soldiers were quartered upon the houses of those burghers who were backward in their contributions. Such a conduct could not fail to alienate all minds from him. The general discontent was farther increased by the duke of Buckingham, who was returned from his disgraceful expedition to Rochelle.

A third parliament was convoked; but this was only assembling a number of exasperated subjects, who thought of nothing but restoring the national rights and the privileges of parliament. They began by voting that the habeas corpus act ‡, which was the guardian of their liberties, could not suffer encroachment;

* Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot.

† The earl of Arundel.

‡ The habeas corpus act was afterwards passed as an explanation of that article in Magna Charta, importing that no freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. On this occasion the commons voted that no subject should be imprisoned without cause shewn; and that the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king and council.

that the billeting soldiers upon the houses of the burghers was a violation of the liberty and property of the subject; and that no money could be raised by any other authority than act of parliament. The king, by being too obstinate in the support of his authority, and persisting in his demand of a supply, weakened the one, but did not obtain the other. The parliament was still bent upon bringing the duke of Buckingham to a trial. An Irish fanatic, whom the general hatred of this minister had inspired with a kind of patriot fury, assassinated him in his own house, and in the midst of his friends:

1628 this act sufficiently shewed the degree of fury which began to seize upon the nation. There was a trifling duty upon the importation and exportation of merchandize, called "Tunpage and poundage." The late king had always been in possession of this by act of parliament; and Charles thought there was no occasion for a second act to enable him to collect it. Three merchants of London having refused to pay this small tax, the officers of the customs seized upon their effects. One of these merchants was a member of the house of commons. This house, who had its own liberties to defend in those of the people, commenced a suit against the king's officers; the king, incensed at this behaviour, dissolved the parliament, and committed four members of the house prisoners to the Tower. These were the weak beginnings which produced the overthrow of the state, and stained the throne with blood.

These sources of the public calamity were farther encreased by a torrent of divisions in the church of Scotland. Charles resolved to perfect his designs, with respect to religion, as well

as the state. Episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland, at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart; but the protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the presbyterians. The Scotch people were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all upon an equality with each other. This was the only country in the world where riches and honours did not make the bishops powerful. They retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without a flock, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of presbyterians, only suffered the bishops to retain their dignity, in order to debase them. The ancient abbies were all in secular hands, who had a place in parliament, in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees the number of these titular abbots were diminished. James I. restored episcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than in London. The presbyterian assembly still subsisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of episcopacy. These two different bodies were always thwarting each other, and the synodic republic generally got the better of the episcopal monarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the throne, and the calvinistical presbyterians as enemies to the kingly dignity, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to episcopal government, by introducing a new li-

turgy amongst them, and getting it received. This was no other than the church of England liturgy. His death prevented the accomplishment of this design, which his son Charles now reassumed, and determined to carry into execution.

This liturgy consisted in certain forms of prayer and ceremonies, and the use of a surplice to be worn by the priest when officiating. The
1637 bishop of Edinburgh had no sooner begun to read the statutes enacting these several customs, than the populace rose in the utmost fury, and saluted him with a shower of stones. The presbyterians immediately entered into a covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished: and the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, raised a civil war in Scotland.

It was not known at that time who fomented these disturbances, nor who it was that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was Cardinal Richelieu. This despotic minister, who wanted to hinder Mary of Medicis from finding an asylum in England, and to engage Charles in the interests of France, had received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, which had exasperated him. There is a letter of the Cardinal's to the count d'Estrades, at that time envoy from the court of France to England, in which are those remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: "The king and queen of England shall repent their having neglected my offers before a year is past, and shall quickly find that I am not to be despised."

He had an Irish priest, who was one of his secretaries; this man he sent to London and

Edinburgh, in order to sow dissensions among the presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric and partly by money; and the letter to d'Estrades is another spring to this machine. In looking into the archives of all nations, we shall constantly find religion sacrificed to interest and revenge.

The Scots took up arms. Charles had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. However, he had for some months an army of twenty thousand men; but they were of little service to him, except in forwarding his negociations with the malcontents, and afterwards, when this army was disbanded for want of pay, these negociations became more difficult. He was therefore obliged to have recourse again to war. History furnishes few examples of a greatness of soul equal to that of the noblemen who composed the king's privy council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greatest part of their fortunes for their master's service. The famous archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, and the marquis of Hamilton, signalized themselves in a particular manner by their contributions; and the famous earl of Strafford, alone, gave a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; but these supplies not being nearly sufficient, the king was obliged to call another parliament.

The house of commons were so far from looking upon the Scots as enemies, that they considered them as brethren, who set them an example

for defending their own privileges; and the king received nothing from this parliament but the sharpest remonstrances against the methods he had employed to raise those supplies which they had refused to furnish him with. All the rights which the king had assumed to himself were declared abusive and oppressive; such as the duty of tunnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of exclusive charters to the merchants, the billeting of soldiers on the citizens houses, and, in short, every thing which interfered with the liberties of the people. They likewise complained of a court of justice, called the Star Chamber, which had issued several severe decrees against the subject. Charles then dissolved this new parliament, which greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the nation.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks of people against him; for instead of soothing the city of London in these delicate circumstances, he prosecuted it before the Star Chamber, for some lands in Ireland, and condemned it in a heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes, against which the parliament had so bitterly inveighed. Such a conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Ill supported by his subjects, and secretly disquieted by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, he was not able to prevent the Scottish army from coming as far as Newcastle. Having thus paved the way to his future misfortunes, he convoked the parliament, 1640. which put the finishing hand to his ruin.

This session began, as all the rest had done, by craving redress of grievances, the abolition

of the Star Chamber, the suppression of arbitrary exactions, particularly that of ship-money, and concluded by desiring triennial parliaments. Charles, who had it no longer in his power to refuse, granted all their demands. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken. He imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; and instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds sterling, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself likewise with suppressing the puritanical party in England; almost all the members of the house of commons were themselves puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the house of commons impeached this nobleman of high treason, purely on account of his attachment to his master. He was accused of divers misdemeanors inevitable in tumultuous times, but all committed for the king's service, and which had been effaced by the generous manner in which he had contributed to the relief of his necessities. However, he was condemned by his peers: but he could not be put to death without the king's consent. The mad populace cried aloud for the blood of this loyal nobleman. The earl carried his virtue to such a height, as to exhort the king to consent to his death; and the king was weak enough to sign this fatal act, which shewed his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

Of the Misfortunes and Death of CHARLES I.

ENGLAND, Scotland, and Ireland, were at that time divided into violent factions, as well as France; but those of France were only the cabals of princes and noblemen against a prime minister, who oppressed them; whereas the parties which distracted Charles's kingdom, were the general convulsions of all minds, a violent and fixed desire of changing the constitution of the state, an ill-concerted scheme in the royalists to establish despotic power; a madness for liberty in the people; a thirst of power in the commons; an evil design in the bishops, to crush the puritanical or calvinistical party; and, in fine, the secret and closely-pursued plan of those people, called the independents, which consisted in making use of the errors and mistakes of others, in order to render themselves their masters.

Oct. In the midst of all these troubles, the
1641 catholics of Ireland thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design, the horror of which could only be paralleled by that on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces on one day, and murder every protestant in the kingdom; and they actually massacred upwards of forty thousand.

and †. The king was at that time in Scotland, where he had but lately settled matters on a pacific footing, and the commons governed England. These Irish catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, found himself accused of the crime he was endeavouring to punish. The Scottish parliament referred the business to the commons of England, alledging with justice, that Ireland depended upon England. The king, therefore, returned in haste to London. The house of commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time presented a remonstrance to the king of the most virulent nature.

Among other things they desire "his majesty to employ in his council such persons only as should be nominated by them, and even threaten him to take other measures in case of a refusal." The house of commons sent three of its members to present this remonstrance to the king, who delivered upon their knees a petition, which was no other than an open declaration of war against him. Oliver Cromwell, who was already a member of the house, declared, "that if the remonstrance did not pass in the

† Such is the computation of most historians; but the whole is a shocking exaggeration, derived from animosity and misapprehension: if we should read *four* instead of *forty* thousand, we should approach nearer the truth; and, we are afraid, it will be found difficult to prove that the catholics were the aggressors,

house,

house, he would sell the little estate he had, and retire from England."

This speech proves that he was then an enthusiast for that liberty, which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

Charles did not dare at that time to dissolve the parliament; or had he attempted it, they would not have obeyed him. There were several officers of the army formerly assembled in Scotland, who were the king's friends, and particularly attached to his person. He
1641 was likewise supported by the bishops and the few papist lords then in London: those who had before been engaged in the powder plot, to exterminate his whole family, were now wholly devoted to his interest, all the rest of the nation was against him. The populace, stirred up by the puritan party, filled the whole city with sedition, and assembling in a great multitude before the house of lords, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops." Twelve prelates, intimidated by these riotous proceedings, resolved to retire, and subscribed a protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions which should be made in their absence. The lords upon receiving this protest, committed them prisoners to the Tower; upon which the rest of the bishops soon afterwards withdrew from the house.

While the king's power was thus upon the decline, one of his favourites, the lord Digby, gave him the pernicious and fatal advice to support it by one vigorous stroke of authority. The king unhappily forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expose it to any new affront, and went in person to the house

house of commons, to apprehend five members who had been the most violent against him, and whom he impeached of high treason. These five members had withdrawn from the house: the whole house exclaimed against this violation of its privileges. The king, like a bewildered person, who knows not whither to turn himself, went from the house to the Guildhall, to demand the assistance of the city. The common council, instead of complying with his desire, present a remonstrance against himself. He then returns to Windsor, and, in order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, and which he found himself incapable of supporting, sent a message to the commons, giving them to understand, that "he desisted from his prosecution of the five members, and that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own life." The violence of his former conduct had rendered him odious to his parliament, and his present concessions made them despise him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands. The peers sit by their own right in parliament; this is the ancient privilege of the barons and feudal lords. The commons are in parliament as representatives for the cities and boroughs † who elect them. The people placed much greater confidence in these deputies, who were their representatives, than in the peers. These latter, to recover the credit they had lost with the people, adopted the general

† Not only the cities and boroughs, but the counties themselves are represented in the house of commons.

sentiments of the nation, and stood up for the authority of a parliament, of which they were originally the principal part.

During this confusion, the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak opposition which had been made to it, and the insurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen his consort; especially the latter, as she was a catholic. Both houses 1642 now propose to raise the militia; but at the same time insist that it shall be commanded by such officers only as they should nominate. According to law, nothing can be done, touching the militia, without the king's consent; and the parliament rightly supposed that he would never consent to sign an ordinance which made directly against himself. Accordingly the king withdrew, or rather fled from London, into the north of England. His queen, Henrietta of France, daughter to Henry IV. who possessed most of her royal father's qualities, and was active, intrepid, insinuating, and even amorous, heroically supported that husband in distress, to whom she had not been over faithful in his prosperity*. She sold her furniture and jewels, borrowed money in England and Holland, which she gave to her husband; and afterwards went in person to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the princess

* We wish our author had been more explicit in this charge brought against the memory of a queen, whose character, in this respect, has not, to the best of our remembrance, been impeached upon any good authority.

Mary,

Mary, to the prince of Orange her husband; but, in reality, to solicit succours from that state, in case of emergency. She negotiated likewise at the northern courts; in a word, she sought every where for assistance, except in her own country, where the Cardinal de Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and the king her brother, were both dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one Hotham governor of Hull, a small fortress on the sea-coast of York, and which had, for a long time, been a magazine for arms and ammunition. The king appears before the place and demands admittance; Hotham causes the gates to be shut, and retaining some small respect for his royal master, comes upon the ramparts, and on his knees asks pardon for being obliged to disobey him. He was afterwards opposed in a less respectful manner. The nation was now overspread with manifestoes from the king and parliament. Those noblemen who were in the king's interest † repair to him.

He

† As our author has asserted above, that all the people of the kingdom were enemies to the king, except some officers of the army, the bishops, the catholics, and those who had been engaged in the gunpowder plot; we shall rectify his mistake, by enumerating the principal persons who attended him at York, and declared in his favour. These were, lord Lyttleton, keeper of the seals; the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton, Devonshire, Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, Salisbury, Cambridge, Westmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindsey, Bath, Dorset, Northampton, Bristol, Berkshire, Dover; the lords Falkland, Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Grey of Ruthven, Pawlet, Saville,

He sends to London for the great seal of the kingdom, without which it was supposed there could be no law enacted: however, the laws made by the parliament against him, were published, and obeyed as effectually as if they had had his sanction.

Charles set up the royal standard at Nottingham; but no one appeared except a few trained bands, and those not armed. At length, by the supplies he received from Holland, by means of the queen, the presents made him by the university of Oxford, who sent him all its plate, and with what the rest of his friends could furnish, he got together an army of about fourteen thousand men.

The parliament, who had all the money of the kingdom at their disposal, soon raised a much superior force. Charles published a declaration at the head of his army, in which he protested, that "he would live and die in the true protestant religion;" and that "he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of that parliament which was in arms

ville, Dunsmore, Mowbray, Martravers, Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour.---Many other noblemen were employed in the king's behalf, in different parts of the kingdom. A great number of the most powerful commons espoused his cause, which was also supported by the two universities. All in general, whose manners were polished, and whose minds were enlarged by a liberal education, adhered to the king. The opposite faction consisted of those whom the court had personally disoblged; of such as wanted to fish in troubled waters; of republicans and dissenters, comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower class of people, inflamed with the spirit of fanaticism,

against

against him." His armies were commanded by prince Rupert, brother to the unfortunate elector palatine, Frederic*, a prince of great valour, and otherwise famous for his profound knowledge in natural philosophy, in which he made several useful discoveries.

The battles of Worcester and Edgehill, at first proved favourable to the royal 1642 cause, and the king proceeded within a short distance of London. The queen had brought him a supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, from Holland. She immediately set out again in quest of new succours, with which she returned a few months afterwards. The parliamentarians were not, however, discouraged; they knew they had powerful resources; and though subdued, they still acted as masters, against whom the king had rebelled.

They condemned and executed for high treason, several subjects who had delivered up to the king his own towns; while the king, on his side, refrained from all reprisals on his prisoners. This alone may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who appeared so criminal in the eyes of his own subjects. Politicians, indeed, cannot forgive him for having wasted so much time in negotiating, when he should have taken advantage of his first success, and acted with alacrity and resolution, as the only means of putting an end to disputes of this nature.

† Prince Rupert was not the brother, but the son of Frederick, elector palatine, who married the sister of king Charles.

1643 Tho' Charles and prince Rupert were beaten at Newbury †, they still had the advantage of the campaign. The parliament continued stubborn and inflexible; and what is very extraordinary, an assembly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness and resolution, than a king at the head of his army.

The puritans having got the majority in both houses, at length threw aside the mask. They entered into a solemn league with Scotland, and signed the famous covenant, by 1644 which they mutually agreed to destroy episcopacy. It was plain, by this covenant, that the Scottish and English puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic. This was the spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same grand design: it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected, without shedding oceans of blood.

† The royalists were victorious at Hopton-heath, Reading, Thame, Stratton, Lansdown-hill, Roundway-downs, Bristol, and the affair at Newbury was a drawn battle, fought with great obstinacy, till night parted the combatants: next morning the earl of Essex, who commanded the parliamentarians, pursued his march to Reading, but his rear was severely handled by prince Rupert, at the head of the king's cavalry. The greatest damage the king sustained in the battle, was the loss of three worthy noblemen, the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the lord Falkland, who fell gallantly fighting for their sovereign. In the second battle at Newbury the king was attacked by a great superiority of numbers; notwithstanding which, he relieved Donnington castle, and retired unmolested to Oxford,

While

While the Presbyterians were thus arming England and Scotland, popery served on the other hand as a pretext with the Irish rebels, who still continued to oppose the troops sent against them by the parliament of England. The religious wars, under Lewis XIII. were still recent; and the invasion of Germany, by the Swedes, on the same account, was at its height. It was a deplorable circumstance that Christians should, for so many ages, have made use of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, as means for drenching in blood all that part of Europe where they are settled*.

The rage of civil war was cherished by that gloomy and austere behaviour which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to order the book of sports, composed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This book had been written by the king, to shew that it was lawful to use diversions on the Lord's day, after divine service was over. They thought by this action to do a service to religion, and an insult to the reigning prince. In the course of the same year, the parliament likewise ordered, that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war.

We must not imagine that in any of the factions, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or even among the king's friends, or his

* The Roman catholics of Ireland complained of many other grievances than those of religion.

enemies,

enemies, there were many of those designing spirits, who totally uninfluenced by the prejudices of party, only make use of the errors and fanaticism of others, in order to gain the mastery over them. This was not the genius of these nations. Almost every one was really of the party he embraced. Those who shifted sides, through some particular discontent, did it with an high hand. The independents were the only party who concealed their intentions, and this for two reasons; first, that as they were hardly looked upon as Christians, they might have given too much umbrage to the other sects; secondly, because they adopted certain enthusiastic notions, concerning the original state of equality among mankind; and that this leveling system must have hurt the ambition of the rest.

One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible sternness which had taken possession of all minds at that time, is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in prison. The only crime which they could convict him of, with any shew of evidence, was the having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish church, at the consecration of a church in London. He was sentenced to be hanged, and his heart cut out and thrown in his face, the usual punishment for traitors; but the commons with difficulty indulged him with decapitation*.

Charles

† Archbishop Laud, when brought to trial, made such a vigorous defence, that the commons perceiving he could not

Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united against him, and being hard pressed between their two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a truce with the Irish Roman catholics, in order to employ in his own service, part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. This scheme succeeded, and he not only had a great number of the English from the army in Ireland, but also many of the Irish themselves, who came to increase his army. Upon this the parliament openly charge him with being the author of the rebellion in Ireland. Unfortunately these new troops, on which he had placed so much dependence, were entirely defeated by lord Fairfax, the parliament's general, and the king had 1644 only the grief of having furnished his enemies with a plausible pretext to accuse him as an accomplice with the Irish in their barbarities.

He now became more and more unfortunate; prince Rupert, after having long maintained the honour of the king's arms, is at length beaten near York, and his army totally 1644 dispersed by the earl of Manchester and lord Fairfax. Charles now retired to Oxford, where he was presently after besieged. The queen was then in France. The king's extreme

not be convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation: a request which the commons granted with difficulty.

danger

danger animates his friends to the exertion of their most powerful efforts. They oblige the enemy to raise the siege of Oxford. The king himself assembled a few troops, and at first met with some success; but this interval of good fortune proved of short duration. The parliament was still in a condition to send a superior army against him, and he is attacked by the generals Essex, Manchester, and Waller, at Newbury, on the road to Oxford. Cromwell was then a colonel in the parliament's army, and had already made himself remarkable, by several acts of extraordinary valour. It is said that at this battle of Newbury, the corps commanded by the earl of Manchester, having given way, and the earl himself being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him and cried; "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy are not this way;" and immediately brought him back to the charge: O^{ct.} 27, in a word, most writers agree that 1644 the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much influence in the house of commons as he had reputation in the army, publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

The fondness of the English for all strange things, brought to light a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and episcopacy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy:

1644

The

The sect of independents began to make some noise. The most violent of the presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled the quakers in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing every one to preach and expound the scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a loose to the wildest imaginations: they had formed the extravagant scheme of levelling all distinctions among men; and, in order to establish this desired equality, they had recourse to force. Oliver Cromwell looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in his designs.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the war. Cromwell then got some of the independents to make a motion in the house for new-modelling the army, and to engage the members of both houses to resign all their civil and military offices. Almost all the profitable employes were in the hands of the members of one or the other house. The three generals of the parliament's army were peers; the major part of the colonels, majors, treasurers, purveyors, and commissioners of all kinds, were members of the lower house. Did it appear probable, that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon by the flattery of words, to resign their posts and incomes? and yet this was effected in a single session. The commons in particular were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the people by this unexampled disinterested-

VOL. V. N

terestedness. This act was called "The self-denying ordinance." The peers at first
1645 hesitated to pass the bill, but were soon overpowered by the commons. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Manchester, voluntarily resigned their commissions; and the whole command of the army was bestowed upon sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, as not being a member of parliament. This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had an absolute power over this new general, as indeed he had over the house of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding he was a member, and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the members of their military employs, had likewise the address to get the officers of the independent party continued in their posts, and from that time it was easy to be perceived that the army would give laws to the parliament.

The new general, Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, new-modelled the whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military corps, and established a new discipline; all this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

This army, animated with a new spirit, marched to meet the king's forces near Oxford, and here was fought the decisive battle of Naseby, between the royalists and the parliamentarians. Cromwell, who was general of
the

the horse, after having defeated the king's cavalry, returned and fell upon the foot, which he likewise routed; and the honour of that celebrated victory was chiefly owing to him. The royal army was, after a great slaughter, all taken prisoners or dispersed. All the towns threw open their gates to Cromwell and Fairfax. The young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. early a partaker in his father's calamities, was obliged to fly over to the isles of Scilly. The king after his defeat retired with the shattered remains of his army to Oxford, and sent proposals for peace to the parliament, which they insolently rejected, and even insulted him in his misfortunes. Their general had sent them a casket of the king's, which was found on the field of battle, and contained his private letters to the queen. Many of these letters were filled only with expressions of grief and tenderness. These were read openly in the house of commons, with all the bitter raillery which belongs to brutality.

The king was in Oxford, a town almost destitute of fortifications, between the victorious army of the parliament on one side, and the Scotch army on the other. He now saw no other possibility of escaping, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots, who were the least rancorous of his enemies. Accordingly he repaired to the Scottish army, to whom he delivered himself up; but the parliament having paid the Scottish army the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was due to them upon arrears, and promised

the payment of as much more, the king from that instant became a prisoner.

Feb. 16, The Scots delivered the king to
1645 the commissioners of the English parliament, who at first were puzzled in what manner to behave to their royal prisoner. The war appeared to be ended, the Scottish army was upon its march home, and the parliament had nothing to fear but from its own army, which had made it victorious. Cromwell and his independents were the masters of the soldiery. This parliament, or rather house of commons, tho' still all-powerful in London, was sensible that the army was aiming at the supreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of these troublesome servants, who were become dangerous to their masters; accordingly it was voted to send part of the forces into Ireland, and to disband the rest. It may easily be imagined whether or not Cromwell would suffer this? The critical moment was now arrived; he formed a council of officers, and another of private soldiers, called Agitators, who began by making remonstrances and petitions, and soon afterwards gave laws to the parliament. The king was in the hands of the parliament's commissioners at Holmby-castle; a party of soldiers, of the council of agitators, went and took him by force from the castle, and brought him to the army at New-market.

After this bold step, the army marched directly to London. Cromwell, being desirous to colour over the violence of his proceedings with some shew of regularity, impeached eleven mem-

members of parliament, who were the declared enemies of the independent party, after which these members never dared to enter the house. The city of London at length opened its eyes when too late, and plainly perceived the misfortunes it had no longer the power to redress. It saw a tyrannical parliament tyrannized over by the army, its king a captive in the hands of the soldiery, and its citizens exposed to imminent danger. The mayor and common-council raise the militia, and hastily draw entrenchments round the city; but the army appearing at the gates, it threw them open, and quietly received its masters. The parliament put the command of the Tower into 1647 Fairfax's hands, returned the army thanks for its disobedience, and gratified the soldiers with a sum of money.

They were still at a loss how to dispose of the king's person; the independents had removed him to Hampton-court. Cromwell and the presbyterian party both entered into private treaty with him. The Scots likewise proposed to him to carry him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all these parties, found means to make his escape from Hampton-court, and crossed over to the isle of Wight, where he thought to find an asylum; instead of which he only met with a new prison.

During this anarchy, the fatal consequence of a factious and despised parliament, a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of the lawful sovereign, the same spirit which had so long animated the independents, on a sudden took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed

themselves into a body under the name of Levellers, an appellation which signified their design of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowledging no master, either in church, army, or state. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seemed to the full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable; Cromwell finding that they were likely to become the more dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles; and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the sudden resolution to quell them, at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he
1647 repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with them, desiring to know in God's name what they wanted; and then fell upon them with such fury, that they were unable to make any resistance. He ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged upon the spot, and thus broke a faction, whose only crime was that of having followed his example.

This bold action greatly encreased his power, both in the army, the parliament, and the city of London. Sir Thomas Fairfax was still general of the army, but far inferior in credit to Cromwell. The king, who was prisoner in the isle of Wight, continued to make proposals for peace, as if the war had not been already terminated, or that he thought his enemies would listen to them. His second son, the duke of York, afterwards king James II. who

who was then about fifteen years old, and was prisoner in St. James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland. Some of the king's friends having at the same time gained over a part of the English fleet, steered with their squadron to the Brille, whither this young prince had retired, and delivered it to him. He immediately went on board, with his brother the prince of Wales, and set sail for England, in order to assist their father; and this very assistance proved the means of hastening his ruin.

The Scots, ashamed of being looked upon by all Europe as a people who had sold their king, assembled an army in his behalf, which was joined by several young noblemen, and others of the king's friends in England. Cromwell made forced marches to meet them with a part of the army, gave them 1648 battle at Preston, entirely routed their forces, and took their general, duke Hamilton, prisoner. The town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, which had declared for the king, was compelled to surrender at discretion by Fairfax; and this general sullied his victory by an act of cruelty, in causing several of the noblemen* who had engaged the inhabitants to take up arms for their prince, to be shot to death in his presence.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reducing all to their obedience, the commons, who dreaded Cromwell and the independents

* Sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle were put to death at Colchester.

even more than they had done the king, began to treat with that unhappy monarch, and tried all their efforts to get rid of an army on which they could never afterwards place any dependance. The army, who was returned home victorious, demanded that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted; that the principal royalists should be punished; and that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to submit within a certain limited time, or otherwise to be proclaimed traitors, and banished for ever. To this address the commons returned no answer. Cromwell procures petitions to be presented to him from all the regiments in the army, praying that the king might be brought to trial. General Fairfax, who was still so blinded as not to see that Cromwell only made use of him as a tool, caused the captive king to be removed from the isle of Wight to Hurst-castle*, and from thence to Windsor, without vouchsafing to give any account of his conduct to the parliament. He then marched with the army to London, seized on all the posts, and obliged the city to supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling.

The next day, when the commons were going to their house, they found a guard at the door, who excluded the greater part of the presbyterian members, the first beginners of those troubles, of which they themselves were the victims, and suffered none but independents to enter, or such rigid presbyterians as had

* Hurst-castle is in Hampshire, opposite to the isle of Wight
always

always been implacable enemies to monarchy. The excluded members having published a protestation against the violence they had undergone, the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious. This remnant of the house of commons consisted wholly of a set of burghers, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings; the city itself was held in subjection by them; and the common council, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial.

The commons appointed a committee of eight and thirty persons, to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty; and a new court of justice was erected for trying him, of which Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, Waller*, and other persons, to the number of forty-seven, were appointed commissioners and judges. The few peers who still continued to sit in the upper house, only for form's sake, the rest having withdrawn, were formally summoned to assist at this trial; but not one of them would attend. However, their refusal did not prevent the court from proceeding in its business.

The lower house now voted that the sovereign power resided originally in the people, and that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the representatives of the people: this point, which the army determined by the voices of a few citizens, overturned the English constitution. The commons, assembled in par-

* Sir Hardress Waller.

liament, are doubtless the legal representatives of the nation, but so likewise is the king and the peers. It has always been complained of, as a grievance, in other states, when private persons have been tried by commissioners; but here a sovereign was tried by commissioners who were his own subjects, and appointed by an inconsiderable part of the parliament. It is not to be doubted, that the house of commons thought they had a right to act in this manner. It was chiefly composed of independents, who all of them imagined that nature had placed no difference between them and kings, and the only distinction was on the side of the strongest. Ludlow, who was a colonel in the army, and one of the judges appointed on the king's trial, sufficiently proves by his memoirs, how much their pride was secretly flattered by having it in their power to pass sentence on one who had formerly been their master; and as this same Ludlow was a rigid presbyterian, there is no room to doubt that fanaticism had a great share in this catastrophe; besides, he fully explains the whole spirit of the times, by quoting this passage out of the Old Testament: "The land cannot be cleansed from blood, but by the blood of him who shed it."

In short, Cromwell, Fairfax, the independents, and the presbyterians, all concurred in thinking the death of the king absolutely necessary to their designs of setting up a commonwealth. Cromwell could not certainly flatter himself, at that time, with succeeding the king; he was only lieutenant-general in an army full of factions. He hoped, and with good reason, that the reputation he had gained

by his great military exploits would acquire him the first rank in that army, and in the republic, as well as an ascendancy over the minds of the people; but had he at that time formed the design of getting himself acknowledged sovereign of the three kingdoms, he would not have deserved to have been so. The mind of man proceeds in every undertaking only by degrees, and these degrees necessarily brought on Cromwell's elevation, who owed it entirely to his courage and good fortune.

Charles I. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was beheaded by the hands of the executioner, at Whitehall, and his body afterwards removed to the church of Windsor, but has never been found since. There had been several instances formerly of kings of England deposed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings, who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. Mary queen of Scots had been sentenced to death by English commissioners, who had no other right over her life, than what a robber has over the defenceless person who falls into his hands; but there had never yet been an instance of any people bringing their own sovereign to the block, with all the pomp and solemnity of justice. We must go back three hundred years before our æra, to find an example of the like catastrophe, in the person of Agis king of Lacedemon.

* Or January 30, 1648-9, O. S. The reader is requested to observe here, once for all, that Mr. de Voltaire every where makes use of the new stile, in his dates to transactions.

C H A P. CLI. OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

AFTER the murder of Charles I. the commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's son, or any other, as sovereign of England. They likewise abolished the house of lords, where there were but sixteen peers sitting; so that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the sovereignty of England and Ireland.

The house of commons, which should be composed of * five hundred and thirteen members, consisted then of only eighty. A new great seal was ordered to be made, on which was engraved these words; "The parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's statue in the royal exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inscription was affixed in its room; "Charles the last king, and the first tyrant."

This same house condemned to death several noblemen, who had been taken prisoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary, that those who had violated the law of nations should infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottish nobleman, was in the number of those devoted to death. This treatment was a principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their sovereign; but at the same time the law of liberty was so deeply rivetted in all hearts, that they restric-

* Thus it was before the union; but it now consists of five hundred and fifty-eight.

ted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the English parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Irish received their new king without conditions, Cromwell then got himself appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately set out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his usual success.

In the mean time Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the same conditions as they had proposed to his father. They insisted that he should be a presbyterian, as the Parisians had insisted upon his grandfather Henry IV.'s becoming a Roman catholic. They restricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was resolved upon having it preserved full and intire. His father's fate had in no wise weakened in him those notions, which seem born in the heart of every monarch.

The first consequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland, was a civil war. The marquis of Montrose, a nobleman famous in those times for his personal valour and steady attachment to the royal family, had brought some soldiers from Germany and Denmark *, which he transported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conquest to those of his master, he was defeated, taken, and hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high.

* The marquis of Montrose brought a few Scotch officers from the continent: but he had no other troops than about 1200 Irish, and a few Highlanders, with whom he obtained several surprising victories, before he was defeated by David Leslie.

After

1656 After the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, quitted Holland and put himself in the power of those who had so lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montrose were still exposed. The new commonwealth of England began to make instant preparations for a war with Scotland, resolved that one half of the island should not be an asylum for a person who pretended to be king of the other likewise. This new commonwealth supported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct as it had shewn rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that an handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, should keep the peers of the realm at a silent distance, strip the bishops of their dignity, restrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and the same in England, support a formidable fleet well provided with necessaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the house enriching himself at the nation's expence. To provide for so great a charge, they observed the strictest oeconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a sale of the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters for ten years. In short, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ship-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raise by his own

authority, and which had been the first cause of so many disasters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Irish expedition, with his son-in-law Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who still bore a great sway. It was resolved by the house to assemble an army against the Scots, and to send Cromwell thither, next in command under general Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almost subdued. General Fairfax refused to accept the command of the army against the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a presbyterian, and pretended that his conscience would not suffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the house, resigned his commission, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary resolution, at a period, and in a country, where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the era of Cromwell's greatness, who was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland at the head of an army accustomed to victory for upwards of ten years. He beat the Scottish army at Dunbar, and immediately took possession of the city of Edinburgh. From thence he went in pursuit of Charles, who was advanced into England as far as Worcester, in hopes that the English royalists would rise in his behalf and join him there; but his army consisted chiefly of new raised troops, raw and undisciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks

banks of the Severn; and gained, after very little
 resistance *, the completest victory
 Sept. 13, that had ever crowned his arms. He
 1650 carried near seven thousand prisoners
 to London, who were sold as slaves to the
 American planters. The victorious army made
 itself master of all Scotland, while Cromwell
 pursued the king from place to place.

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more pressing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than those which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almost alone through by-paths half spent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordshire. There he concealed himself a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midst of a wood *, surrounded by Cromwell's soldiers, who were every where in search of him. The oak was still to be seen at the beginning of this century. Astronomers have given it a place among the constellations of the southern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of these disasters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, sometimes disguised like a postilion, sometimes in woman's apparel, and

* The battle lasted several hours, during which the brigade commanded by William duke of Hamilton, brother of him who was beheaded, fought with great gallantry, until general Middleton was dangerously hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greatest part of his officers slain or disabled.

† It was at Boscobel in Shropshire, that the king and colonel Careless concealed themselves among the branches of an oak.

some-

sometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to escape in a small fishing-boat, and was safely landed in Normandy, Nov. 1650 after having undergone, for six weeks, a train of adventures that almost exceed credibility.

Cromwell in the mean time returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the speaker of the house, accompanied by several of the members, and the mayor and magistrates of London in their formalities. The first thing he did, after his return, was to persuade the parliament to an abuse of the victory their troops had gained, and which was so flattering to the English. The house passed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the English commonwealth, and royalty was abolished among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than since it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly composed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the seven United Provinces to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The stadtholder, William II. son-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having 1651 attempted to make himself absolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better success. He left a son in the cradle*; and the English parliament hoped that the Dutch would as easily give up their stadtholder as the English had done its monarch, in which case the united republic of England,

* The child was not born till after the father's death.

Scotland, and Holland, might hold the balance of Europe; but the friends to the house of Orange, having vigorously opposed this project, which favoured greatly of the enthusiasm of the times, this very enthusiasm determined the English parliament to declare war against Holland. The two republics had several engagements at sea with various success. Some of the wisest among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for encreasing the navy expence, which might oblige the parliament to disband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell saw into their schemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the mask entirely, and shewed himself in his proper colours. He told major general Vernon that, "He was compelled to do that which made his hair stand an end." He hastened to the house with a detachment of chosen men, and followed by the officers, who were most at his devotion, and set a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after some little pause, "Methinks, said he, this parliament is ripe enough to be dissolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he started up in the middle of the house, and exclaimed, "The Lord has done with you, and has made choice of other instruments." After this fanatic speech he reviled all present in the most opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whore-master, and telling them all that the gospel condemned them, and that they had nothing to do

do but to dissolve themselves immediately. His officers and soldiers then entered the house, where pointing to the mace he bade one of them "Take away that bauble." Major-general Harrison then went up to the speaker and obliged him to leave the chair by violence; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you, added he, that have forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having said this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the door himself, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is still more strange is, that the parliament being thus dissolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legislative authority, every thing did not fall into confusion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the constitution of the state was truly changed. On this occasion that happened in England which we have already seen happen in all countries in the world; the strong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's instigation this council nominated one hundred and forty-four persons to represent the nation in parliament; these were chiefly taken from the lowest class of the people, such as shop-keepers, and journeymen handicrafts. One of the most active members of this parliament was a leather-seller, named Barebones, from whom this assembly was called Barebones' parliament.

Cromwell, as general, sent a written order to all these members, requiring them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation. This assembly, after sitting

sitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a resolution to dissolve itself, and resigned the sovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms, and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the same. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there installed in the royal palace, where he afterwards took up his residence. He was honoured with the title of "Your Highness;" and the city of London invited him to a feast, where the same honours were shewn him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales*, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the sovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had passed without having had any employ, civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission for major of horse. From this beginning it was that he rose to be master of that house and the army; and after having subdued Charles I. and his son, stepped into their throne; and without being king reigned more absolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He chose a council consisting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been

* He was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a small estate from his father.

the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he assigned a pension of a thousand pounds sterling. The forces were paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly supplied. In the treasury, of which he had the sole management, there were three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and about one hundred and fifty thousand in that of Ireland. The Dutch sued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling; that the ships of the states general should pay the compliment to the British flag; and that the young prince of Orange should never be restored to the offices or posts of his ancestors. This was the same prince, who afterwards dethroned James II. as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All the nations of Europe vied with each other in courting the protector. France courted his alliance against Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever since remained with the English. Ireland was entirely subdued, and treated like a conquered country. The estates of the vanquished were bestowed upon the victors, and those who were most attached to the royal cause died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked several parliaments; but, as he was always their master, he dissolved them whenever he pleased. He discovered all the plots that were formed against him, and prevented many insurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliaments, and lived in

in obscurity on their respective estates. He had
 1656 the address to prevail on one of these par-
 liaments to make him a tender of the
 royal dignity, that he might refuse it, and by
 that means more effectually secure his real
 power. He resided in the royal palace, where
 he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the
 least pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow,
 who was his lieutenant in Ireland relates, that
 when the protector sent his son Henry Crom-
 well over to that kingdom, he sent only one
 servant to attend him. He was always of a
 morose disposition: he was sober, temperate,
 saving, though not greedy of another's posses-
 sions: he was diligent and punctual in all pub-
 lic affairs. By his dexterous management he
 kept well with all sects: he did not persecute
 either those of the Romish communion, or of
 the church of England, who now hardly dared
 to shew their heads: he had chaplains of all
 parties: he was an enthusiast with the fanatics,
 (now called the Presbyterians,) whom he had
 cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and
 would laugh at them, with the deists, placing
 confidence only in the independents, who could
 not subsist but through him. By this conduct
 he preserved to his last hour an authority which
 had been cemented with blood, and supported
 by force and artifice.

Sept. 13, Notwithstanding his sobriety, na-
 1658 ture had limited his life to fifty-eight
 years. He died of a common fever,
 occasioned probably by the anxiety of mind
 ever attendant upon tyranny; for towards the
 latter part of his life, he was under continual

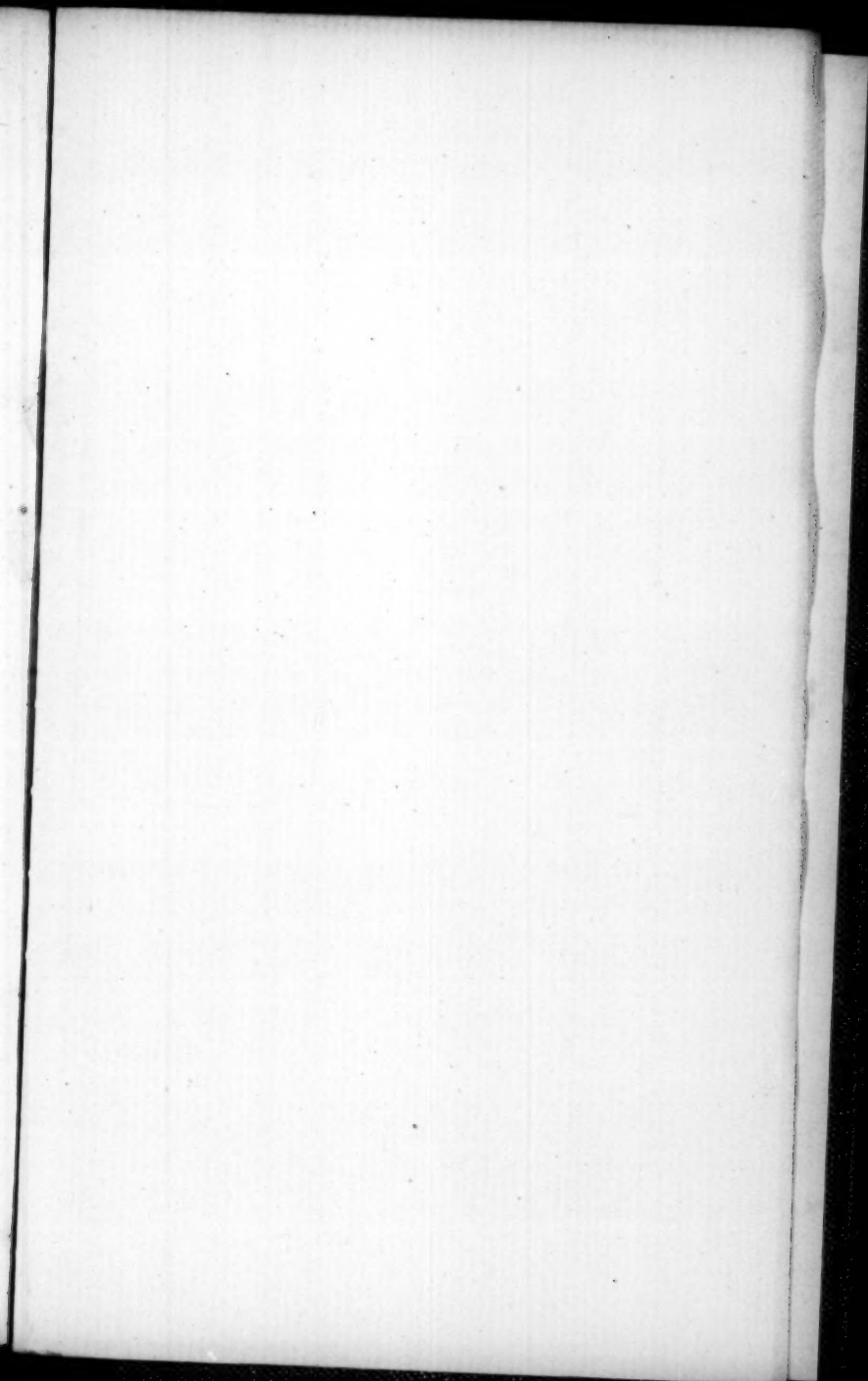
apprehensions of being assassinated: he never lay two nights together in the same room. At his death he nominated his son Richard his successor in the protectorship. As soon as the breath was out of his body, one of his presbyterian chaplains named Herries, comforted the by-standers with this speech: "Do not be dismayed, as he protected the lord's people so long as he remained amongst us, he will protect us still more powerfully, now that he is ascended into heaven, where he will be seated at the right hand of Christ." The spirit of fanaticism was so powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in such high esteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithstanding the different interests which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council issued an order for the funeral of the deceased protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They chose as a model on this occasion the ceremonial which had been used at the death of Philip II. king of Spain. It is to be observed, that Philip was represented as being in purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterwards represented as in heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the same, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from silver plates, which formed a lustre equal to that of the sun at noon-day. The same ceremony was observed at Oliver's funeral.

funeral. He was laid on a bed of state, with the crown on his head, and a golden sceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention either to this imitation of a Romish ceremony, nor the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and deposited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II. after his restoration, caused it to be removed, and exposed upon a gallows.

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.







Green delin.

J. Hall Sc.

Cardinal Chigi, making the Pope's concessions to
Louis XIV.

14 Ad i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

THE

W. O. R. K.

OF

THE

W. O. R. K.

OF

THE

W. O. R. K.

OF

THE

W. O. R. K.

OF

THE

W. O. R. K.

OF

THE

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SIXTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CLII.	
<i>Of England, under Charles II.</i>	7
CHAP. CLIII.	
<i>Of Italy, and chiefly of Rome, at the end of the sixteenth century.</i>	
<i>Of the council of Trent. Of the correction of the calendar,</i>	
<i>&c.</i>	13
CHAP. CLIV.	
<i>Of Pope Sixtus V.</i>	25
CHAP. CLV.	
<i>Of the successors of Sixtus V.</i>	34
CHAP. CLVI.	
<i>Continuation of the state of Italy in the seventeenth century</i>	45
CHAP. CLVII.	
<i>Of Holland in the seventeenth century</i>	52
CHAP. CLVIII.	
<i>Of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, in the seventeenth century</i>	62
CHAP. CLIX.	
<i>Of Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries</i>	77
CHAP. CLX.	
<i>Of the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth century. The siege of</i>	
<i>Candia. False Messiah</i>	90
CHAP.	

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CLXI.

Progress of the Turks. The siege of Vienna 107

C H A P. CLXII.

*Of Persia and its manners; of the late revolution in that empire;
and of Tamas Kouli-Can, or Schah Nadir* 115

C H A P. CLXIII.

Of the Mogul 126

C H A P. CLXIV.

*Of China in the seventeenth century, and at the beginning of the
eighteenth* 136

C H A P. CLXV.

Of Japan, in the seventeenth century 148

C H A P. CLXVI.

Of the states of Europe before Lewis XIV. 171

C H A P. CLXVII.

*Minority of Lewis XIV. The victories of the French under the
great Condé, then duke of Enguien* 194

C H A P. CLXVIII.

The Civil War 205

C H A P. CLXIX.

*Continuation of the Civil War, till the end of the rebellion in
1654* 218

C H A P. CLXX.

*Condition of France, till the death of Cardinal Mazarine,
1661* 232

C H A P. CLXXI.

*Lewis XIV. governs alone. He obliges the Spanish branch of the
house of Austria to yield him the precedency every where, and
the court of Rome to give him satisfaction. He purchases Dun-
kirk, sends succours to the emperor, the Dutch, and the Portu-
guese, and renders his kingdom powerful and flourishing* 263

C H A P. CLXXII.

The Conquest of Flanders 278



A N C I E N T
AND
MODERN HISTORY.

C H A P. CLII.

Of ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the first, could not have the same fortune. - His sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himself treated with contempt and even insolence by his father's military council, thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, consisting of two houses; one of which was formed by the principal officers, representing the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army soon obliged

VOL. VI.

B

him

him to dissolve this parliament, and of their own authority restored that parliament which had brought king Charles I. to the scaffold, and which Oliver afterwards so disgracefully dismissed. This parliament, which was entirely independent as well as the army, would have neither king nor protector. At its first meeting, the general council of officers presented an address to this assembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers should be for ever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they however treated with great marks of respect, requiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be settled upon him, and eight thousand upon his mother; but the parliament only accommodated him with two thousand pounds*, and sent him an order to leave Whitehall in six days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterwards led a private life. At that time the names of peers and bishops seemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the English commonwealth was firmly established. However, the regal dignity was at length restored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, which had conquered that kingdom. The English parliament having formed a design to cashier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprized of their intention, marched directly to

* This is a mistake; they granted him twenty thousand pounds to pay his debts.

England, to try his fortune. The three kingdoms were at that time in a general state of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not sufficient to keep that nation in subjection. The other part, which marched under his command into England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itself, who was equally apprehensive of either army, endeavoured, if possible, to make itself master of both. Here was sufficient cause for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to succeed to the protectorship, determined to restore the royal family; and instead of shedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, and increased the confusion in the kingdom to such a degree, that the nation of itself began to wish for a king. In a word, the restoration was effected without the least bloodshed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could assemble a sufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had so long remained an idle and useless body, now returned to their house, and resumed their functions in the state. Both houses acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London.

Charles II. thus invited over to Eng- May 8,
land, without having in the least con- 1660
tributed to this restoration by any
means of his own, and without having been
restricted by any conditions, departed from

Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidst the shouts and acclamations of all the people; in a word, it hardly seemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets upon a sledge to the gallows. Of all those concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed, who all of them suffered without the least signs of repentance, refusing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had chosen them to die "For the most glorious and just of all causes." These were most of them either of the obstinate sect of independents, or else Anabaptists, who looked for the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops living at that time in England: the king soon completed the number. The ancient order and discipline was restored both in church and state, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The puritans hid themselves. The spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule. The austere and gloomy sectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of rail-

lery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deism, which the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The royal society, which had been already formed, but was not established by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to soften the manners, by improving the understanding. The belles lettres were revived, and made daily advances towards perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few passages of the Old and New Testaments, to feed the flame of public animosities, and screen the purposes of the blackest revolutions. But now the study of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous chancellor Bacon closely pursued. The science of mathematics was in a short time carried to a degree of perfection, that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amused themselves with idle fables, the English found out the most sublime truths. All that the enquiries of past ages had effected in natural philosophy was nothing in comparison with that one discovery of the nature of light. In the space of twenty years, the arts and sciences made the most amazing progress: this is a merit and a glory which will never pass away. The fruits of genius and industry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and reigning passions, are swallowed up in the times which produced them. The spirit of

the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the administration did not.

The French spirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it subjected it to the designs of Lewis XIV. and the English government, which was wholly biassed by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of the usurper Cromwell, who had rendered his nation so respectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's restoration, vied with each other in giving him all the marks of condescension in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, in whose breast it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the support of his dignity and administration; exclusive of the sum destined for the support of the navy, which far exceeded any thing that had been granted to queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the sale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling*.

* D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, came over to London, and managed this negotiation. For Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, the French king paid four hundred thousand pounds.

The war which he engaged in against the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burthenfome, as it cost the nation upwards of seven millions and an half sterling, but it was likewise dishonourable * ; for admiral Ruyter sailed up as far as Chatham, and burnt all the English ships lying in that harbour.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. London was ravaged by a plague at the beginning of this 1666 reign, and the city almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unsuccessful war with the Dutch, seemed almost irreparable. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and arose more beautiful, regular, and commodious, than it had been before. A tax upon coals, and the unwearied industry of the citizens, proved alone sufficient to effect this immense work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Asia and Egypt, which were so quickly rebuilt.

Not all these accidents, these mighty labours, the war of 1672 against the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament

* The war was by no means disgraceful : for the Dutch were defeated in a great number of bloody engagements. The burning of a few ships in the river Medway was a reproach upon the administration, which, trusting to the negotiation for peace, had taken no precautions of defence ; but it was no disgrace to the nation in general.

were filled, made any diminution in the pleasures and gallantry, which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had resided for several years. A French mistress, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent such a change in England, the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who succeeded him. This proved the source of numberless intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taste for pleasure, and clouded the festivities of the court with sundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthusiastic fury had no share in the effort made by Lord Shaftsbury and several other persons of distinction, to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Lord Shaftsbury was a declared deist. The duke of York was charged with being a papist; but it was only the arbitrary papist they stood in fear of.

Charles II. seems to have been the first king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private pensions, at least in a country where there is hardly any thing secret. This method was never publicly carried on: we have no proof that any of the kings, his predecessors, had fallen on this way to shorten difficulties and prevent opposition.

The second parliament, which assembled in 1679, began by impeaching eighteen members of the house of commons of the preceding parliament, which had sat eighteen years. They were accused of having accepted pensions; but

as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratifications from the sovereign, they could not do any thing against them.

This new system of politics adopted by the court, did not prevent the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as being a professed papist, ought to be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, natural son to Charles II. attempted to play the same part as the duke of Guise, by which he afterwards brought his own head to the block; and the same motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne, urged them to drive him from thence, after he had ascended it. However, Charles finding that that house which had deposed and murdered his father, now wanted to disinherit his brother in his lifetime; and justly apprehensive of the consequences of such a design in regard to himself, dissolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Every thing was restored to quiet the instant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceased to oppose each other. 1681
The king was now reduced to live with economy upon his revenue, and a pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was paid him by Lewis XIV. He only kept four thousand soldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this small guard as if it had been a powerful standing army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two opposite factions in the kingdom; that of the Tories, who professed a blind submission to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for restricting the sovereign power. The latter of these has almost always had the superiority.

But what has established the power of the English nation is, that all the different parties since the time of Elizabeth have unanimously concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in settling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet smoking upon the scaffold, when this parliament, which was almost entirely composed of fanatics, passed the famous act of navigation in 1650, which has been falsely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly displeased with it; because this act, which was very prejudicial to the interest of Holland, proved one of the causes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by sea, the great expence of the navy might oblige the parliament to lessen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was, that it prohibited all nations to import any merchandize into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged.

As early as the reign of queen Elizabeth the English had an India company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was also a new one
esta-

established afterwards in king William's reign. From the year 1597 to 1612, the English had the sole possession of the whale fishery; but their greatest riches lay in their flocks. At first they only knew how to sell their wool; but since Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the finest cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and since that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five shillings for every measure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when such measure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris bushels, shall not be worth more than two livres eight sous sterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain have been encouraged in like proportion; and not long since it was proved in parliament, that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years time the sum of one hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand French livres.

England had not all these great resources in Charles II's time: it was still indebted to the industry of France, to whom it paid upwards of eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The English had no manufactories for cloth, plate glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the edict of Nantz that they were indebted for almost all these new and important branches of trade.

By this single circumstance we may judge how far the flatterers of Lewis XIV. were

in praising him for thus depriving France of so many useful subjects. Accordingly in 1687, the English government, sensible of the advantage it should gain by granting an asylum and support to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs, and maintained thirteen thousand of these new subjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation, has in the end enabled it to pay subsidies to one half of Europe against the French ; and within our knowledge its credit has encreased to such a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private persons has some years amounted to upwards of seventy millions of our money. This is precisely the situation of the kingdom of France at present, where the government owes nearly the same yearly sum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchasers of public employs. This expedient which is unknown to many other nations, especially to the Asiatics, is the melancholy fruits of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

C H A P. CLIII.

Of ITALY, and chiefly of ROME, at the
End of the sixteenth Century. Of the
Council of TRENT. Of the Correction
of the Calendar, &c.

WHILE France and Germany, almost
subverted at the end of the sixteenth,
and beginning of the seventeenth century, lay
languishing without trade, deprived of arts and
police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians,
in general, began to taste the sweets of repose,
and vyed with each other in cultivating the
liberal arts, which were either unknown to
other nations, or practised by them in a rude
manner. Naples and Sicily were free from re-
volutions, and wholly undisturbed. When
pope Paul IV. at the instigation of his ne-
phews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of these
two kingdoms, by the arms of the French
king Henry II. he pretended to make them
over to the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry
III. in consideration of the payment of twenty
thousand gold ducats *per ann.* in room of the
former annual tribute of six thousand, and on
the especial condition that his nephew should
enjoy certain very considerable and independent
principalities in those kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary
kingdom in the world. It was pretended that
the court of Rome determined it should be no
longer so, and proposed to annex it to the pa-
pal see, which would have given the popes such
a degree of weight and authority, as would
have

have made them masters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impossible that pope Paul IV. or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II. and afterwards from the king of France, and thus strip the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom. This was only an unhappy rash project in pope Paul, who was insulted at his first setting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other brass work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy see, to be melted down and cast into cannon. This war was finished almost as soon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiss the pontiff's feet, restored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

A shocking scene was exhibited after the 1560 death of pope Paul IV. by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Palliano, and cardinal Caraffa; and the sacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was strangled by the orders of pope Pius IV. * as cardinal Poli had

* The two brothers, the cardinal and the duke de Palliano, were condemned and strangled for having abused the authority of their uncle, and exercised all manner of acts of tyranny and oppression; in particular for having caused the duke's wife Violante Dias Carlonna, to be put to death without form of trial, on pretence of adultery, when she was big with child. She was barbarously strangled by her own brother, the count d'Alisse and Leonard Cardini, who likewise suffered death for their barbarity, under the pontificate of Pius IV,

been by those of Leo X. but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppressed.

The council of Trent was closed under the pontificate of Pius IV. in a peace-¹⁵⁶³able manner, without having produced any new effects either among the catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the protestants, who rejected them: it made no change in the customs of those catholic nations who adopted certain rules of discipline different from those of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil jurisdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by these articles the superintendance of all hospitals was vested in the bishops only. The pope alone was to give sentence in criminal causes on the bishops, and the laity were in several cases made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. These were the reasons why the French government rejected the discipline established by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greatest respect, but at the same time with considerable private modifications. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman catholics of Germany insisted upon the use of the consecrated cup, and that priests should be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV. by his briefs to the emperor Maximilian II. and the archbishop of Mentz allowed the communicating in both kinds; but remained inflexible in the article
of

of the marriage of the priests. The history of the popes gives us for a reason, that Pius, having got rid of the council, had nothing more to fear: hence it came, adds the writer of this history, that this pope, who made no scruple of violating all laws divine and human, was so strict with regard to celibacy. It is very false to say that Pius IV. violated all laws divine and human; and it is very evident that by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, which had been so long established in the West, he acted in conformity with an opinion which was become a law in that church.

All the other customs of church discipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The disputes prejudicial to the secular power no longer raised those wars they had formerly done: there were still some few difficulties, some intricate points between the church of Rome and the Roman catholic states; but these little disputes did not cost any bloodshed. The interdict which pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice, was the only considerable quarrel which happened afterwards. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome usually kept fair with the Roman catholic princes, for fear they should turn protestants: but wretched was the fate of those weak princes, who had such a powerful monarch as Philip to oppose, who was master in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in respect to general police; this was its real scourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very bosom of peace, it had been a long time infested with public robbers,
like

like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchasing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal see could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V. and even after his pontificate they appeared sometimes. The example of these freebooters encouraged private persons to put in practice the shocking custom of assassination: the use of the stiletto was but too common in towns, while the country was over-run by the banditti. The students of Padua used to knock people on the head as they were passing under the piazzas, which run along each side of the street.

Notwithstanding these disorders, which were but too common, Italy was the most flourishing country in Europe, if it was not the most powerful. Those foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with desolation after the reign of Charles VIII. nor the intestine commotions which had armed principality against principality, and town against town: nor those conspiracies which had formerly been so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encouragement of all the arts. The more refined pleasures were truly known only to this climate, and religion presented itself to the people under that specious dress which is so necessary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient
gran-

grandeur, and they were all surpassed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If superstitious ceremonies, false traditions, and feigned miracles still prevailed among these people, the wise despised them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amusement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed so violently against these erroneous customs, have not rightly distinguished between the people and those by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman senate, because the temples of Esculapius were lined with the offerings of those whom nature cured of their maladies; because a thousand votive tablets of travellers escaped from shipwreck, adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the God Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incense burnt and smoaked of its own accord on the holy stone. Many a protestant, after having tasted the delights of a residence at Naples, has, at his return, exhausted himself in invectives against the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptist, and St Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of these saints. They accuse the chiefs of those churches with ascribing these idle miracles to the Deity. The wise and prudent Addison says, that he never saw "A more blundering trick." All these writers might have observed that these institutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which ought to be the principal concern of every government, civil and ecclesiastical; that in all
pro-

probability the warm imaginations of the natives of those hot climates stand in need of visible signs to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and lastly, they should consider that these signs cannot be laid aside till they are fallen into contempt with those who now hold them in so much reverence.

To pope Pius IV. succeeded the Dominican Gileri, who took the name of Pius V. and was so hated even in Rome itself for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exercise of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, which was in all other places so strenuously opposed by the secular courts. The famous bull in Cœnâ Domini, that first appeared under pope Paul III. and was afterwards published by this Pius V. and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was insulted, disgusted every court, and was much censured by the universities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly established in the dutchy of Milan, led very scandalous lives. St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, endeavoured to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conspiracy against his life; one of them fired upon him with a musket as he was at prayers in his own house, but wounded him only slightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holiness punished their crime with death, and abolished the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Christianity against the Turks.

Turks. His greatest eulogium was made in Constantinople itself, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death*.

Gregory XIII. of the family of Buoncampagno, succeeded Pius V. and rendered his name famous to posterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæsar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations shews the slow progress of the useful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other, before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at first, and their year consisted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this false computation were so many errors. All the high priests from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the astronomers of their nation, as they were likewise among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the Asiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of useful things, which are unknown to the vulgar.

As the pontifical dignity among the Romans was always vested in a senator, Julius Cæsar, in quality of high-priest, corrected the calendar so far as he was able; in which he had recourse to the assistance of Sosigenes, a Greek

* The gallies furnished by this pontiff had a considerable share in the victory of Lepanto,

mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of sciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the most famous school for the mathematics in those times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themselves, had learnt great part of their useful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raise enormous masses of stone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them amongst them without ever being able to form pupils. In fact, we do not find any one person of this slavish and effeminate nation distinguished for the Grecian arts.

The christian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome because it was their province to fix the time, for observing the festivals. The first council of Nice, held in the year 325, observing the confusion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for answer, that the vernal or spring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-first day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for the celebrating the feast of Easter according to that principle.

Two very slight mistakes in Cæsar's computation, and that of the astronomers consulted by this council, increased considerably in a number of ages. The first of these mistakes happens from the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian, which allows nineteen years for the revolution which the moon makes in returning to the same point in the heavens: there wanted only an hour and a half, an error almost

most imperceptible in one century, but which in a succession of ages became very considerable. The same may happen with regard to the sun's apparent course, and the points which determine the equinox and solstices. The vernal or spring equinox, which at the time of the council of Nice happened on the twenty-first day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the same month. This precession of the equinoxes, the cause of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not discovered till of late years, is occasioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and occasions the equinoxes and solstices to pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has discovered and calculated the phenomena, which seemed beyond the reach of human understanding.

In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themselves about guessing at the cause of this precession of the equinoxes; the question was to remedy the error which began to make a sensible confusion in the civil year. Gregory on this occasion consulted all the famous astronomers of Europe. A physician named Lilio*, a na-

* Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, is celebrated by the historian Thuanus, as a person perfectly well acquainted with the Greek and Roman languages, with the belles lettres, and ancient history. He says he was a domestic of cardinal Rangoni when Rome was taken and pillaged by the troops of the emperor Charles V. on which occasion he was plundered of all his effects, including his library. He lived in
great

a native of Rome, had the honour of furnishing the most simple and easy method for restoring the order of the year, such as we now see it in the new Calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582,) and by this easy precaution to prevent any disorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has since been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of pope Gregory, in like manner as Sosigenes's name was lost in that of Cæsar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artist enjoyed the honour of his own invention.

It is however to the honour of Gregory that he was indefatigable in establishing this necessary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations, than in having it settled by the mathematicians. France held out for some months; till, at last upon an edict issued by Henry III. and registered by the parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they ought. But the emperor Maximilian II. could not persuade the diet of Augsbourg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon it to instruct other nations, would pretend to a right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be used for some time even by the

great poverty to extreme old age. He invented the thirty epact numbers, denoting the excess of the common solar year above the lunar, and discovering the age of the moon every year. He composed a treatise for the reformation of the kalendar, which his brother Lilio Antonio Giraldi presented to pope Gregory XIII. and his scheme was embraced, after having been communicated to all the princes of Christendom, and approved by the most learned universities of Europe.

catholic states of Germany. The protestants of all communions have obstinately refused to admit a truth coming from the pope, which ought to have been embraced, had it been proposed by the Turks.

The latter part of Gregory XIII's pontificate was famous by the embassy of submission which he received from Japan. Rome extended its spiritual conquests to the farther end of the globe, while it suffered losses at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into several sovereignties, sent each one of their nearest relations to compliment Philip II. king of Spain, as the most powerful of all christian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope, began all with an act of adoration. The first, which was from the king of Bungo began, "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with these words: "I address your holiness with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whose most holy feet I kiss." The other two were nearly in the same stile. Spain at that time was in hope that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy see already beheld one third of that vast empire subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government, had not the public tranquillity been troubled by banditti. He abolished some grievous imposts, and did not dismember the state to provide for his bastard, as some of his predecessors had done.

C H A P. CLIV.

Of Pope SIXTUS V.

THE pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in history than those of Gregory XIII. and Pius V. though these two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having signalized himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cause, and the other by his correction of time.

It sometimes happens that one man, by his character and the singularity of his elevation, shall attract the regard of posterity more than others by the most memorable actions. The great disproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V. who was the son of a poor day-labourer, and his elevation to the supreme pontificate, adds a double lustre to his reputation: however, we have already observed, that meanness or obscurity of birth was never looked upon as an obstacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithstanding they may sometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of a mean origin; Adrian VI. was the son of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obscurely born; the father of the famous John XXII. who added a third circle to the tiara, and wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, was a cobbler at Cahors; as was likewise the father of pope Urban. Adrian IV. one of the greatest of the pontiffs, was the son of a beggar, and followed that profession himself.

self. The history of the church is filled with instances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confusion of human pride. Those who have endeavoured to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not consider that in so doing they lessen his personal merit, by taking from him the praise of having overcome the first obstacles. There is a greater distance between a swineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the lowest places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been composed at Rome from journals, which furnish little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by saying, that "he has the honour to treat of the noblest, best, and greatest of all pontiffs, princes, and philosophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning destroys all credit in himself.

The spirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the essential part of his history: what particularly distinguishes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any respect like others. The behaving in the most haughty, and even oppressive manner, while he was a private monk; the subduing the heat of his temper, as soon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the space of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public business, especially that of commanding as a superior, in order to determine one day in his favour the suffrages of all those who thought to govern under his name; the resuming all his pride the instant he ascended the throne; the unheard-of severity he exercised

fed in his pontificate, and the nobleness of his undertakings; the embellishing the city of Rome, and leaving the Roman treasury immensely rich at his decease; the disbanding the troops, and even the body-guards of his predecessors, and dispersing the numerous banditti, by the sole power of his laws; and the making himself feared by every one, by his place and character; were actions that made his name illustrious, even among the illustrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his cotemporaries. Other sovereigns at that time ran the hazard of losing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the assistance of the numerous armies which they afterwards kept on foot. It was not thus with the sovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the priestly with the kingly dignity, did not even stand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. raised a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the same in that of Paris: but this was the least of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus V. and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very industrious people; he found amidst the ruins, and in the example of ancient Rome, and also in the labours of his predecessors, every thing he could wish to further his great designs.

In the time of the Roman Cæsars, fourteen immense aqueducts supported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of several miles, and supplied an hundred and fifty

fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, besides what went to form those artificial seas, on which they represented naval combats. An hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, highways, temples, and houses. Ninety-six colossus's all raised on porticos, and forty-eight obelisks of granite, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how such immense masses could have been transported from the tropic to the banks of the Tyber. There remained a few of these aqueducts to be restored by the popes; some obelisks to raise, which were buried under ruins, and some statues to dig up.

Sixtus V. restored the fountain of Martia, whose spring is near the ancient Præneste, twenty miles distant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thousand paces in length, for which it was necessary to raise arches upon a road seven miles long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumscribed state.

By his care five of the ancient obelisks were raised. The name of the architect Fontana, who raised them, is still famous at Rome; while the artists who cut them, and those who transported them to so great a distance, are no longer known. We read in some travellers, and in an hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obelisk was raising upon its pedestal, the ropes used for that purpose were found too short, upon which, notwithstanding it had been expressly prohibi-

ed, under pain of death, for any one to speak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes *." These idle tales, which make history ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The captains which they made make use of on this occasion, left no room for having recourse to so trifling an assistance.

The work which gave modern Rome some degree of superiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world; namely, part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great mosque at Constantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian: but these domes, though sufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outside. Brunelleschi, who restored architecture in Italy, in the 14th century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raising two cupolas one upon the other: but these cupolas had still something of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michael Angelo Buonarota, who was a painter, sculptor, and ar-

* This is the very reverse of what ought to have been done, had the ropes been actually too short: for a cord is shortened by being moistened with water. The complication of mechanical powers used in the elevation of this obelisk, not permitting a further immediate extension, when it still wanted something of being raised to a perpendicular, it is said that the engineer caused the ropes to be wetted, by which means they were suddenly contracted, so as to set the obelisk upright. This is a very common experiment in natural philosophy.

chitect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II. given the designs of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. caused this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the space of twenty-two months.

The library, which was first set on foot by pope Nicholas V. was so considerably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well pass for the true founder. The immense pile of building which contains the books, is itself a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeness or curiosity of the collection: but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this respect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books, they are disposed in better order, and strangers can much more easily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoverished his subjects by all these great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eased his of their load. Both of them left nearly the same sum in ready money in the public treasury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reserve, which he could dispose of as he pleased, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Bastile; whereas the five millions of gold crowns deposited by Sixtus V. in the castle of St. Angelo, amounted to very near twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a sum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a state almost wholly void of manufactures and commerce,
such

such as Rome is, without impoverishing the inhabitants: and to amass this treasure, and supply all other expences, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the sale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. his predecessors. Leo X. began this practice, Sixtus aggravated the burthen. He raised annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent. for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We should always consider the popes in two points of view, as sovereigns of a state, and as the heads of the church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV. at that time king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He deprived queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's invincible armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into execution. The manner in which he behaved towards Henry III. after the murder of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, was not quite so violent. He contented himself with only declaring him excommunicated, unless he did penance for those two murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose; and acting like Adrian IV. who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterwards canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III. had just caused two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous subjects

indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have regularly convicted them of any absolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himself had signed. All the circumstances of this two-fold assassination were truly horrible; and without entering upon such excuses as might be alledged from the politics and unhappy situation of affairs in those times, the safety of human kind seemed to require that a curb should be put to such violences. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behaviour, by supporting only the rights of the triple crown and the sacred college, and not those of humanity; and by not censuring the murder of the duke of Guise so strongly as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of the church, and the right claimed by the popes of trying the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to release the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, whom he detained prisoners from the strongest reasons of state; and lastly, by commanding him to repair within sixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Christians, might say to a christian prince, "Clear yourself before God of this two-fold homicide:" but he had not power to say to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your ecclesiastical subjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope seemed still less to preserve the greatness and impartiality of his office, when after the murder of Henry III. by the monk James Clement, he delivered himself in these
very

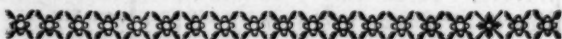
very words, in a speech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully transmitted by the secretary of the consistory.

“ This death, which occasions so much surprise and admiration, will hardly be credited by posterity. A powerful king surrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to sue to him for mercy, is slain by a single stroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that every one might know the power of God’s judgments.”

Sixtus was right in refusing the empty honours of a funeral service to Henry III. whom he considered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he said in the same consistory, “ I owe them to the king of France, but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent.”

All things yield to interest : this very pope, who had so proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had signified to king Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to answer for his conduct, within sixty days, or else that he would excommunicate him, refused after all to join with the league and the king of Spain against Henry IV. though at that time a heretic. He was sensible that if Philip II. succeeded, this prince, master of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become master likewise of the papal see, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place ; he chose rather to expose himself to all Philip’s resentment, than to ruin himself by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this state of uncertainty, not daring to succour Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated so oppressive and cruel an administration, grew outrageous upon the death of Sixtus, and were
 Aug. 26. with great difficulty restrained from
 1590. disturbing the funeral ceremony, and tearing to pieces the person whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were squandered away within less than a year after his death, like those of Henry IV. a common consequence, which sufficiently evinces the vanity of all human designs.



C H A P. CLV.

Of the Successors of SIXTUS V.

WE may see how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV. a native of Milan, and a subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always opposed. This pope sacrificed every thing to Philip II. An army of Italians was raised to carry desolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amassed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and dispersed, Gregory had nothing left but the shame of having impoverished himself for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him.

Clement

Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) a Florentine, behaved with more spirit and address; he knew very well that it was the interest of the papal see to hold, as much as possible, the ballance of power between France and the house of Austria. This pope added the dutchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical demesnes. This was another effect of those feudal laws, so intricate and so contested, and an evident consequence of the weakness of the empire. The countess Matilda, of whom we have so largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with several other lands. The emperors always disputed the donation of these demesnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in spite of the empire, fiefs to the papal see; as well as Naples, which was also held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared Imperial fiefs: but ever since the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the see of Rome; and the house of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of these lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy see. The courts of Vienna and the Imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the house of Este, and what might have occasioned a violent war, produced nothing but protests. Since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving absolution and discipline to Henry IV. in the persons of the cardinals du Perron and Ossat;

1595 but it was evident how much the see of Rome stood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which pope Clement made use of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two thirds of the cardinals in the consistory refused to grant him absolution. His ambassadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making use of this formulary, "We restore Henry to his royalty." The pope's ministry would gladly have acknowledged Henry as king of France, and have opposed this prince to the house of Austria; but at the same time it supported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. (Borghese) the old quarrel was revived about the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had formerly cost so much blood. The senate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the state; in particular, the alienations of landed estates in favour of monks. It likewise thought it had a right of arresting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervesa, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the sentence and imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics was an injury offered to God's honour, and required that the decree of the senate should be delivered to his nuncio, together with the persons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V. who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to submit on a like
like

like occasion, thought to meet with the same pliability in that of Venice. The senate sent an extraordinary ambassador to defend its privileges. Paul answered the ambassador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any consequence, and that they must obey. The senate would not obey. Upon which the doge and senators were all excommunicated, and the whole state laid under an interdict; that is April 17, 1606. to say, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, to say mass, celebrate divine service, administer the sacraments, or give their assistance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his successors had treated several emperors, being sure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having some potentate ready to invade the dominions of those who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the risk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to shut up their churches, and renounce the Roman catholic religion. They might easily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistical faith; and there was actually a motion made to separate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; of which the king of Spain might have made advantage. The senate contented itself with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the bishopric of Padua, when this prohibition was signified unto him, made answer

swer to the Podesta, that he would act as God inspired him : but the Podesta replying, that God had inspired the council of ten to order every one to be hanged who should disobey their injunction, the interdict was not published in any place ; and the court of Rome was very glad to let the Venetians continue in the profession of the catholic religion, in despite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jesuits would not be the first to set the example, and therefore sent a deputation from their body to the general assembly of the Capuchins, who told those fathers, that "the eyes of the whole universe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without hesitation, shut up their churches. The Jesuits and the Theatins did the same : upon which the senate shipped them all off for Rome, and the Jesuits in particular were banished the state for ever.

The king of Spain stirred up the pope against the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favour. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia, took up arms ; and the republic raised four thousand soldiers in France. The pope on his side ordered four thousand Corsicans and some catholic Swiss to be raised. This little army was to be commanded by cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honour, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbitrator in this difference, and of excluding Philip from

from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the accommodation concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was sent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in the pope's name, 1607 the sentence of excommunication and interdiction. The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jesuits continued banished from the republic for upwards of fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the instance of pope Alexander VII. but they have never been able to re-establish their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any decision which could call his authority in question. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin: he contented himself with forbidding any one to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that she was conceived like others in original sin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himself to the embellishment of Rome, and collecting the best performances in sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its finest fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vase, taken from the baths of Vespasian, and that which is called the *Acqua Paola*, an ancient work of Augustus, which Paul V. restored, and caused water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thousand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There seemed to be a contest who should leave the most beautiful monu-

monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finished the palace of Montel Cavallo. The palace of Borghese is one of the most considerable. Rome became under each pope the most beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would every where else appear stupendous works, but here are only in a just proportion. It is the master-piece of the Florentine Bernini *, whose works are worthy of being admitted among those of his countrymen Michael Angelo.

This Urban VIII. whose name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly successful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all

* John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuscan family: he excelled in the different arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the order of Christ in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overseer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanship. The principal of these are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equestrian statue of Constantine, the colonade, consisting of three hundred and twenty vast pillars of freestone; and having on its flat roof eighty-six statues of saints twice as big as the life. He likewise designed the fountain in the square of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the noviciate of the Jesuits, which is esteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited into France, to design the Louvre, and there he made an excellent bust of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample pension. He afterwards undertook an equestrian statue of that monarch, which did not answer expectation, and was converted into the representation of Curtius leaping into the gulph,

the sweets which talents diffuse through society, and the reputation which is annexed to them. Urban incorporated the dutchy of Urbino, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia, with the ecclesiastical state, after the extinction of the house of Rovere, which held these principalities in fee of the holy see. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increase of power ever since the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquillity; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apostolic chamber for his dutchy of Castro. This war was but short, and attended with little bloodshed, such as might be expected from these new Romans, whose manners necessarily were in conformity to the spirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of these troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgencies. The sharpest battle which was fought was between four and five hundred men on each side. The fortress of Piegaja surrendered at discretion as soon as it saw the artillery approach; this artillery consisted of two culverins. Nevertheless, more negotiations were required to put an end to these trifling broils, which hardly deserve a place in history, than if the contest had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an insight into the genius of modern Rome, who ended all affairs by negotiation, as ancient Rome did by conquest.

The Romans employed their leisure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the arts,

arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, music, and assemblies, while a thirty years war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waste by the succeeding civil wars: but though Rome itself was thus happy in its tranquility, and famous by its noble monuments, the people were in the main miserable. The money which was expended in raising so many master-pieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterwards retailed out to the inhabitants. This custom continues to this day. There are some states who are enriched by luxury, and others who are impoverished by it. The magnificence of some of the cardinals, and the popes relations, served to make the indigence of the lower people more visible, who, nevertheless, at the sight of so many beautiful edifices, seemed to glory amidst their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Those who travelled to Rome to admire its curiosities, were surprised to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of upwards of an hundred miles, only a desert country, destitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an uninhabitable country, infected with filthy marshes and standing pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itself is situated on a barren spot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its situation between seven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beasts than a city. Its first wars
were

were the ravages of a people who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, some few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren soil and their seven mountains to transplant themselves to the more fertile and pleasant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterwards made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labour of an immense number of slaves. But this spot was covered with palaces instead of corn. At length it has resumed its former state, and is again become a desert country.

The papal see possessed several rich territories elsewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the best parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almost all other writers, that an elective prince, who reigns only a few years, has neither the power nor the will to form those useful establishments which require time to make them advantageous to a state. It has been found easier to raise obelisks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the catholic world, was nevertheless more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that respect, and did not come near to Amsterdam in opulence, or the useful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the seventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed list of the families; and this computation was verified by
the

the register of births. There were born one year with another three thousand six hundred children ; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred. There were about eight thousand Jews settled in Rome, who were not comprised in the above lists. These Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being subjected to those cruelties which have been exercised upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inspired so general a mildness of disposition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeness till the age of Lewis XIV. and this it was that determined queen Christina of Sweden to fix her residence there : but Italy was soon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in some others ; England was as much superior to her in the sciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for which it had been distinguished ever since the time of pope Julius II.

C H A P. CLVI.

Continuation of the State of ITALY in the
seventeenth Century.

TUSCANY, as being an ecclesiastical state, enjoyed ever since the thirteenth century a state of peace and tranquility. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourse of strangers, who came to admire the masterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which she abounded. There were an hundred and sixty public statues. The only two with which Paris was adorned, namely, that of Henry IV. and the horse which bears the statue of Lewis XIII. were cast at Florence, and were presents made by the grand dukes.

Tuscany became so flourishing by its trade, and its sovereigns so rich, that the grand duke Cosmo II. was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his subjects; an example hardly to be found in the most powerful nations.

The city of Venice possessed a still more singular advantage; this was, that since the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been disturbed for a single moment, the city was wholly exempt from any disorder, sedition, or alarms. Those strangers who went to Rome and Florence to see the noble monuments of the polite arts in those cities, were generally fond of making a visit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures which reign there, and
where

where there are several excellent pieces of painting to amuse the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent shews attracted strangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diversions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was still very considerable in the Levant. She was in possession of Candia and several other islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that she now has in Italy.

1618 In the midst of her prosperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conspiracy, the like of which had not been known since her first foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a stile worthy of Sallust, has embellished his narration with some romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a small war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The Spanish king, Philip III. who was possessed of the dutchy of Milan, was always the secret enemy of this republic. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterwards the cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambassador at Venice, entered all three into a plot for totally destroying this state. The measures were so extraordinary, and the scheme so far exceeded probability, that the senate could not possibly conceive suspicion. Venice was guarded by its situation and the lagunes with which it was surrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon these lagunes by

the sea, prevent vessels from ever entering twice by the same passage, so that it is necessary to point out a new one almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was carrying on the war against the archduke of Austria, Ferdinand, who was afterwards the emperor Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to assemble a body of strangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. These were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conspirators, who secured their services with the money furnished by the ambassador. They were to set fire to the city in several places at a time. The Milanese troops were to be brought over from the main land, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpose, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Ossuna had taken care to send in readiness within a few leagues of the city. One of the conspirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's service, and commanded a squadron of twelve sail, undertook to burn all these ships, and by this extraordinary stroke prevent the rest of the fleet from coming in time to succour the city. The conspirators were all foreigners of different nations, and strangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was discovered. The procurator Nani, a famous historiographer of this republic tells us, that the senate was informed of the whole conspiracy by several hands; but does not take the least notice of the pretended remorse with which one of the conspirators, called Jaffier, is said to have been seized, on hearing Re-

naud, their chief, harangue them for the last time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprize in such lively colours, as struck Jaffier with dismay, instead of encouraging him. These kind of speeches are generally the inventions of the writers themselves, and therefore every one who reads history ought to distrust them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things, that the head of a conspiracy should give his accomplices so pathetic a description of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of those whom he ought to embolden. The senate ordered every one of the conspirators whom they could apprehend, to be instantly drowned in the canals of the city. They shewed some respect to Bedemar's character of ambassador, which they could not well infringe, and caused him to be privately conveyed out of the city, to save him from the fury of the populace *.

Venice, after escaping from this danger, continued in a flourishing condition till the taking of the islands of Candia. This republic sustained a war alone against the Turkish emperor for near thirty years, that is to say, from 1641 to 1669. The siege of Candia was the longest and most memorable that we find mentioned in history; it lasted near twenty years; sometimes turned into blockade, sometimes less vigorous, and in a manner given over; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and an half without remission, till at last this heap of

* This is the incident on which Otway founded his tragedy of *Venice Preserved*.

ishes, together with all the rest of the island, was surrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How slowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and society improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almost at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the highest estimation, were a people almost as unpolished as those of the north at that time. Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia, which under the Roman empire was so fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious spot which Dioclesian chose for his retreat, at a time when neither the city or name of Venice existed. Such is the vicissitude of human things. The Morlacks were the most savage people upon earth. In like manner Sardinia and Corsica had not the least tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were so distinguished. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeness and glory had savage nations inhabiting on her borders.

OF MALTA.

THE knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V. after that they had been driven out of Rhodes by sultan Solymán in 1523. At that time the grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Messina, Gallipoli, at Rome, and at Viterbo. L'Isle-Adam made a journey to Ma-

drid, to implore the assistance of Charles V. From thence he travelled into France and England, endeavouring to collect together the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solyman's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labour, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island towards the end of the twelfth century. When Villiers L'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned sultan Solyman, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about 1565 eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years old, sustained a siege of four months.

The

The Turks assaulted the town in several places at once; but were always repulsed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipt in spirits of wine, oil, salt-petre, and gun-powder; these hoops were set on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midst of the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men being sent from Sicily to their assistance, the Turks were obliged to raise the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had withstood the most assaults, was called the *victorious town*, which name it still preserves. The grand master de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called *La Valette*, and has made Malta impregnable.

This small island has ever since bid defiance to all the Ottoman force; but the order hath never been rich enough to attempt great conquests, or fit out numerous fleets. This convent of warriors subsists chiefly upon the rents of those benefices it possesses in the catholic states, and hath not been able to do near the same hurt to the Turks, that the Algerine corsairs have to the Christians.

CHAP. CLVII.

Of HOLLAND in the seventeenth Century.

HOLLAND is so much the more deserving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of state, which hath become powerful without possessing hardly any territories, rich, without having a revenue sufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its labours at the farther end of Asia.

You have seen this republic recognized as a free and sovereign state by its former master the king of Spain, after having purchased its liberty by a forty years war. Labour and sobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is said, that as the marquis of Spinola and the president Richardot, were going to the Hague in 1608, to negotiate the first truce with the Hollanders, they saw on their way eight or ten persons come on shore out of a boat, who, sitting down on the grass, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheese, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own provision with him. The Spanish ambassadors asking a countryman who these travellers were, the countryman answered, "They are the deputies of our sovereign lords and masters, the states." Upon which the ambassadors cried out, "These people are never to be conquered; we must make peace with them." This is nearly the same thing as is said to have happened between the king of Persia's ambassadors

dors and those of the Lacedemonians. The same manners might have produced a repetition of the same adventure. At that time the individuals of these provinces were poor, and the state rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are become wealthy, and the state poor. The reason is, that then the first fruits of commerce were set apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in possession either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portuguese in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the masters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already made the conquest of the Molucca islands, and had begun to form settlements in Java; and their East India company had more than doubled its capital from the year 1602, to 1609. The Siamese had already in 1608, paid the same honours to these trading people by their ambassadors, as they did afterwards to Lewis XIV. Ambassadors also arrived at the Hague from Japan, in 1609, to settle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco sent to desire of them a supply of men and ships. In the space of forty years they made a surprising addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worship, which might be dangerous perhaps, but was nevertheless necessary, peopled Holland with a croud of foreigners, especially Walloens, who were per-

secuted by the inquisition in their own country, and who from slaves that they were at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calvinistical religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of encreasing its power. This country, at that time so poor, could neither have furnished wherewithal to support the magnificence of prelates, nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it, could ill afford to harbour those who engage themselves by oath to suffer as far as in them lies all the human species to perish. They had the example of England before them, which was become a third part more populous, since the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloister.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of its harbour, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embellished and enriched by immense works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dykes. Vast canals were cut through all the towns in beds of stone, and the streets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandize at the doors of the inhabitants; and strangers are never weary of admiring the singular medley formed by the roofs of houses, the branches of trees, and the streamers of shipping, which at one time, and in the same place, present a view of the sea, the town, and the country.

But

But so strangely is evil blended with good, and so apt are men to wander wide of their first principles, that this republic was on the point of destroying with her own hands that liberty for which she had so long and bravely fought; and persecution carried bloodshed among a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calvinistical teachers did that which so many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius disputed in Leyden with the utmost fury on points which neither of them understood, and by their disagreement sowed dissension among the United Provinces. This dispute resembled in several points that between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jansenists and Molinists, about predestination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle questions, where the parties themselves can hardly define the things about which they dispute. The leisure and inaction which followed upon the conclusion of the truce, gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with these disputes; and, at length, from a scholastic controversy, two parties were formed in the state.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the pensionary, Barneveldt, sided with the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he was told by his father the ambassador, that Maurice having solicited the pensionary for his concurrence in conferring an absolute authority on the stadtholder, that zealous republican answered him only by setting forth the danger and injustice of such a project, and that from that instant Barneveldt's ruin was resolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth

that the stadtholder had in view to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barnevelt on the other side endeavoured to curb it by the Arminians; that several cities raised soldiers, who were called attendants, because they waited for their orders from the magistracy, and would not take them from the stadtholder; that there were several seditions attended with bloodshed in many of the towns; and lastly, that prince Maurice set no bounds to his persecution of those who resisted his authority.

1618 At length he ordered a Calvinistical council to be assembled at Dordrecht, composed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whose sovereign would not permit it to send deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so vehemently against the rigour of the fathers of several other councils, and even disputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the same manner as they themselves had been condemned by the council of Trent. Upwards of an hundred Arian ministers were banished the republic's territories. Prince Maurice chose twenty-six commissioners from the body of the nobility and magistracy to try the grand pensionary Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept six months in prison, before they were brought to their trials.

One of the principal motives of the first revolt of the seven provinces and the princes of Orange against Spain was, that the duke of Alva had suffered several persons to languish in confinement without bringing them to trial, and after-

afterwards caused them to be condemned by commissioners. The same oppressions which had been complained of under the Spanish monarchy, were now revived in the very bosom of liberty. Barnevelt was beheaded* at the Hague, and suffered more unjustly than even the counts of Egmont and Horne, 1619 at Brussels. He was a venerable old man of seventy, who had served his country for upwards of fifty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was sentenced for "having

* John Olden Barnevelt, advocate-general and pensioner of the states of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the most important services to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the states-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real source of that resentment afterwards manifested against him by Maurice prince of Orange, who fought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavours to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the dispute upon predestination, which had arisen between Arminius and Gomar, two protestant ministers belonging to the republic. Barnevelt declared for the disciples of the former, chiefly because all they asked was a toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of these last, who carried their point in the synod of Dordrecht, where the Arminians were condemned. Barnevelt was beheaded at the age of 72, on pretence of having harboured a design of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a design which he constantly denied with his last breath; a design of which no proof was adduced; a design diametrically opposite to the whole tenour of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the prince of Orange, who did not scruple to declare that prince Maurice and the whole family of Nassau ought to have honoured Barnevelt as their father, on account of the great services he had done their house.

done his utmost to aggrieve God's church." Grotius †, who was afterwards ambassador from Sweden to France, and still more illustrious by his writings than his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from whence his wife by great resolution and good fortune delivered him. This act of oppression gave birth to conspiracies, which brought on fresh punishments. One of Barnevelt's sons resolved to revenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was discovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian minister, **1623** were all put to death by the hands of the public executioner. Barnevelt's son had the good fortune to escape while they were busied in apprehending the rest of the conspirators: but his younger brother lost his head only for having been privy to the conspiracy. De Thōu suffered death in France for the very same cause. The condemnation of young Barnevelt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his

† This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, syndic of Rotterdam, and the fast friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the castle of Louvenstein, his wife obtained permission to supply him with some cloaths, which she conveyed to him in a great chest. In this he was inclosed and carried out of the castle without suspicion. He retired to France, where he received a pension from Lewis XIII. and afterwards engaged in the service of Christina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verse and prose. Among his writings that are most esteemed, we number his *Mare liberum*, in answer to the *Mare clausum* of Selden; *De Jure Belli ac Pacis libri tres*; *de antiquitate reipublicæ Batavicæ*; *de imperio summorum pontificum circa sacra*; et *annales historicæ de rebus Belgicis*.

own brother. Had these times of cruelties and horror lasted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miserable than their enslaved ancestors, under the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favoured the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barnevelt's death did not a little contribute towards their excluding from the stadtholdership the young prince of Orange, William III. who was afterwards king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand pensionary De Wit stipulated, in the treaty of peace which the states general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no stadtholder for the future in Holland. Cromwell still continued to persecute Charles I. in this his infant grandson, and the grand pensionary, De Wit, revenged the blood of a pensionary. This proceeding of De Wit's proved in the end the cause of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but these were almost the only bloody catastrophes occasioned in Holland by the struggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithstanding these disturbances at home, the East India company built Batavia in 1618, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings of the country, and the English, who came to attack their new settlement. Holland, which is itself a marshy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the most fertile spot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that

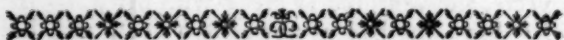
bear twice a-year. It has since made itself master of Bantam, in the same island, after driving the English from thence. This company alone has eight great governments in the East Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope, (though it is properly the farthest point of Africa) an important place which they took from the Portuguese in the year 1653.

While the Dutch were thus forming settlements at the extremities of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The West India company possessed itself of almost all the Brazils between the years 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to see, in the registers of this company, that in so short a space of time it fitted out eight hundred sail of ships, partly men of war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five vessels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much superior to the East India one; but afterwards when Portugal had thrown off the Spanish yoke, that nation defended its possessions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new source of riches.

1628 The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of their admiral Peter Hein, who took the whole fleet of Spanish galleons, returning home from the Havannah, and by that one cruise brought back upwards of twenty millions to his country. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, served to strengthen the hands of their old subjects against them, who were now become their most formidable ene-

enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years, (if we except the twelve years truce) in the Netherlands, in the East Indies, and in the new world, and was sufficiently powerful to secure an advantageous peace to herself at Munster in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom she had promised to make no treaty. Soon afterwards, viz. in 1652 and the following years, she ventured to break with her allies the English: she had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral, Tromp, disputed the sovereignty of the sea with the famous admiral Blake, till he was slain in an engagement. She afterwards sent succours to the king of Denmark, when besieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles X. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war against the English, to whom she was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II. as she had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater success. In 1668, she became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Lewis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This same republic, who had been hitherto so closely connected with France, has from that time to the end of the seventeenth century supported Spain against France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and rose again; and at last, though considerably weakened, she subsists wholly by her trade, which was her first foundation, without having made any conquests in Europe, excepting that of Maestricht; a very small and bad country, which only serves as a defence to
her

her frontiers: she has not enlarged her dominions since the peace of Munster, in which respect she more nearly resembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whose power lay solely in its trade, than that of Carthage, who had such numerous possessions in America; or Venice, who had too great an extent of territories on the main land.



C H A P. CLVIII.

OF DENMARK, SWEDEN, and POLAND, in the seventeenth Century.

YOU have not seen Denmark entering into the system of Europe in the sixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, since the deposition of the tyrant Christian II. This kingdom, which is composed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as that of Poland: it was an aristocracy, of which an elective king was president. This was the ancient form of government in almost all Europe. But in the year 1660*, the assembly of the estates conferred the hereditary.

* It is surprising that our author should dwell so little on an event which stands single in the records of history. At the end of a war which had desolated the country, the estates were assembled to deliberate upon the present condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raising money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The noblesse proposed

hereditary right of succession, and absolute sovereign power, on king Frederic III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had established arbitrary power by their own solemn act. Norway,

posed a tax upon the consumption of different species, under such provisos and restrictions, that they themselves must have been, in a great measure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third estate, exasperated at this scheme, proposed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the noblesse enjoyed upon very easy terms, should be farmed to the best bidders. A violent dispute ensued, and the two parties were greatly irritated against each other. Swan, bishop of Seelund, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, were the persons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third estate, to subscribe a declaration, that the crown should be rendered hereditary in the present royal family. This they transmitted to the noblesse for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he should be satisfied with the succession established in the male line of his family; a proposal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the noblesse averse to their design, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his house: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavoured to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately shut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was restored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. These transactions happened in the month of October; and on the tenth day of January, each order, separately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatsoever, either male or female; conferred upon him absolute power, not only in governing the state, but also in regulating the succession and regency. These three instruments, signed and sealed by all the members of the diet, are preserved in the archives of the kingdom,

though

though a country six hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the state; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The islands which compose Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the same advantages from them as they have since. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an East-India company, and a settlement at Tranquebar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men of war, and an army of five thousand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The spirit of trade, industry, and œconomy, is communicating from one to another. I shall not here speak of the wars in which Denmark was so frequently engaged with its neighbours the Swedes: they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleased to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were not despotic more than those of Denmark, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of one thousand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the rest of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, so common in the other European nations. King Eric, son to Gustavus Vasa, was the first who introduced them into Sweden, in the year 1561. This Eric, however, was far from
being

being an absolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the misfortunes which may attend the desire of being despotic, without the power of being so. The son of the deliverer of Sweden was accused of divers crimes before the assembly of the states, and unanimously deposed, as Christian II. had 1569 been in Denmark. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and his crown given to his brother John.

As your principal design in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to those which depend on the manners and spirit of the times, it will be necessary to understand, that king John, who was a catholic, fearing that the partizans of the late king should rescue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly sent him poison, in the same manner as the sultan sends the bow-string, and ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no person might be ignorant of his death, and that no one should afterwards make use of his name to set up a new title to the throne.

The Jesuit Possevinus, who was sent by pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden, 1580 and all the North in quality of nuncio, inflicted as a penance on king John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wednesdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but serves to shew that some expiation was necessary. King Eric had been punished much more rigorously for his crimes.

Neither king John nor the nuncio Possevinus could succeed in establishing the catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleased with

with Lutheranism, endeavoured to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and was almost the only person in his kingdom who meddled with controversy. There was an university at Upsal; but it was reduced only to two or three professors, without any students. The nation was unacquainted with any thing but arms; and yet it had made little or no progress in the military art. They had not began to use artillery till the time of Gustavus Vasa; the other arts were so wholly unknown among them, that when king John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a physician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently surrounded with too many. There was not then either a physician or surgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who sold medicinal drugs, which they administered at hazard. This was the custom through almost all the North. Mankind were so far from being exposed in that country to an abuse of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themselves the necessary ones.

Nevertheless, Sweden might at that time have become very powerful. Sigismund, son of this king John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. The Swedes then got possession of Finland and Esthonia. Sigismund, now king
1600 of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muscovy, which was at that time in no posture of defence; but Sigismund was a catholic, and his Swedish subjects Lutherans, so that he made no conquests; and at length lost the crown of Sweden. The same estates who
had

had deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him also; and declared another of his uncles king in his stead: this was Charles IX. father to the great Gustavus Adolphus. All these 1604 events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conspiracies, which ever attend such changes. Charles IX. was regarded only as an usurper by the princes who were allies to Sigismund; but the Swedes considered him as their lawful sovereign.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, succeeded him without any obstacle, when he 1611 was not full eighteen years of age; which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in possession of Scania, one of the finest of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever since the fourteenth century; so that the kingdom of Sweden was almost always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The first thing which Gustavus Adolphus did was to make an incursion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His first wars proved very unsuccessful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But so great was his inclination to war, that he marched to attack the Muscovites 1613 beyond Narva, as soon as he was free of the Danes. He afterwards fell upon Livonia, which belonged to the Poles, and 1620 attacking his cousin Sigismund every where, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II. who was Sigismund's ally, and feared the rising power of young Gustavus, sent a body of troops against him. By this we may

may judge, that the French ministry had no great difficulty in persuading Gustavus to invade Germany*. This warrior king made a truce with Sigismund and the Poles; during which he kept his conquests. You know how he shook the throne of Ferdinand II. and how he died in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his victories †.

1632 His daughter, Christina, no less famous than himself, after a reign as glorious as that of her father, after having fought battles and presided in the treaty of Westphalia, which restored peace to Germany, to the amazement of all Europe, abdicated her crown at the age of twenty-seven. Puffendorff says, that she was obliged to resign the government; but at the same time he owns, that when that princess communicated her resolution for the first time to the senate, in 1651, the senators, with tears in their eyes, intreated her not to leave the kingdom: that nevertheless, she persisted in her contempt of the throne, and having assembled the estates, she quit-
May 21, 1654. ted Sweden, deaf to the prayers and intreaties of her subjects. She

had never appeared incapable of supporting the weight of a crown, but she was fond of the polite arts. Had she been a queen in Italy, she would never have abdicated. This is the greatest example we have of the real superiority of the arts, of politeness, and of social perfection, over mere nominal greatness.

* Vol. v. Chap. cxlviii.

† Ibid.

Her cousin, Charles X. duke of Deux-Ponts, was chosen her successor by the estates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity as we have since seen his grandson, Charles XII. subdue it; and he lost it in the same manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being constant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X. though driven out of Poland, marched over the sea upon the ice, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was restored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for above three centuries.

His son, Charles XI. was the first absolute king of Sweden, and his grandson, Charles XII. was the last. I shall here observe only one thing, which shews how much the spirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have since had an East-India company; and their steel, which they formerly used only for fighting, has since been transported in their ships from the port of Gottenburgh to the southern provinces of Mogulstan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world, which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreigner for their king,

king*, as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewise the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites.

The catholic and protestant factions, which had disturbed so many states, at length made their way into this nation. The protestants were in so much credit, as to procure an edict,

* Our author surely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inasmuch as king Stanislaus, still alive, John Sobieski, Michael Koribut, Wiwesnowiski, John Casimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promise upon oath, that he will inviolably observe the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the senate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are these: "That the king shall not appoint his successor: that he shall leave to the republic the right of coining money: that he shall not declare war against any prince or state whatsoever, without the consent of the republic: that he shall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government: that he shall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the consent of the senate: that for the maintenance of his table, he shall have no royal demesnes but such as the republic granted to the kings his predecessors: that with the advice of his council, he shall regulate the forces of the republic in such a manner, that it shall never have occasion for foreign auxiliaries: that he shall not in any shape diminish, but on the contrary, augment the treasure at Cracovia: that he shall borrow no money, but with the consent of the republic: that should the necessities of the state ever require a naval force, he shall not have power to raise it, but with the consent of the nobility, and by the advice of the senate.

granting

granting them liberty of conscience †, in 1587; and their party was become so strong, that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavour to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor Rodolph II. Accordingly the protestant faction actually elected the archduke, while the opposite faction chose the Swedish prince Sigismund, grandson to Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have already spoken. Sigismund should have been king of Sweden, had the rights of succession taken place; but you have already seen that the throne of Sweden was at the disposal of the estates. And he was so far from reigning there, that his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aside his design only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an astonishing thing that the Swedes should have so often over-run Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are so much more powerful, should never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Osman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thousand men in Sigismund's time, on the side of Moldavia. The Cossacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obstinate resistance they made, rendered the Turkish invasion fruitless. What must we

† The king is obliged by his coronation oath, to tolerate Lutheranism in Polish Prussia, where there are also some Calvinists. Poland abounds also with Jews, to whom particular privileges are granted.

conclude

conclude from the ill success of so powerful an armament, unless that the sultan's generals did not know how to make war?

1632 Sigismund died in the same year with Gustavus Adolphus. His son, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of these Cossacks, who had been so long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their service either to the Turks or the Russians. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the Tanais*, inhabit the borders of the Boristhenes†. Their lives are, in every respect, like those of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessities of life, and pillaged these necessities from their neighbours. The Polish nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Cossacks as their vassals, that is to say, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other possessions but their liberty,

* Or Don, by the ancients reckoned one of the most famous rivers in the world, and the boundary between Europe and Asia; it issues from St. John's Lake, and after uniting with the Sofna, continues a long course, till it divides itself into three arms, and falls into the Palus Mæotis below Afoph.

† Or Nieper, one of the largest rivers in Europe, it has its source in a morass in the Walschoufkei forest, runs in a great many windings through Lithuania, and empties itself into the Black sea, between Oczakow and Kilburn. It has thirteen cataracts within a small distance,

revolted to a man ; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. These Cossacks were of the Greek church ; another strong reason to make them irreconcilable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Russians for their masters and part the Turks, on condition of still enjoying their liberty, or rather anarchy. They still preserve the little religion they have amongst them, which was that of the Greek church, but are now almost wholly deprived of their liberty by the Russian empire ; who, since it has of late years been civilized itself, has attempted to civilize them also.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, the same who was in love with Cinq-Mars, master of the horse to Lewis XIII. of France*. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in holy orders ; the one, called John Casimir, was a jesuit and a cardinal ; the other bishop of Breslau and Kiow. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the throne with each other. Casimir 1648 was at length elected, who sent back his cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its stead. But after having been spectator, for upwards of twenty years, of the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home, and by the incursions of Charles X. king of Sweden, and those of the Muscovites and Cossacks ; he, following the example of queen Christina, abdicated the throne, but with far less glory, and retired to Paris, where he 1687 died abbot of St. Germain des Prés.

* See Chap. cxlvi. Vol. V.

Poland was not more happy under his successor Michael Coribut. All that she lost at different times would form an immense kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Russians still continue in possession of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Russians themselves, after having stripped it of the provinces of Pleskou and Smolenskou, made themselves masters of almost all Kiow and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhinia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not support itself but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marshal of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim*: this famous battle

* This battle, which was fought November 11, in the year 1673, at Chockzim on the Niefter, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days successively. The Turks are said to have lost eight thousand Janissaries, and more than double that number of Spahis. They were afterwards worsted in several engagements, by Sobieski, and obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In the year 1674, he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor Leopold, who endeavoured to procure the crown for prince Charles of Lorrain. In the year 1683, the grand visier, Kara Mustapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thousand men, defeated the prince of Lorrain, at the passage of the Raab, and undertook the siege of Vienna. Sobieski, understanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generously forgot the ill offices he had sustained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a considerable army to his assistance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorrain, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their respective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great slaughter.

Vienna

battle delivered Poland from its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieski's head. But certainly this victory was neither so fatal to the Turks, nor so decisive as was said, seeing that they still continued to keep possession of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortrefs of Kaminiak, which they had taken. It is true, that when Sobieski came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiak; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they restored it at the peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidst all its commotions, never suffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military discipline, which the czar Peter had, through the assistance of foreigners, found means to introduce amongst his subjects, and which proved so infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Russians, who were so long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thousand Russians have imposed laws on the assembly of the Polish nobility.

As to religion, it occasioned very little disturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for some time churches in Poland

Vienna being thus relieved, he pursued the enemy to Barkau, where, though at first he met with a check, owing to the impetuosity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with such vigour, that the Turks were entirely defeated. In consequence of this victory, he relieved Barkau, Gran, and Strigonia.

and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the deity himself, by considering him as one sole incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till the year 1658*, when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, tho' they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

* *Fauftus Socinus* resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Cafimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom, for having published a book, entitled, *Tormentum trinitatem throno deturbans*. *Socinus* denied the pre-existence of the word, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of the redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

The orator Maimbourg, pretends that they fled over to Holland, "where, says he, every religion is tolerated but that of the church of Rome." The orator is greatly mistaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman catholics are so far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almost two thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worship there. This religion has spread itself privately in Holland, Transilvania, Silesia, Poland, and England; more especially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the church for three centuries and an half after Constantine, should be revived again in Europe within these two centuries, and spread itself over so many provinces, and yet not have a single temple in any one part of the world. It seems as if christians were afraid to admit into their communion a sect, which formerly triumphed for so long a time over all other communions.



C H A P. CLIX.

Of RUSSIA in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

WE did not at this time give the name of Russia to Muscovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moscow being better known in Europe than the rest of this vast empire, it was thence called

Muscovy. Its sovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Russias, because there are several provinces of this same name, which either belong to him, or to which he has some pretensions; viz. White Russia, in which is the capital of Moscow, and is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Russia*, a part of which, towards Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Russia, which is to the westward of the Boristhenes.

The form of government in Muscovy, or Russia, in the sixteenth century, was nearly the same with that of Poland. The Boiars, like the Polish nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The husbandmen were all their slaves. The czars were frequently chosen by the Boiars; but the czar likewise as frequently nominated his own successor, which the kings of Poland never did. The use of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the sixteenth century, and they were entire strangers to military discipline: every Boiar brought his peasants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, sabres, wooden poles tipped with steel, in the form of pikes, and a few muskets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hospitals; their only method of making war was by incursions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Russian boiar, the Polish starost, and the Tartarian mirza, called off his troops.

* The names of White Russia and Black Russia are given by different authors to Muscovy in general. It is called *White* on account of its being covered with snow in the winter; and *Black*, from its gloomy forests, or, according to Cellarius, from its iron mines.

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting, was the whole of a Russian's life, till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Russians, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan from the weakened Tartars, who were still more undisciplined than themselves: but before Peter the Great, they could not make head against the Swedes on the side of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astracan and Casan, a part of Livonia, Pleskou, and Novogorod, till czar Peter, there happened nothing considerable.

There was a remarkable resemblance between this Basilides and the czar Peter. Both of them put their own sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy against him, during the siege of Pleskou, killed him with his spear; and Peter, who had condemned his son to die, would not suffer him to survive his sentence tho' he seemed to forgive him*.

There

* Our author seems remarkably fond of convicting princes of filicide. We have already taken notice of this circumstance in another volume, where he treats of the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain. We do not find any reason to believe that Peter was more guilty in this respect than Philip. His son, Alexis Petrowitz, was such a worthless prince, that he not only gave a loose to the most brutal passions, but even formed a conspiracy to dethrone his father. He eloped from Muscovy; and being brought back, the czar pardoned him, on condition that he should discover his accomplices, and renounce the succession in favour of his brother. These terms he embraced;

There are few events in history of a more extraordinary nature, than that of the false Demetrius's, which disturbed Russia for so long a time after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons, named Feoder or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feoder succeeded to the crown; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the sultan and ancient Greek emperors, to sacrifice the princes of the blood to the safety of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Gudenou, whose sister Feoder had married, persuaded that prince that he could not establish his authority but by imitating the Turks and assassinating his brother. Boris accordingly sent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, at his return, said that he had executed his commission, and claimed the promised reward: Boris, instead of recompensing the murderer, ordered him to be slain himself, in order to suppress all proofs of the crime. It is said that some time afterwards this same prime minister poisoned czar Feoder; but, though he was suspected of this crime, he ne-

and Peter Petrowitz, the second son, was declared heir apparent of the empire. Peter, the father, finding that his eldest son had not observed the articles of agreement which he had signed, ordered him to be tried by the officers of justice and the clergy, who were unanimously of opinion that he was worthy of death. This sentence had such an effect upon the prince, that he grew stupid and lethargic, and died soon after.

vertheless

vertheless succeeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered. 1597

At this time there appeared in Lithuania, a young man, who pretended to be the prince Demetrius, who had escaped from the murderer sent to assassinate him. Several persons who had seen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He perfectly resembled the prince in features and person, and shewed a cross enriched with precious stones, which had been tied about the neck of prince Demetrius when he was christened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the son of John Basilides, and the true czar*. A diet of Poland examined solemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them incontestible, furnished him with an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and recover the crown of his ancestors.

In Russia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impostor, and even a magician. The Russians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Polish Roman catholics, and having two Jesuits for his counsellors, could be their true king. The Boiars were so persuaded of his being an impostor, that the czar

* This Polish nobleman was Adam Wisnowitzski, who having corrected Demetrius, known by the name of Griska, this pretended prince shed a flood of tears, telling his master that if he knew his quality he would not treat him in that manner. Then he declared himself the son of John Basilowitz, who had been saved from the perfidy of Boris, and produced a golden cross adorned with precious stones, which he said was hung round his neck at his baptism; but it was the vaivode of Sandomir, who raised an army in his favour.

Boris dying, they, without hesitation, placed his son Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

1605 In the mean time Demetrius continued advancing into Russia with the Polish army. Those who were displeased with the Muscovite government declared in his favour. One of the generals of the Russian troops, as soon as he came in presence of Demetrius's army, cried out, "that he was the lawful heir to the empire," and instantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution soon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moscow ran to seize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar without any contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in prison. It is most probable, that Demetrius caused them to be put to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother to the true or false Demetrius, had been for a long time banished into the north of Russia; the new czar sent to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went several miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the presence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector, and this proved his ruin*. The

* He likewise rendered himself odious to the Russians, by encouraging foreigners, particularly in establishing a guard composed of French, English, Germans, and Livonians.
people

people could not bear to behold, without horror, a catholic empress, a court filled with strangers, and a church built expressly for the Jesuits. Demetrius was no longer esteemed a Russian.

In the midst of the diversions, given on account of the czar's marriage, a Boiar, named Zuski, got together a number of conspirators, put himself at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn sabre in one hand and a cross in the other. The Polish guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himself was loaded with chains. The conspirators confronted him with the czarina, Basilides's widow, who had so solemnly acknowledged him as her son. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the cross, and to declare whether Demetrius was really her son or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princess to take a false oath, and overcame nature, or that she actually paid the homage due to truth, she declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her son; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child; and that she had followed the example of the rest of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to revenge the death of her son on the family of his murderers. It was then said, that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griska Utropoya, and that he had been some time a monk in a convent in Russia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Russian peasant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conspirators, Zuski, killed him with his own hand, and ascended the throne in his stead.

The new czar, who had thus suddenly seized on the crown, sent back to their own country the few Poles who had survived the slaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having assassinated Demetrius, the other Boiars, who, from his equals, were now become his subjects, soon spread a report abroad, that the murdered czar was not an impostor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Russians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare, that he was not dead, but that he would soon recover of his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful subjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muscovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At this name there was a general insurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody saw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. All imaginations were so impressed with this name, that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predecessors had been. He was supported by Sigismund, king of Poland, and came and besieged the tyrant Zuski in his very capital of Moscow. Zuski had still in his hands the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuski, who saw himself closely shut up within the city, restored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to soften the king of Poland, or flattering himself

self that the princess would acknowledge an impostor as her husband; but this impostor was victorious. The widow of the first Demetrius therefore did not hesitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful husband; and as the first had found a mother, the third as easily found a wife. The father-in-law swore that this was his son-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The Boiars, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impostor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They deposed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a superstitious notion which the Russians had, in common with the old Greek church, that a prince who had once been made a monk, could never reign afterwards: this same custom had formerly crept into the Latin church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was assassinated * at a feast by some Tartars.

The Boiars then offered their crown 1610 to prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, king of Poland. Ladislaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to dispute it with him. This person pretended that God had constantly preserved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis by the tyrant Boris, at Moscow by the usurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found several partisans, who believed these three miraculous escapes. The city of Pleskou acknowledged him as czar. He

* In revenge for the death of their prince, Kasimowski, whom he had ordered to be drowned. This impostor was by some supposed to have been a schoolmaster at Socola, and by others to have been a Jew.

fixed his court there for some years, during which time the Russians, who repented them of having called in the Poles, drove them out every where, and Sigismund lost all hopes of seeing his son Ladislaus on the throne of the czars. In the midst of these troubles, the son of the patriarch Feder Romanow, was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relation, by the wife's side, to czar John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is to say, the son of Feder, was chosen czar at seventeen years of age by his father's interest. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Plefkou delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the son of the first who had actually reigned, and had espoused the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moscow, when she went in quest of the third Demetrius, in whom she pretended to discover her true husband. She afterwards took refuge among the Cossacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandson of John Basilides, and who might very possibly be so; but as soon as Michael Federowitz was settled on the throne, he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and son, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a sixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender shewed himself at the court of Russia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muscovy and Ladislaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Cossack of their own age, perceived these words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle,

in Russian characters, "Demetrius, the son of the czar Demetrius." This person immediately passed for the same son of the first Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Fedorowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance*; he was treated as the czar's

* According to the account given of this young man by Moreri, from the *Imposteurs infignes*, there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the son of Demetrius-Griska. The princess, his mother, being far advanced in her pregnancy when her husband was murdered, and foreseeing that the usurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Cossack, whose wife was in the same situation, to exchange their children: by which means the Cossack's child passed for the son of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters signifying his birth, was carried away by the Cossack into his own country; where, however, he bestowed upon him a good education, in consequence of having received a considerable sum of money from the mother. This princess had, at her death, disclosed to some of her confidants the secret of the child; but she knew not whither the Cossack had retired, and he died suddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the story of his birth. Chance, however, discovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Russia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielowski, treasurer of the kingdom, who sent him in a proper equipage to the court of Uladislaus IV. king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where thinking himself not altogether safe, he removed to the court of Holstein, where he met with an hospitable reception. This prince having sent two ambassadors to Muscovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his master's name, a considerable sum of money, from the grand duke of Muscovy's treasurer. A Russian factor at Lubeck gave the duke of Holstein to understand, that the debt should be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could

not

czar's son at Ladislaus's court, and was made use of to excite new troubles in Russia. But his protector Ladislaus dying, he lost all hopes of succeeding, and retired into Sweden, and from thence to Holstein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holstein having sent an ambassador to the court of Moscow, in order to settle a trade for Persian silks, the ambassador, instead of succeeding in his negotiation, ran greatly in debt at Moscow; and the duke of Holstein, to procure a discharge of this debt, delivered up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson to the patriarch Feder Romanow, who was crowned in 1645, is scarcely known in Europe, unless by being father of Peter the Great.

Russia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almost unknown to the southern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miserable despotism of the prince over the Boiars, and of the Boiars over the peasants. What are at present complained of as abuses among civilized nations would have been divine laws for the Russians. There are some regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed: the people in general lay

not resist this temptation: and the prince was sent by sea to Moscow, where he suffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the castle, and his body was devoured by dogs.

upon

upon the boards, which the better sort covered with a sort of coarse cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or else with the skin of some wild or domestic animal.

When the earl of Carlisle went ambassador from Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moscow, he travelled through the whole Russian empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and every where met with the same customs, and that general poverty which such a custom pre-supposes, while the court shone with gold and jewels in a rude splendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Cossack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the savage life of a Russian subject, was far more happy than him, since he was free and at liberty to go where he pleased, whereas a Russian was forbid to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find by the history of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

CHAP.

C H A P. CXL.

Of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE in the seventeenth Century. The siege of CANDIA. False Messiah.

AFTER the death of Selim II. the Ottomans maintained their superiority in Europe and Asia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III. whose generals took Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris 1585 in Persia on the other. The Janissaries, who were so formidable to their enemies, were no less so to their masters : but Amurath shewed them that he was worthy to be their commander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the testierder, or high treasurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner, at the inner door of the seraglio, and even threatned the sultan himself. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and followed by all the officers of his seraglio, he rushed upon them with his sabre in his hand, put several of them to death, and the rest fled, and dispersed of their own accord : and this haughty militia afterwards 1593 stood quiet spectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what soldiers are those who drive their masters to the necessity of fighting them? It was possible at times to suppress, but they never could be subjected, disciplined, or abolished, and frequently took upon them the disposal of the empire.

Mahomet III. Amurath's son, deserved more than any other sultan, that the Janissaries should

exercise upon him the right they had arrogated to themselves of giving laws to their masters. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarce a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak suffered. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rodolph II. who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waste, and took Agria in person, in sight of the archduke Matthias; and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman empire.

During the reign of his son Achmet I. from 1603, to 1631, every thing went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Sha Abbas, the great king of Persia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkish and Persian wars; drove them out of all their conquests, and freed Rodolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Christians without knowing it. Achmet concluded a shameful peace in 1615 with the emperor Matthias, by which he restored him Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, which his ancestors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune balances the events of the world. Thus you have seen the Turks checked in the progress of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Ussum Cassan and Sophi Ismael, and Constantinople saved by the Tartar Tamerlane.

What passed after Achmet's death sufficiently shews us, that the Turkish government is not that absolute monarchy which has been represented

sented to us by historians, as the irresistible law of despotism. This power is, in the hands of the sultan, like a two-edged sword, which wounds its master if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as count Marfigli observes, a military democracy, which is still worse than arbitrary power. The order of succession was uncertain. The Janissaries and the divan did not chuse Achmet's son Osman for
 1617 their emperor, but Mustapha, the brother of Achmet. In less than two months they were tired of Mustapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into prison; after which they proclaimed his young nephew, Osman, emperor, who was only twelve years of age, in whose name they reigned. Mustapha had still a party, though a prisoner. His faction persuaded the Janissaries that young Osman had entertained a design of reducing their number*, thereby to weaken their power.

* Their pretence for mutinying was the sultan's design to leave Constantinople, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to send his tents and treasures over into Asia, when the Janissaries assembling at the seraglio, called out for the sultan. On his appearing and asking the cause of this tumult, they told him he should not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizir and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizir endeavouring to expostulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, had desired this vizir, whose name was Delaur, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in case he (the vizir) should attend the sultan in his pilgrimage. To this request Delaur answered, "Give yourself no trouble, I shall leave one of my legs behind at your service." Accordingly the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the house of the English ambassador.

On

On this pretext Osman was deposed and shut up in the seven towers, whither the grand vizir Daout went in person and murdered his sovereign. Mustapha was a second time taken from his prison, acknowledged sovereign, and at the end of twelve months deposed again, by the same janissaries, who had twice chosen him emperor. Never had prince been treated with such ignominy since the time of Vitellius. He was led through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, then carried back to the seven towers, and there strangled.

Under Amurath IV. surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, every thing again assumed a new face. He made himself respected by the Janissaries, by employing them against the Persians, and leading them in person to battle. He took Erzerom from the Persians. Ten years afterwards he made himself master of Bagdat by assault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and which together with Erzerom, has ever since continued with the Turks. The Persians then thought that they had no other way of securing their frontiers but by laying waste upwards of thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdat, and making a barren solitude of the most fruitful tract of all Persia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortresses; the Persians have defended theirs by deserts.

At the same time that Amurath made himself master of Bagdat, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul Shah-Jehan against his son Aurengzeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Asia, fallen upon Ger-

many,

many, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the risk of losing the glory of never having been subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious sultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was heightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonoured his memory.

His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had the same vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage: yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the island of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and some few strong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This island, so famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterwards gave its name to the whole island. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterwards; but in the time of the crusade, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Constantinople, invaded the Greek empire instead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchase this island, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and somewhat romantic kind, first drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys having taken a large Turkish man of war, came to anchor with their prize in a small port in the island, called Calismene. It was said that
one

one of the grand signor's sons was on board the Turkish ship. What gave some ground to believe this report was, that the Kissar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by several officers of the seraglio, was on board of this ship, and that there was a child whom he served with great care and respect. This eunuch was slain in the engagement; the officers who survived affirmed, that this child belonged to the sultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the sultan's son, in hopes of a ransom proportionable to his birth: however, the sultan never offered any ransom for him, either because he thought it beneath him to treat with the knights of Malta, or that the prisoner was not really his son; upon which this pretended prince was slighted by the Maltese, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever since boasted of having had the son of a sultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to revenge itself upon the Maltese, who from their inaccessible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accusing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by suffering the Maltese to bring their prize into their harbour. The Turkish fleet made a descent upon Candia, took Canea, and in a short time almost all the rest of the island. 1645

Ibrahim had no share in this event. The greatest things have been sometimes done under the weakest princes. The Janissaries were absolute

solute masters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign ; and if they made conquests they were for themselves and the state, and not for him. A length he was deposed by sentence of the musti and the divan. The Turkish empire was then a downright democracy* ; for after having shut up the sultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the administration was carried on in the name of the sultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our historians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was strangled by four mutes, from the false supposition, that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the seraglio ; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any serious matters†. We must therefore look upon this story only as a romantic relation : the Turkish annals take no notice how he died ; it was a secret of the seraglio. The many false stories which have been told us concerning the government of Turkey, which is so near to us, is sufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient history. How can we hope to learn any thing certain concerning the ancient

* Or rather a true anarchy. Democracy is a species of government, in which the election of magistrates depends upon the suffrages of all the people : but this was by no means the case at Constantinople, where the sultan was elevated and deposed by a set of armed banditti.

† We wish our author had given his reasons for contradicting the whole stream of history with respect to mutes. The circumstance of Ibrahim's being strangled by mutes is related by St. Paul Rycaut, who resided a long time in Turkey, and therefore may be supposed to have been acquainted with the customs of the country.

Scythians, Gomarians, and Celtes, when we are so badly informed of what passes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourselves to public events in the history of nations, and not waste our time in fruitless researches into private circumstances, which are not transmitted to us by ocular or well vouched testimony.

By a singular fatality, this period, which proved so fatal to Ibrahim, was the same to almost all kings. The throne of Germany was shaken by the famous thirty years war; France was laid waste by its civil broils, and the mother of Lewis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own subjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having lost all his possessions in Asia, lost Portugal likewise. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time of usurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland, were subdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Litching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese race to strangle his wife, his children, and himself, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurengzeb revolted against his father in Mogulstan, left him to languish in prison, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greatest of all tyrants, Mulei-Ismael, exercised the most shocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. These two usurpers, Aurengzeb and Mulei-Ismael, lived the longest and most happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded an hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themselves, did not live so long;

but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the history of the world, we find weakness punished, and powerful villainy fortunate; and the universe one vast scene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it resembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and sometimes the Turks were pent up themselves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater instances of their courage and resolution; they several times defeated the Turkish fleets. St. Mark's treasury was exhausted in raising troops. The troubles of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition against Candia to go on but slowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in the year 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizir to Mahomet IV. and son to a grand vizir, laid regular siege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer, to whom the senate had given the command of its land-forces.

This city would never have been taken, had the christian princes in any degree imitated the example of Lewis XIV. who in 1669 sent between six and seven thousand men to its assistance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke of Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; so that there was nothing to do but to send over forces sufficient to resist the Janissaries. The duke of Beaufort, the same who during the time of the fronde acted a part rather more strange than illustrious,
went

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility : but a magazine of powder and granades happening to blow up in the trenches, frustrated this attempt. The French thinking that the ground was undermined beneath them, fled in disorder, and were closely pursued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with several other French officers of distinction.

Lewis XIV. though in alliance with the Ottoman empire, openly assisted the Venetians, and afterwards the Germans, against this empire, without the Turks seeming to be much displeased at it. It is not known what reason this monarch had for recalling his troops afterwards from Candia. The duke of Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the place could not hold out against the Turks. The captain-general Francesco Morosini, who had sustained this famous siege so long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by sea, of which he was still master : but by capitulating, he still kept possession of some places in the island for his republic, and the capitulation was at the same time a treaty of peace. The vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, staked all his glory and that of the Ottoman empire on taking Candia.

A peace then was concluded between the vizir and Morosini ; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of ashes, and with only twenty sick Christians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Christians made a more honourable capitulation with the Mahometans ; nor never were articles more exactly

observed by conquerors. Morosini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia since the commencement of the siege. The vizir furnished boats for conveying those citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian vessels. He likewise presented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purse of five hundred sequins *, and two hundred more to those who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians visited each other like friends and neighbours, till the day the latter left the island.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals and greatest ministers in Europe; and at the same time a just and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long siege, at which, by the account of the Turks themselves, they lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosini's, (for there were four of that name in the besieged town,) the Cornaro's, the Giustiniani's, the Benzoni's, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illustrious throughout Europe. It is not without reason that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizir had a Greek about him who deserved the surname of Ulysses; he was called Payanotos. Prince Cantemir tells us that this Greek brought the council of Candia to capitulate by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. The besieged were in daily expectation of some ships from France with provisions. Payanotos

* A sequin is a gold coin, value about nine shillings and seven-pence of our English money.

made several of the Turkish ships hoist French colours, and sent them out to sea in the night time, the next day they sailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general shout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, persuaded them that the French king had deserted the republic, in favour of the Turks, whose ally he was; and this stratagem hastened the capitulation. The captain-general Morosini was accused in open senate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as strongly as he was accused. Here is another conformity between this state and the antient republics of Greece and Rome, especially the latter. Morosini sufficiently cleared his character afterwards by taking Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conquest which Venice enjoyed but a very short time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will last as long as the republic, which he so eminently served.

Of SABBATEI-SEVI, who assumed the Character of MESSIAH.

DURING the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumour had prevailed, founded on idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its rise from the mystical number 666, which is found in the Revelations. Never was the attempt of Anti-Christ so universal.

The Jews on their side pretended that this was the year in which their Messiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna named Sabbatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and son to a rich broker of the English factory, took advantage of this general prepossession, and declared himself to be the Messiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modesty, preached up justice, delivered himself with the air of an oracle, and declared every where that the fullness of time was come. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jerusalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his disciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabbatei assumed the character of the Messiah. These two reformed the synagogue at Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the sultan would be dethroned, and Jerusalem become the mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proselytes to them. The synagogues resounded with the ancient predictions: they relied upon the words of Isaiah, "Arise Jerusalem, arise in thy strength and in thy glory; there shall be no more uncircumcised nor impure persons among you." All the Rabbins had this passage in their mouths: "Thither shall your brethren be sent for from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, even to the holy mountain; they shall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in waggons." In short, an hundred of the like sentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up these

these idle hopes. There was not a single Jew but made preparations for lodging in his house one of the old ten tribes which had been dispersed; and the prepossession was so strong, that these people every where neglected their trade, and kept in readiness to make a journey to Jerusalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve persons in Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabbatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to shew himself to the brethren there. During his residence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this stile: "King of kings, lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to lie down in the shadow of your as? I prostrate myself to be trampled beneath the sole of your feet." Sabbatei deposed certain doctors of the law, who refused to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the most violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the son of God. Sabbatei having one day presented himself before the cadi of Smyrna, with a croud of his followers, every one affirmed that they saw a column of fire between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the same nature confirmed the authority of his mission. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The bashaw of Smyrna resolved to have him seized; but Sabbatei departed for Constantinople with the most zealous of his disciples. The grand vizir, Cuprogli, who was then setting out for the siege of Candia, sent to take him out of the ship that was carrying him over to Constantinople, and ordered him to be thrown

into prison. The Jews easily obtained entrance into the prison by paying for it, as is the custom in Turkey, and came in crowds to prostrate themselves at his feet, and kiss his chains. He spent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and blessing them, without uttering the least complaint. The Jews of Constantinople, persuaded that the coming of the Messiah would abolish all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants of Galata bethought themselves of paying a visit to Sabbatei in his prison, and told him, that as king of the Jews it behoved him to order his subjects to pay their debts. Sabbatei thereupon wrote in these terms to those who were complained against. "To you who wait for the salvation of Israel, &c. discharge your lawful debts, otherwise you shall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

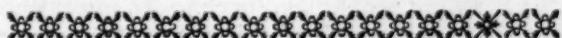
Sabbatei's prison was entirely filled with those who came to worship him. The Jews began to raise some disturbances in Constantinople. The people were in general very much displeased with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediction of the Jews would occasion some commotions. It seemed likely that so strict a government as that of the Turks would have put any person to death who had called himself king of Israel: however, they contented themselves with removing Sabbatei to the castle of the Dardanells. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanells by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany, Leg-

Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam, who payed dearly for permission to kiss his feet, and this is probably what saved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the prison. At length the noise of his miracles was so great, that sultan Mahomet had a curiosity to see this man, and put some questions to him himself. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sulran asked him in the Turkish language, "If he was the Messiah." Sabbatei modestly replied, "He was." But as he spoke the Turkish language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that "He spoke very badly for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues." "Dost thou perform miracles, continued the sultan?" "Sometimes, answered Sabbatei." Well then, said the emperor, let him be instantly stripped naked, he shall be placed as a mark for my Ichoglans to shoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Messiah." Sabbatei hearing this, immediately fell upon his knees, and confessed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being impaled alive, or of turning Mussulman, and going publicly to mosque. He was not long hesitating, but instantly embraced the Turkish religion. He then declared that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish religion in room of the Jewish, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithstanding this, the Jews of the more distant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this scene, which passed without any bloodshed, encreased the shame and confusion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this disgrace in the Ottoman empire, the Christians of the Latin church underwent a mortification of a different kind: they had hitherto always kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of the money they were supplied with by several of the princes of their communion, especially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek church should thenceforwards have the custody of all the holy places about Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin church opposed this by formal process. The affair was pleaded first before the *cadi* of Jerusalem, and afterwards in the great *divan* of Constantinople, who declared the pretension of the Greek church to be justly founded, as Jerusalem had been within its district before the time of the crusades. The pains the Turks took to enquire into the claims and rights of their christian subjects, and the permission they gave them of exercising their religion in the very place where it was first formed, is a very striking example of a government at once cruel and indigent. When the Greeks attempted, in virtue of the sentence of the *divan*, to enter into possession, these very Latins made resistance, and some lives were lost on the occasion. The government punished no one with death: a fresh proof of the humanity of the vizir Cuprogli, who set several examples that have seldom been followed. One of his predecessors in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, to be strangled upon the

repeated complaints of those of his church. The mildness or cruelty of an administration every where depends upon the character of those who govern.



CHAP. CLXI.

PROGRESS of the TURKS. The SIEGE of VIENNA.

THE torrent of the Ottoman power did not only overspread Candia and the islands belonging to the Venetian republic, but it likewise frequently penetrated into Poland and Hungary. The same Mahomet IV. who had taken Candia by his grand-visir, marched in person against the Poles, under pretence of protecting the Cossacks, who had been ill-treated by them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podolia, Wolhinia, and the city of Kaminiak; and would not make peace with them till 1672 they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute of twenty thousand crowns, from which John Sobieski soon afterwards set them free.

The Turks had suffered Hungary to breathe during the thirty years war which overturned Germany. From the year 1541 they had been in possession of both sides the Danube, to Buda, inclusively. The conquests of Amurath IV. in Persia had prevented him from turning his arms towards Germany. All Transilvania belonged to princes whom the emperors Ferdinand II. and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and

who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Transilvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devastation.

Of all the people who have passed under our review in the course of this history, none appear to have been more miserable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and distracted between the catholic and protestant factions, and several others, was at the same time over-run by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is said that Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, was the first cause of all these misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refusing to pay his tribute, drew the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold sent a body of troops to oppose the Turks, under the command of Montecuculli, who was afterwards rival to the famous Turenne. Lewis XIV. likewise sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a
 1663 share in the famous battle of St. Gothard, in which Montecuculli beat the
 1664 Turks. But, notwithstanding this victory, the Ottoman empire made an advantageous peace, by which it kept Buda, and even Neuhausel and Transilvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavoured in the next place to defend their liberties against the emperor Leopold, who respected no privileges but those of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth: young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends
 and

and relations to revenge, which had been shed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himself under the protection of sultan Mahomet IV. who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Christian princes, namely, those of Upper Hungary, Transilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been spilt by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh cost Leopold and his family the loss of Vienna and Austria. Cara Mustapha, who succeeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime-minister, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of revenging Tekeli. The sultan himself came and assembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, which was one of the most numerous that the Turks had ever sent into the field. It consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand regular troops, about thirty thousand Crim-Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, those who served the artillery, those who had care of the baggage and provisions, the workmen of all kinds, and the servants, made in all full three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly sufficient to furnish provisions for this multitude. Cara Mustapha met with no opposition in his march, and advanced without resistance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid siege to the city.

July 16,
1683.

Count

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garrison whose proper establishment was one thousand six hundred men, of which there were not above half the number effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the university itself, the professors and the students, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a physician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold encreased the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna ever since the 7th of July with the empress his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkish annals say that Cara Mustapha had formed the design of setting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the sultan; and that having entertained a notion that there must be immense treasures in a place which was the residence of the German emperors, he for that reason did not push the siege so vigorously as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city should be taken by assault, the general plunder should deprive him of part of these imaginary riches. He never gave a general assault*, tho' there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of assistance. This infatuation in the grand vizir, together with his luxury and effeminacy, saved Vienna, which otherwise must have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieski,

* According to the Christian historians the Turks carried on their operations with great vigour, having given repeated assaults, in which they were always repulsed with great slaughter,

king of Poland, to come to its assistance, and to Charles V. duke of Lorraine and the princes of the empire to assemble an army. The Janissaries murmured; and faint-heartedness succeeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach infidels, you have only to shew your hats, and we shall fly."

This was actually the case; for no sooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine descended from the mountain of Calemberg, than the Turks took to flight, without striking a blow. Cara Mustapha, who thought to find such great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieski's power, and on his return home was strangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizir, being soon after suspected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correspondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizir, and sent in chains to Constantinople. The Turks lost almost all Hungary.

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its disgraces: Morosini took all Peloponnesus, which was of much greater value than Candia. The bombs of the Venetian army destroyed several ancient monuments which the Turks had still left standing, and amongst others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The unknown Gods." The Janissaries, who attributed all their misfortunes to the sultan, resolved to depose him. The caimacan or governor of Constantinople, Mustapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's mosque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's standard, went in a body to signify to the sultan

tan that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the nation. The sultan spoke a long time in justification of himself; but the nakif told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, since his anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares his will by the voice of the people."

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the Janissaries; but the Turkish annals testify that he lived five years after being shut up in the seraglio. The same Mustapha Cuprogli who had deposed Mahomet IV. served as grand vizir under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in some measure restored the reputation of the Ottoman empire: but since that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeswaer. The sultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till the year 1715. The famous battles which were fought between prince Eugene and the Turks has shewn that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is described as so arbitrary and despotic, appears to have been so only under Mahomet II. Solyman, and Selim, who made every thing give way to their wills: but under almost all the other padichas or emperors, especially those of late years, you will find the government of Constantinople to be the same with that of Algiers and Tunis; you see that in 1703 the emperor Mustapha II. was formally deposed by the militia and citizens of Constantinople. They did not even choose one
of

of his sons to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himself was condemned in 1730 by the Janissaries and the people to resign the sovereign authority to his nephew Mahmoud, and obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizir and his principal officers to the resentment of the nation. These are the absolute sovereigns so much talked of*. It is imagined that a man is by the laws possessed of despotic power over half the world, because he can with impunity commit some crimes in his own family, and order a few slaves to be murdered; but he cannot persecute the nation, and is much oftener oppressed than he oppresses.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks; they are at once brutal and charitable; covetous, yet never guilty of theft; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance; very few of them use their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying several slaves; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are less common women. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and despise the

* Despotism in a prince must either depend upon the most implicit obedience in the people, or on the power of the sword: but both these supports will sometimes fail, especially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppressed into rebellion, and the troops incensed into revolt. In either case, the nature of the government is out of the question. The revolution that ensues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any established law or fundamental constitution: consequently the deposition of a sultan is no proof that the government is not absolute; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted against the head.

Christians,

Christians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they suffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the vast quarter which is set apart for them in Constantinople; and four Janissaries march before the procession through all the streets, to preserve them from insults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they are brave, but have not adopted the custom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Asiatics, which arises from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This likewise was the custom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Christians only in the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honour to walk abroad with spurs at their heels, and to sit at table, or say their prayers, with a sword by their sides. The Christian nobility was distinguished by this custom, which was soon followed, as I have already observed, by the scum of the people, and placed in the rank of those follies which do not appear such because we are conversant with them every day.

C H A P. CLXII.

Of PERSIA and its Manners ; of the late Revolution in that Empire ; and of THAMAS KOULI-CAN, or SCHAH NADIR.

PERSIA was at that time more civilized than Turkey ; the arts were more honoured there, the manners were less brutal, and the general police better observed. This was not merely the effect of climate ; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for upwards of five centuries. It was they who built Ispahan, Chiraz, Casbin, Cashan, and several other great cities : the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but suffered several to fall to ruin. Persia was twice subdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not abolish the arts ; and the family of the Sophis, during their reign, introduced that gentleness of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long resided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finished in Persia than in Turkey. The sciences met with much greater encouragement there : for there was hardly a city without established colleges, in which the belles lettres were taught. The Persian language, which is softer and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their masters in the sciences, who indeed were the first preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Persian philosophy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth

venteenth century, was much the same as ours. Astrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The custom of distinguishing lucky days by a white mark, and the unlucky by a black one, has been scrupulously preserved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Asiatic nations. The peasants of our provinces (in France) are not more strict in observing the proper days for sowing and planting pointed out in their almanacks, than were the courtiers of Ispahan in observing the favourable or unfavourable hours for beginning any business. The Persians, like many of our nations, abounded in understanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not so well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other professions, that which requires the most numerous family, and which, by preserving health and strength, enables a man more easily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheless Ispahan, before the last revolutions in Persia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain upwards of five hundred thousand inhabitants. Cachan was thought to be much upon a footing with Lyons. It is impossible that a city should be well peopled, if the circumjacent country is not, unless that city subsists wholly by a foreign trade. We have at best but a very uncertain idea of the population
of

of Turkey, Persia, and the other states of Asia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raise large armies, and abounds in manufactures, must have a necessary number of inhabitants.

The court of Ispahan was much more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horses covered with rich brocades, and their harness glittering with gold and precious stones, and the four thousand gold vases which Chardin tells us were used at the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, especially eatables, were three times as cheap at Ispahan and Constantinople as they are with us. This cheapness is a mark of plenty*; travellers, such as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demesnes belonging to the king, lands set apart for the clergy, and estates which belong by right to individuals, which are transmitted from father to son.

All the accounts we have of Persia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical state where the privileges of society are more enjoyed. The people there have more resources against melancholy, which is the poison of life, than any

* This is not always the case. There are countries in which provision is scarce, but money still scarcer; of consequence the money will be counted more valuable than the provision, and the price will be comparatively lower than in other countries, where there is more money and more abundance.

other nation of the East ; they assembled together in spacious rooms, which they call Coffee-houses, where some amused themselves with drinking that liquor, which did not come into vogue with us till towards the end of the seventeenth century. Others talked or read ; and others listened to the tellers of stories ; while at one end of the room a priest was preaching for a trifling sum of money, and at the other end a sort of men, who make an art of amusing others, were displaying their talents. These are all marks of a sociable people, and such as deserved to have been happy ; and it is said that they were so under the reign of Shah Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel ; but there are examples of men of a brutal disposition who have loved order and the good of the common-weal. A tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon those who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, sometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a descendant of Sophi Ismael, got possession of despotic power, by destroying a militia, which was much the same as that of the Janissaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that czar Peter, in order to establish his power, destroyed the Strelits militia in Russia. We may observe in all countries, that the throne is strengthened by troops divided into small bodies ; and that on the contrary, those troops united in one great body, have frequently disposed of the throne, and even subverted it. Shah-Abbas transported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. These colonies

colonies seldom succeed. Of thirty thousand Christian families, which Shah-Abbas transported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan by the Caspian Sea, there are but five hundred at present remaining: but he built several public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raised some useful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that the sultans Solymán and Selim had conquered from Persia. He drove the Portuguese out of Ormus. By all these acts he gained the name of great. He died in 1629. His son Shah Sophi, who was still more cruel than Shah-Abbas, and not so good a soldier or politician, and who was stupified in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The grand Mogul, Shah Gean, took Candahar from the Persians, and sultan Amurath IV. took Bagdat by assault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Persian monarchy visibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynasty of the Sophis completed its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the seraglio and the empire, under Sophi Musá and Hussein, the last of that race. It is the greatest debasement to human nature, and the particular scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the highest stretch of despotism to trust the reins of government to the hands of such wretches: where-ever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that state have been the inevitable consequences.

Shah Hussein's weakness reduced the empire to so languid a state, and it was moreover so violently distracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynasty must have fallen

fallen of itself, even had it not been destroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Persia, that all its dynasties rose by strength, and were overturned by weakness. Almost all its royal families had the fate of Sardan-pull, or Sardanapalus as he is called. These Aguans, who overturned the Persian state in the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar, between India and Persia. Almost all the revolutions which have changed the fate of these countries have happened by Tartars. The Persians had retaken Candahar from the Mogul, in the year 1650, under Shah-Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Hussein's minister used the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private person, but of a courageous and enterprising spirit, put himself at their head.

This was also one of those revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater share than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been assassinated, and his place filled up by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old, it was not likely that this young man could do much of himself, or that he could manage these troops of undisciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government was fallen into contempt, and the province of Candahar having begun the insurrection, the provinces of Caucasus on the side of Georgia revolted also. At length Mahmud laid siege to Ispahan in the year 1722. Shah Hussein gave up the capital
to

to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his master, and thought himself happy that Mahmud would condescend to marry his daughter.

In all the scenes of human cruelty and miseries which have fell under our observation, since the time of Charlemagne, there is not any so horrible as the consequences which attended the revolution in Persia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Persia has been for these last thirty years what Germany was before the peace of Westphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the wars of the white and red roses. But Persia had fallen from a more flourishing state into a greater abyfs of misfortunes.

Religion had likewise a share in these calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Persians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the most despicable superstition with the most detestable cruelties. He died mad in the year 1725, after having laid Persia waste. A fresh usurper of the Aguan nation succeeded him, called Asraf. The desolation of Persia now redoubled on all sides. The Turks over-run it on the side of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon its provinces to the north-west of the Caspian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Schah-Hussein during all these troubles. This prince is known only

by having served as an æra to the miseries of his country.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, who had escaped the massacre of the Imperial family, still found some faithful subjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A shepherd's son * became

* According to the account published by Mr. Frazer, who resided many years in Persia, and perfectly understood the language of the country, Nadir-Kuli (for so he was called) was son to the chief of a clan of the Uffha tribe, and governor of a fortress in the province of Chorasan. His uncle, having in his minority, usurped this government, Nadir-Kuli entered into the service of the governor of Mushad. He commanded in an expedition against the Tartars, who had made an irruption into Chorasan, and obtained a complete victory over them. Instead of being rewarded for this important service, he had the mortification to see a courtier put over his head, and when he expostulated with the governor of Mushad on this injustice, he received the bastinado, and was turned out of the service. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relations, and being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himself in this occupation with such address, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterwards joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his sovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kuli was now become so formidable, that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he should enter into the service of his sovereign. In consequence of this reconciliation, he was feasted in the fortress, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took

became the protector of prince Thamas, and the support of that throne which he afterwards

took that opportunity of seizing the place, after having assassinated the uncle : thus he became master of all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one side, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make use of Nadir-Kuli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his service. Though Nadir acted in an inferior station, he soon stemmed the tide of the Turkish success, which had been for some time uninterrupted. He repulsed them on several occasions, and ingratiated himself with his prince to such a degree, that he was declared general of the Persian army in the year 1728. He now discovered great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was so agreeable to Shah Thamas, that, as the greatest honour he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name ; so that from this period, he was called Thamas Kuli-Khan, which signifies lord Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom, for the payment of the army ; a power, which as it rendered him absolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generalissimo and governor of Chorasan, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for these favours, he, in a little time, deposed his prince, on pretence that he had made a scandalous peace with the Turks ; and confined him in Tabustan, under a guard of six thousand Afghans. His next step was to seat upon the throne the infant son of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah-Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched against the Turkish general Topal Othman Basha, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men, and routed it with great slaughter, the Basha himself having been slain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until the Turks were driven out of all their conquests : he obliged the Russians to evacuate the places they had taken in Persia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus restored the tranquility of the kingdom, he sum-

wards usurped. This man, who had raised himself to the rank of the greatest conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Chorasan, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We must not figure to ourselves these shepherds the same as ours. The pastoral life, which has been preserved in several countries in Asia, is not without its opulency. The tents of some of these rich shepherds are of much greater value than the houses of some of our best farmers. Nadir sold several large

moned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of six thousand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men. He told them he had now re-established the peace of his country, and intended to spend the rest of his days in retirement; he therefore desired they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the mean time, his emissaries gave them to understand, that it would be for their own interest, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that no person, on pain of death and confiscation, should take arms in favour of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatsoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition should be effected between the sects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief priest remonstrating against this third article, Kuli-Khan ordered him to be strangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had proposed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was in the month of March, in the year 1737, proclaimed emperor of Persia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he seized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and published an edict, ordering all his subjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal displeasure.

flocks

flocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himself at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is still very common in these countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himself and his troop to prince Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, rose to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or the Kan Thamas's slave: but the slave was the master under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father Hussein. He retook Ispahan and all Persia; pursued the new king Afraf, as far as Candahar; overcame and took him prisoner, and caused his ¹⁷²⁹ head to be struck off, after having first plucked out his eyes.

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced prince Thamas on the throne of his ancestors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, resolved to prevent his being so, and shut him up in the capital of Chorasan. He still continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a prisoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be strengthened only by those means by which he first acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and secured his conquests by making a peace with the Russians. And now he caused himself to be declared king of Persia, under the name of Shah Nadir. On this oc- ¹⁷³⁶ casion he did not forget the old custom of putting out the eyes of those who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign Shah Thamas. The same armies which had served to desolate

Persia now assisted in rendering her formidable to her neighbours. Kouli-Khan put the Turks several times to flight. At length he made an honourable peace with them, by which they restored to him all that they had ever taken from the Persians, excepting Bagdat and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conquest of India, as we shall see in the following chapter. At his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were still in being; and in the midst of these new commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devastations destroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by destroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation industrious, every thing is repaired again in the end.



C H A P. CLXIII.

Of the M O G U L.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, which have all the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical picture of the universe. We have not seen, either in Persia or Turkey, a son in rebellion against his father. In India you behold the two sons of the Great Mogul, Gehan Guir,

Guir, making war successively against their father, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of these princes, named Shah Gehan, made himself master of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Gehan Guir, in prejudice of a grandson whom he had left his successor. The order of succession was not settled by law in Asia, as it is in the European nations. These people had one source of evils more than us.

Shah Gehan, who had rebelled against his father, in the end saw his children rise up against him. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raising armies against them, could be so absolute as some would persuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the same manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great fiefs. The governors of the provinces of Indostan were masters in their own governments, and viceroalties were given to the emperor's children. This must manifestly be an eternal subject of civil wars: accordingly, as soon as the emperor Shah Gehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the succession. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war upon each other. Exactly the same thing happened here as to Lewis the Feeble, or the Debonnair. The most wicked of the four brothers, Aurengzeb, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy which all have remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the same dissimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at

first joined with one of his brothers, and made himself master of the person of his father Shah Gehan, whom he kept ever afterwards in prison: he then assassinated this very brother, whom he had made use of as a dangerous instrument, which he was now resolved to get rid of; after which he pursued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and caused to be strangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was still living, but kept under the most rigorous confinement by his son Aurengzeb; and his name was often made use of as a pretext for carrying on plots against the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a slight indisposition, he sent his own physician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Asia, that Aurengzeb had poisoned him. No man was ever a stronger instance that success is not the reward of virtue. This man, stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, succeeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of an hundred and three*. Never

* His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He imprisoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortress of Gonateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurengzeb resembled Oliver Cromwell in his superstition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he ascended the throne, he imposed a penance on himself for the expiation of his crimes. He lived upon barley bread, herbs, and sweatmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though it never reached to the age of one hundred.

had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the Mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda, all the country of Carnate, and almost the whole of that great isthmus which confines the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have suffered the most ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the most powerful prince in the universe.

The magnificence of the kings of Persia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to shew something like splendor, in comparison with the riches of Aurengzeb.

In all times the Asiatic princes have accumulated treasures, their riches consisting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes consists in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treasure amassed by Tamerlane was still in being, and his successors had been continually adding to it. Aurengzeb increased it by most astonishing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and sixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the present currency. The canopy of this throne was supported by twelve pillars of gold, surrounded with large pearls. The canopy itself was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who spread a tail of precious stones: all the rest was in proportion to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest festival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden scales in presence of the people, and on this day he

received presents to the amount of above fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is assuredly that of India. The emperors display the same luxury, and lead the same effeminate lives as those Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have insensibly adopted the same manners and become Indians.

All this excess of opulence and luxury only served to make the state more unhappy. In the year 1739, the same thing happened to Mahamad-Shah, Aurengzeb's grandson, as befel Croesus, to whom it was said, "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better use of steel than you, will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raised himself to the throne of Persia, after having deposed his sovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Candahar, pursued his success, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reason than to deprive the Mogul of all those treasures which his ancestors had taken from the Indians. There is not an instance of so numerous an army as that which the great Mogul raised against Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of so weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and two thousand armed elephants, into the field, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had with him only sixty thousand men. Darius did not bring so great a force against Alexander.

It is farther said, that this vast multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments six leagues
in

in length, on that side by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was sufficient to surround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and destroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Instead of that, the little Persian army besieged the great one, cut off its supplies of provisions, and destroyed it piecemeal. The great mogul, Mahamad, seemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain grandeur, and subject it to the power of these disciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himself to Thamas Kouli-Khan, who talked to him in a magisterial tone, and treated him as his subject. This conqueror now entered Deli, which is represented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor with him where-ever he went. At length he shut him up in a tower, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late Mogul's officers, having attempted to seize the opportunity of a night when the Persians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms against their conquerors, Thamas Kouli-Khan delivered the city up to plunder, and every thing was ravaged by fire and sword. He carried off much greater riches from Deli than the Spaniards had taken at the conquest of Mexico. These immense treasures, which had been amassed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Persia by another rapine, have not prevented the Persians from being a long time the most miserable people upon earth. These riches are dispersed or buried, during the

civil wars, till such time as some future tyrant should again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return into Persia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahamad-Shah, whom he had de-throned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and had made himself independent of him. He separated three kingdoms from this vast empire, viz. Cachemire, Caboul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Persia, and imposed a tribute of several millions on Indostan.

Indostan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas Kouli-Khan. Mahamad, who still retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the universe, was a mere phantom. All things had now resumed their common course, when Kouli-Khan was assassinated in Persia in the midst of his triumphs: since that the Mogul has ceased to pay the tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Persian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahamad, was despotic before his misfortunes; Aurengzeb had made himself such by vigilance, conquest, and cruelty. Despotism is a violent state, which seems not capable of duration. It is impossible that in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thousand men in their pay, that these viceroys should ever pay a long or blind obedience to their sovereign. The lands which the emperor bestows on these viceroys become from that instant independent of him. We must be careful how we give
credit

credit to that erroneous assertion, that in India the product of the people's labours all belong to one man. There are several Indian casts who still preserve their old possessions. The rest of the lands have been given to the grandees of the empire, the rajas, the nabobs, and the omras. These lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themselves by it, and by colons, who work for their masters. The lower class of people are poor in India, notwithstanding the riches of the country, as they are in almost every other part of the world; but they are not bond slaves, nor confined to a particular spot, as they were formerly in Europe, and still continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and several of the countries of Germany. The peasant throughout all Asia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is discontented with his situation, and go in search of a better where he can find it.

The sum of what we have to say of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants who acknowledge an emperor, sunk like themselves into luxury and debauch, and who devour the substance of the people. There are no fixed courts of justice here, the depositaries of the laws, which protect the weak against the powerful.

It is a problem very difficult to solve, that the gold and silver which comes from America into Europe, should be continually carried into Indostan, and there swallowed up, never again to appear: and that nevertheless the people should be in general poor, and work almost for nothing. But the reason is, that the money does not go among the
3 people,

people, it goes to the merchants, who pay immense duties to the governors; these governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the rest. Man's labour is worse payed in this, the richest country of the earth, than any where else; because in every country the pay of a day labourer seldom exceeds his subsistence and cloathing; now the extreme fruitfulness of the soil in India, and the heat of the climate, make subsistence and cloathing come to little or nothing. The labourer who seeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton shirt: in all countries the rich have the services of the poor upon easy terms.

I shall not repeat what I have already said of those idolaters who are still found in great numbers in India: their superstitions are the same as they were in Alexander's time. The Bramins teach the same religion; the women still throw themselves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their husband's body, as has been frequently seen by our travellers and merchants. The disciples of a sect sometimes make a point of honour of not surviving their masters. Tavernier relates, that he was witness to a transaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A bramin having died, an Indian merchant who had studied under him, came to the Dutch lodge, settled his accounts with them, and told them that he was resolved to follow his master into the other world, and actually starved himself to death, in spite of all their endeavours to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they

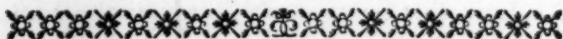
they are cultivated: the daughters of artificers never marry but with those of their fathers trade. This is a very ancient custom in Asia, and was formerly a standing law in Egypt.

The law in Asia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a custom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Asia. When the Jews wanted a king above three thousand years ago, Samuel their magistrate and high priest, who opposed the establishment of the regal power, remonstrated to the Jews, that a king would lay taxes upon them for the support of his eunuchs. Men must have been for a long time accustomed to slavery not to look upon such a custom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finishing this chapter, a new revolution has turned every thing upside down in Indostan. The tributary princes, and the viceroys, have all shaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their sovereign. India, like Persia, is become the seat of civil wars. These disasters shew us, that the administration was very bad, and at the same time, that this pretended despotism had no real existence. The emperor was not even powerful enough to make himself obeyed by a raja.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power resided essentially in the person of the great mogul, because Aurengzeb subjected

every thing to his will. They have not considered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and lasts no longer than he who exercises it has the command of a strong army : and that this very despotism which destroys every thing, is likewise its own destroyer. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not support itself by the laws, which can alone ensure its duration ; and this colossus falls to the ground the instant its arm ceases to be outstretched. From its ruins there arise several petty tyrannical governments, and the state never resumes a settled form till the laws are restored to their due functions.



CHAP. CXLIV.

Of CHINA in the Seventeenth Century, and at the beginning of the Eighteenth.

IT can certainly be of very little use to you to know that in the Chinese dynasty, which reigned after the Tartar dynasty of Gengiscan, the emperor Quancum succeeded Kincum, and Kincum Quancum. It is sufficient that these names are found in the chronological tables ; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will readily pass over these void spaces to come at times distinguished by great things. The same effeminacy which proved the ruin of Persia and India occasioned a more thorough revolution in China in the last century, than that brought about
by

by Gengis-can and his sons. The Chinese empire, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in a much happier state than either India, Persia, or Turkey. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of justice are regulated, who are all subordinate to one another, and whose members must undergo the strictest examination before they are admitted. These courts regulate all matters in China. There are six supreme courts who preside over all the other courts in the empire. The first inspects into the conduct of all the mandarins; the second manages the finances; the third superintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and sciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts set apart for judging criminal causes; and the sixth has the care of public works. The result of the several decisions is carried before a supreme tribunal*. Under these six courts there are forty-four subaltern ones, who sit at Peking. Every mandarin of a province or a city is assisted by a court. It is impossible that under such an administration an emperor can ever exercise arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the constitution of the state, he can do nothing

* How can these six sovereign courts be at the head of all the courts in the empire, if their decisions are referred to one that is supreme? The truth is, there are two supreme councils, one styled Extraordinary, consisting of the princes of the blood only; the other, Ordinary, composed of some princes of the blood, assisted by a number of laws, or ministers of state: and to these supreme councils the other six tribunals are subordinate.

without first consulting men learned in the laws and chosen by suffrage. Although the emperor's subjects always prostrate themselves before him as if he was a God, and that the least failure in respect to his person is punished as an act of sacrilege; still this does not prove his government to be despotic and arbitrary. A despotic government * would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a subject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reason than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a state in which the life, honour, and fortune of the subject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the less arbitrary is that government; and if the sovereign sometimes makes an ill use of his power against the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do so with respect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the laws.

Husbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, sufficiently shews that the people were not burthened with those taxes which put a check to the industry of the husbandman. The great numbers of those employed in giving pleasure to others, shew that

* That prince is despotic who assents to laws made for the regulation of his subjects; but can himself dispense with these laws for his own convenience or caprice, without being called in question. That is a despotic government in which the people are bound by certain laws; but the prince is bound by none,

the towns were as flourishing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feasts and shews. They did not like us go to the play-houses; they sent for whole companies of comedians to their own houses. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profusion such as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happiness was succeeded in the year 1630, by the most terrible catastrophe and universal desolation that could befall a state. The family of the Tartar conquerors, descendants of Gengis-Can, had done what all other conquerors had endeavoured to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in possession of the throne, have the same revolution to fear from the vanquished that themselves had caused. This dynasty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterwards expelled by the dynasty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall, were looked upon only as a kind of savages, from whence there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Leaotong, incorporated by the Gengis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chinese. To the north end of Leaotong, there were some herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Leaotong treated with an oppressive severity. They made some bold representations, such as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invasion of their country by Cyrus; for
the

the genius of a people is always the same till a long course of oppression occasions them to degenerate.

All the answer the governor made to their complaint was, to burn their cabbins, carry away their flocks, and endeavour to transplant the inhabitants. Then these Tartars, who were free, chose a chief of their own to carry on a war against their oppressors. This chief, who was called Taitsou, soon made himself
1622 king: he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Leaotong, and took the capital by assault.

This war was carried on in the same manner as those of distant times. Fire arms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in use; such as arrows, spears, clubs, and scimitars: they made a little use of bucklers and helmets; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications consisted in a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it: they sapped the wall, or mounted it by scaling ladders. The victory depended solely upon bodily strength; and the Tartars, who were accustomed to sleep in the open fields, must necessarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitsou, the first chief of the Tartar hords, dying in the year 1626, at the beginning of his victories; his son Taitsong immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himself upon a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he could read and write; and it appears that he acknowledged only one God, like the Chinese literati; for he thus expresses himself in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces:

“Tien raises up whom he pleases; perhaps he may have chosen me to be your master.” And, in fact, after the year 1628 Tien caused him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and established laws in the midst of war. He always headed his troops in person; and the emperor of China, Hoaitfang, whose name has been lost in obscurity, remained shut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the last emperor of the Chinese race: he was not able to prevent Taitfong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to suppress the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Litsching, who seized upon the southern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eastward and northward, this Litsching made himself master of all the rest. It is said that he had six hundred thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Peking, where the emperor still continued shut up in his palace, and was ignorant of great part of what was doing. The rebel Litsching, (for he is so called, as not having succeeded,) sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made prisoners, with a very short letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may see an instance of the Asiatic pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads struck off, for having brought him a disrespectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him sensible that the heads of the prin-

ces of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Listching had in his power, would be made to answer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what answer he should send back, Listching had already entered the city. The empress had barely time enough to save some of her sons; after which she shut herself up in her apartment, and there hanged herself. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this instance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the rest of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jesuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itself, in the last century, says, that all these women obeyed without replying; but it is very possible that there might be a few of them who wanted assistance. The emperor, whom this writer represents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empress had not thought proper to expose out of the seraglio, he exhorted her to hang herself, as well as her mother and mothers-in-law; but the young princess desiring to be excused, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent blow with his sabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that such a father and an husband would have slain himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavillion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that every thing was desperate, and that Listching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, and at once put an end to
an

an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend *. This extraordinary event happened in the year 1641. It was under this last emperor of the Chinese race that the Jesuits at length made their way into the court of Peking. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had so far gained the good graces of this emperor, by his knowledge in physicks and the mathematics, that he made him a mandarin. He was the first who shewed the Chinese how to cast brass cannon; but the few that were in Peking were not sufficient to save the empire:

* This catastrophe is differently related by father Duhalde and Palafox. This last says, that the emperor being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empress into a small wood, incapable of uttering one word, such was the excess of his grief. The empress, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herself with a silken cord. The emperor having drank a glass of wine, though at other times averse to that liquor, bit his own finger, to produce an effusion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had lost every thing for which he chose to live, he thought it high time to part with life itself. Duhalde says, he wrote the following sentence on the border of his vest: "I have been basely deserted by my subjects: do what you will with me, but spare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one stroke of his scymetar, and hanged himself. The traitor Li insulted his body, and murdered all his surviving children, except his eldest son, who escaped. U-sang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces, in the province of Lyan-tong, instead of acknowledging the usurper, made peace with the Manchew Tartars, and their king, Tsong-te, joined him with fourscore thousand men. Li fled from Peking; and Tsong-te dying, was succeeded by his infant son, Sun-chi, who, in process of time ascended the imperial throne of China.

besides, they did not know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Peking before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels disputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and disciplined, the Chinese divided and undisciplined. They were obliged to give way by little and little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of spirit of superiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitsong, whom the Tartars lost at that time, did not prevent them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his stead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion has made such a progress in China. These people, who had first taken up arms in defence of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We see that all nations have begun by choosing persons to head them in war, and afterwards these chiefs have become absolute, excepting in some of the European nations. Hereditary right has been established and made sacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almost all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The usurper, Liftching, was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to revenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces set up true or false chil-

children of their dead prince, like the Demetrius's in Russia. The Chinese mandarins endeavoured to usurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartarian usurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chinese general, who for some time checked their progress, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portuguese of Macao, or which were some of those cast by the Jesuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely destitute of artillery, should prevail over those who were provided with it: this was the very reverse of what happened in the new world, and a proof of the superiority of the northern people over those of the south.

What is most surprising is, that the Tartars conquered all this vast empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly established, they elected his son Camg-hi at eight years old, being the same age at which they had chosen his father; and this Camg-hi restored the empire of China, having been so prudent and fortunate as to make himself equally well obeyed both by the Chinese and Tartars. The missionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and especially Le Gentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was sordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but these strokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the course of this revolution, which lasted thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent was, that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartarian manner. There were some who chose to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an instance of the Muscovites raising several seditions when czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; so forcible is custom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquished people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elsewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European missionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; several were lodged in the emperor's palace: they built churches, and had opulent houses. In America they had been successful in teaching the necessary arts to savages. In China they had taught the most refined arts to a learned and sensible nation. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruits of their wisdom, and that restlessness and contentious spirit, which is in Europe inseparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greatest designs.

The Chinese were astonished to see wise and learned men disagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually persecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal processes against each other, at the court of Rome, and striving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China understood his own mother tongue as well as missionaries who were come from France and Italy.

These

These disputes were carried to such a length, that the Chinese government feared or affected to fear the same disorders as had been raised in Japan. Camg-hi's successor therefore forbid the exercise of the christian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different sects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court finding the want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itself with imposing silence on the missionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in the year 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phænomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years destroyed the cities of Lima and Lisbon. It is said that near four hundred thousand souls perished in it. These shocks must necessarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcano's which vomit out fire and smoke, give reason to think that the outward shell of the earth rests upon vast gulphs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from physical causes, as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciousness and ambition.

C H A P. CLXV.

Of JAPAN, in the Seventeenth Century.

IN the multitude of revolutions which we have seen from one end of the universe to the other, there appears to have been a fated chain of causes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and sands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it: a Portuguese prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceives the notion of sending a few ships to the coast of Africa. Soon afterwards the Portuguese discover Japan. Spain, for a while the sovereign of Portugal, carries on an immense trade with the Japanese. The Christian religion is carried into that country by the means of this trade; and, under favour of the general toleration allowed to all sects in Asia, introduces and establishes itself there. Three Christian princes of Japan make a journey to Rome to kiss the feet of pope Gregory XIII. Christianity is on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a short time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its destruction. We have already remarked, that the missionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had likewise secured a powerful party in their favour. The bonzes feared the loss of their ancient possessions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine islands in the neighbourhood of Japan. The Japanese knew how they had acted

acted in America; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in the year 1586, had banished the Christian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his subjects, under pain of death; but as they still allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portuguese and Spaniards, their missionaries made proselytes as fast as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Christian priests into the country; but notwithstanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine islands sent Franciscan friars, in character of ambassadors to the emperor of Japan. These ambassadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Meaco; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the persecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a vicissitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reasons of state were the sole motives to these persecutions; and that the Christian religion was opposed from the apprehension that it would be made an instrument to favour the designs of the Spaniards; for the religion of Confucius was never persecuted by the Japanese, tho' introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious observer, Kempfer, tells us, that in the year 1674 the inhabitants of Meaco being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably; and that these twelve sects contained upwards of four hundred thousand people, exclusive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the sovereign pontiff. It seems then, that if the Portuguese and Spaniards could have

contented themselves with liberty of conscience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in the year 1636, they continued to carry on a very profitable trade, seeing that they carried over to Macao two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever since the year 1600, were grown jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spanish ship off the Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Lisbon, on board of which they found several letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, who was a kind of consul to that nation. These letters contained the plan of an intended conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor, specifying the number of ships and troops they expected from Europe and the settlements in Asia, in order to make the scheme succeed. These letters were sent by the Dutch to the court of Japan: Moro owned his hand-writing, and was publicly burnt. Upon this discovery the government chose rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with strangers, than to see itself exposed to such machinations. The emperor, in an assembly of all the grandees of his kingdom, enacted the famous edict, by which it was enacted, that no Japanese should for the future presume to stir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no stranger should be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portuguese be sent away; that all the natives who were Christians should be imprisoned, and that a reward of one thousand crowns

Crowns should be given to any one who should discover a Christian priest. The violence of this procedure in the Japanese, who voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conspiracy was real: but what proves it still more fully, is, that the Christian natives, with some few Portuguese at their head, actually assembled in arms to the number of thirty thousand and more; they were defeated in the year 1638, and retired to a strong hold on the sea-side, in the neighbourhood of the port of Nangazaki.

At the same time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chinese were included in this general law, because some missionaries had boasted to the Japanese, that all China was on the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had discovered the conspiracy, were expelled as well as the rest; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demolished; their ships were sailed; and only one remained, whom the government summoned to fire upon the fortress, whither the Christians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid service. The Christians were soon forced in their asylum, and put to death with the most excruciating tortures. Once more let me observe, that when we represent to ourselves such strange events, caused in Japan by a Portuguese and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of the destiny which influences all nations.

The odious service which the Dutch had performed for the Japanese government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and settlements there; however, they obtained permission to land upon a little island near the port of Nangazaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandize.

But they were obliged to trample upon the cross, and renounce all marks of Christianity, and likewise to swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese, before they were admitted into this little island, where they live as it were in a prison; for as soon as they arrive the inhabitants take possession of their ships and goods, upon which they set a price. Thus, for the sake of getting money, they subject themselves every year to this confinement; and those who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Islands, suffer themselves to be here treated as slaves: it is true, they are conducted from this little island to the emperor's court, and are honourably and courteously received wherever they come, but strictly guarded and observed. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, signed with their blood, to observe all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been asserted in several books, that the Dutch abjured Christianity at Japan. This opinion had its source in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his escape and lived for some time among the natives; but being discovered, in order to save his life he said he was no Christian, but a Dutchman. The government

ment of Japan has, since this revolution, forbid the building of vessels fit for going to sea; they have only long barks, worked with sails and oars, for trading to their islands. It is looked upon as the greatest of crimes for strangers to frequent the country; it seems that they are still in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear neither agrees with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatness of the empire; but the horror of the past has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japanese has been, in every respect, that of a people generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their resolutions. At first they received strangers with cordiality; and when they thought themselves insulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections for ever.

When Colbert, that minister of immortal memory, first erected an East-India company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only protestants, who might safely swear that they were not of the same religion with the Portuguese; but the Dutch opposed this scheme, and the Japanese, satisfied with receiving one nation amongst them whom they treat as prisoners, would not admit of two*.

I shall

* The reader will perceive that this is a very imperfect picture of Japan, as our author has said nothing relating to the constitution of the government, the laws of the realm, and the genius of the people. Absolute power was, from time immemorial, exercised by the emperors called Dairo, who reigned in a regular succession till the year 1500, when

I shall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been represented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We shall find in the age of Lewis XIV. what little is necessary to be known concerning it. Corea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu, are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidst the prodigious number of islands scattered about the extremities of Asia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the center of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general history. The same may be said of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of smaller nations in the new world. I shall only

a civil war broke out and involved the whole empire in confusion: during this anarchy, a common soldier raised himself to the imperial dignity, and divesting the Dairo of all his temporal power, allowed him to preside over all religious matters. Since that period the successors of the Dairo have been respected as popes; but the descendants from the usurper have retained all the authority of emperor, though they are modest enough to call themselves Cubo, which signifies minister or vizir. The national religion of Japan is the idolatry of the Bonzes; but a great number of other sects are tolerated: yet all these sects agree in holding five restrictions absolutely binding, viz. not to kill, nor eat any thing that is killed; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lye; and not to drink wine. The Japanese have few written laws; but the emperor's will is the supreme law; and every petty prince, governor, or head of a family, has the power of life and death over those that he governs. The Japanese are acute, ingenious, industrious, modest, patient, and covetous; but on the other hand, they are said to be ambitious, cruel and vindictive, uncharitable, unfeeling, and addicted to the most spurious passions, which they publicly gratify with impunity.

observe,

observe, that before the sixteenth century, above one half of the globe was ignorant of the use of bread and wine, which is still unknown to a part of America and the eastern part of Africa; insomuch that we are obliged to carry both those viands thither to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is usually asserted; none have been seen by any of our travellers for above these fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifestly different from each other. Several nations still live in the state of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to discover in their countries where-withal to satisfy our greediness, these people are not at the trouble of informing themselves whether there exist any other men than themselves, and pass their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of misery.

Much yet remains for our vain curiosity to discover; but if we would confine ourselves to what is useful, there is already but too much discovered.

CHAP. I.

THE first thing that I observed when I stepped out of the boat, was a vast expanse of water, stretching as far as the eye could reach. The sky above was a deep, clear blue, with a few wispy clouds scattered across it. The water around me was calm, reflecting the light of the sun. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility as I looked out over the horizon. The air was fresh and cool, a pleasant surprise after the heat of the city. I took a deep breath, savoring the moment. The boat I was on was small and simple, with a thatched roof and a few wooden planks for a deck. The crew consisted of a few men, dressed in traditional clothing, who seemed to be used to the life on the water. They greeted me with a friendly smile and a wave of their hands. I felt welcomed and at home. The boat began to move, gliding smoothly across the water. I looked back over my shoulder, watching the city disappear behind me. The buildings, the streets, the people - it all felt like a distant memory. I was now part of something new, something exciting. I was on a journey, and I was ready for whatever came next.

As the boat continued its journey, I noticed that the water was not as calm as it had been at first. There were small waves, and the boat began to rock slightly. I looked out at the horizon, where the water met the sky. The line was sharp and clear, and I felt a sense of awe. The boat was moving faster now, and I could feel the wind on my face. I looked down at my hands, which were resting on the wooden planks of the deck. They felt steady and strong, and I felt a sense of confidence. The boat was my friend, and I was going to make the most of this journey. I was going to see the world, and I was going to experience everything that it had to offer. I was going to live, and I was going to love it.

THE
AGE of LEWIS XIV.

BEING

Mr. VOLTAIRE's

GENERAL HISTORY

CONTINUED.

THE

REVISED

EDITION

OF THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

IT is not only the LIFE OF LEWIS XIV. that we propose to write; we have a greater object in view. We mean to set before posterity not only the portrait of one man's actions, but of the spirit of mankind in general, in the most enlightened of all ages.

Every age has produced heroes and politicians; all nations have experienced revolutions, and all histories are nearly alike, to those who seek only to furnish their memories with facts; but whosoever thinks, or, what is still more rare, whosoever has taste, will find but four ages in the history of the world. These four happy ages are those in which the arts were carried to perfection; and which, by serving as the æra of the greatness of the human mind, are examples for posterity.

The first of these ages to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander, or that of a Pericles, a Demosthenes, an Aristotle, a Plato, an Apelles, a Phidias, and a Praxiteles; and this honour has been confined within the limits of ancient Greece; the rest of the known world was then in a state of barbarism.

The

160 INTRODUCTION.

The second age is that of Cæsar and Augustus, distinguished likewise by the names of Lucretius, Cicero, Titus Livius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Varro, and Vitruvius.

The third is that which followed the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Then a family of private citizens was seen to do that which the kings of Europe ought to have undertaken. The Medicis invited to Florence the learned, who had been driven out of Greece by the Turks; this was the age of Italy's glory. The polite arts had already recovered a new life in that country; the Italians honoured them with the title of Vertu, as the first Greeks had distinguished them by the name of Wisdom. Every thing tended towards perfection; a Michael Angelo*, a Raphael†, a Titian‡, a Tasso, and

* Michael Angelo Buonaroti flourished in the fifteenth century, and was universally admired for his excellence in the three sister-arts, of painting, statuary, and architecture. He was born of a good family in the county of Arezzo, studied design or drawing under Dominicho Ghirlandajo, and at the age of sixteen began to cut statues in marble, that even bore a comparison with the antique. He was patronized by Laurentio de Medicis at Florence, that great patron of the arts. After the death of Laurentio he went to Rome, where he distinguished himself by many capital performances. He was the most perfect anatomist of his time; had a grand gusto in design, and excelled all his contemporaries in painting naked figures; but his manner was dry, and in every other branch of the art he fell far short of Raphael, whose genius excited his envy. His most famous picture is that of the last judgment; and his masterpiece in architecture the celebrated church of St. Peter. In order to expose the false taste of those who would allow no merit to modern artists, he privately finished the statue of a Cupid, and buried it under ground, in a place which he knew

INTRODUCTION. 161

and an Ariosto flourished. The art of engraving was invented ; elegant architecture appeared again

knew would soon be dug, after having broke off and reserved one of the arms. The statue was accordingly found, and judged by all the connoisseurs to be a genuine antique : then the artist produced the arm, and claimed the honour of the work. He made the model of a colossal statue for pope Julius II. with such a haughty countenance and commanding attitude, that the pontiff asked whether he had raised the right arm in the act of bestowing the benediction, or denouncing the anathema ? He replied, that he was in the attitude of warning the people of Bologna to be more prudent for the future. Then he asked in his turn, if he should put a book in this right-hand ? " No, (said the pope) put a sword in it, I don't pretend to be a man of letters." Michael Angelo was not only painter, statuary, and architect, but likewise a tolerable poet, and his works were published at Florence. The following distich is no bad representation of his character.

*Quis pinxit melius, quis struxit, duxit in ære,
Marmora quis sculpsit, doctius aut cecinit ?*

He was respected and beloved by Leo X. Clement VII. and a succession of popes, as well as by all the civilized princes of his time, Francis I. of France, Charles V. emperor of Germany and king of Spain, Cosmo de Medicis, the Venetian republic, and even Solyman the grand signor. He lived to the age of ninety, died at Rome in 1564, and was interred with great funeral pomp at Florence.

† Raphael D'Urbino, whose real name was Sanzio, lived cotemporary with Buonaroti, and excelled him in composition, beauty, grace, and expression. He was the son of a painter at Urbino, and studied under Pietro Perugino, whose manner however he renounced, as soon as he beheld the works of Leonardi da Vinci and Michael Angelo at Florence. He was recommended to pope Leo X. by his kinsman Bramante, and employed in painting the apartments of the Vatican, where the first picture he finished was the school of Athens. The greatness of his manner he is said to have stolen from sketches of Buonaroti in the chapel of Sixtus IV. to which his friend Bramante introduced him privately.

162 INTRODUCTION.

again as admirable as in the most triumphant ages of Rome; and the Gothic barbarism, which had

privately, against the express prohibition of Michael Angelo. Certain it is, he became the prince of painters, was caressed by all the world, and when he went abroad he always appeared attended by a concourse of men of taste and literature. Buonaroti meeting him one day accompanied in this manner, told him he walked with a retinue like the provost-marshal; "And you (said Raphael) walk all alone like the executioner of the law." Buonaroti was in his disposition proud, haughty, and insolent; whereas Raphael recommended himself to every body's affection, by his affability, generosity, and sweetness of demeanour. The cardinal of St. Bibiano offered him his niece in marriage; but, he expected a hat for himself from pope Leo, and in the mean time died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, in consequence of a fever said to be caught by intemperate venery. He was buried in the rotunda, where his tomb is distinguished by the following epitaph, which cardinal Bembo wrote, and Mr. Pope has translated into English, in honour of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

*Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci.
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori.*

Living, great nature fear'd he would outvie
Her works; and dying, fears herself will die.

The sentiment is truly bombast. Another epitaph, but one degree more modest, was written on Raphael by the celebrated Muretus.

† Titian Vecelli was born in the state of Venice, in the year 1477, and studied painting under Bellini, whom he soon surpassed, as he also did Giorgione. His pictures were greatly admired for his exquisite manner of colouring. He refused a considerable employment at Rome, and was created knight and count-palatine by the emperor Charles V. who sitting one day for his picture, Titian chanced to drop his pencil; which Charles took up, and presenting it to the artist, "Titian (said he) is worthy to be served even by Cæsar." He was also visited and caressed

INTRODUCTION. 163

had disfigured Europe in every kind of production, was driven from Italy to make way for good taste.

The arts, always transplanted from Greece to Italy, found themselves in a favourable soil, where they instantly produced fruit. France, England, Germany, and Spain, aimed in their turns to gather these fruits; but either they could not live in those climates, or else they degenerated very fast.

Francis I. encouraged learned men, but such as were merely learned men; he had architects, but he had no Michael Angelo, nor Paladio*; he endeavoured in vain to establish schools for painting; the Italian masters, whom he invited to France, raised no pupils there. Some epigrams, and a few loose tales, made the whole of our poetry. Rabelais† was the only prose writer in vogue in the time of Henry II.

In

fed by Henry III. of France; and celebrated by Ariosto, Marini, and other poets. In a word, he lived in great splendour, and died of the plague in the year 1576.

* Andrea Palladio was a native of Vicenza, and flourished in the sixteenth century. He finished his studies at Rome, where he made himself master of the antique, and became the greatest architect in the world. He first published a commentary on all the works of antiquity at Rome; and in the year 1570 printed his four books on architecture, replete with taste and erudition.

† Francis Rabelais, born at Chinon in Touraine, lived in the sixteenth century. He was first a Cordelier, and afterwards a physician. He distinguished himself by his knowledge of the languages; but his chief recommendation was his humour. He published a Latin translation of the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and several other serious performances, which are now forgotten: but his history of Pantagruel is still admired by all those who have any taste for
humour

164 INTRODUCTION.

In a word, the Italians alone were in possession of every thing that was beautiful, excepting music, which was then but in a rude state, and experimental philosophy, which was every where equally unknown.

Lastly, the fourth age is that known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. and is perhaps that which approaches the nearest to perfection of all the four; enriched by the discoveries of the three former ones, it has done greater things in certain kinds than those three together. All the arts indeed were not carried farther than under the Medicis, Augustus, and Alexander; but human reason in general was more improved. In this age we first became acquainted with sound philosophy; it may truly be said that to begin from the last years of cardinal Richelieu's administration, till those which followed the death of Lewis XIV. that there has happened such a general revolution in our arts, our genius, our manners, and even in our government, that will serve as an immortal mark to the true

humour and satire. He was celebrated by all the wits of his time, such as Buda, Clement Marot, du Bellay, and de Baif. He died at the age of seventy, in the year 1553, and was honoured with divers epitaphs, of which the following seems to be the best adapted.

*Pluton, prince du noir empire,
Ou les tiens ne rient jamais,
Reçois aujourd'hui Rabelais,
Et vous aurez tous de quoi rire.*

He was a favourite with La Fontaine, who being one day in company with the two Boileaus and Racine, when the conversation turned upon St. Augustine, he seemed to wake from a profound reverie, and turning to Boileau the doctor, asked very gravely, if he thought Rabelais was not a greater wit than St. Augustine?

glory

INTRODUCTION. 165

glory of our country. This happy influence has not been confined to France; it has communicated itself to England, where it has stirred up an emulation, which that ingenious and deeply learned nation stood in need of at that time; it has introduced taste into Germany, and the sciences into Russia; it has even re-animated Italy, which was languishing; and Europe is indebted for its politeness and spirit of society to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time the Italians called all the people on this side the Alps by the name of Barbarians; it must be owned, that the French in some degree deserved this reproachful epithet. Our forefathers joined the romantic gallantry of the Moors with the Gothic rudeness: they had hardly any of the agreeable arts amongst them, which is a proof that the useful arts were likewise neglected; for when once the things of use are carried to perfection, the transition is quickly made to the elegant and the agreeable; and it is not at all astonishing, that painting, sculpture, poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, should be in a manner unknown to a nation, who, tho' possessed of harbours on the Western Ocean, and the Mediteranean Sea, were without ships; and who, though fond of luxury to an excess, were hardly provided with the most common manufactures.

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemish, the Dutch, and the English, carried on in their turns the trade of France, who was ignorant even of the first principles of commerce. Lewis XIII. at his accession to the crown had not a single ship; the city of Paris contained not quite four hundred

166 INTRODUCTION.

dred thousand men, and had not above four fine public edifices; the other cities of the kingdom resembled those pitiful villages which we see on the other side the Loire. The nobility, who were all stationed in the country, in dungeons surrounded with deep ditches, oppressed the peasant who cultivated the land. The high roads were almost impassable; the towns were destitute of police, and the government had hardly ever any credit among foreign nations.

We must acknowledge, that ever since the decline of the Carlovingian family, France had languished more or less in this infirm state, merely for want of the benefit of a good administration.

For a state to be powerful, the people must either enjoy a liberty founded on the laws, or the royal authority must be fixed beyond all opposition. In France the people were slaves till the reign of Philip Augustus; the noblemen were tyrants till Lewis XI; and the kings, always employed in maintaining their authority against their vassals, had neither leisure to think about the happiness of their subjects, nor the power of making them happy.

Lewis XI. did a great deal for the regal power, but nothing for the happiness or glory of the nation. Francis I. gave birth to trade, navigation, and all the arts; but he was too unfortunate to make them take root in the nation during his time, so that they all perished with him. Henry the Great was on the point of raising France from the calamities and barbarisms in which she had been plunged by thirty years of discord, when he was assassinated in
his

INTRODUCTION. 167

his capital, in the midst of a people whom he had begun to make happy. The cardinal de Richelieu, busied in humbling the house of Austria, the Calvinists, and the grandees, did not enjoy a power sufficiently undisturbed to reform the nation; but he had at least the honour of beginning this happy work.

Thus, for the space of 900 years, our genius has been almost always restrained under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars; destitute of any laws or fixed customs, changing, every second century, a language, which still continued rude and unformed; the nobles were without discipline, and strangers to every thing but war and idleness. The clergy lived in disorder and ignorance, and the common people without industry, and stupified in their wretchedness.

The French had no share either in the great discoveries, or admirable inventions of other nations: they have no title to the discoveries of painting, gun-powder, glasses, telescopes, the sector, compass, the air-pump, or the true system of the universe; they were making tournaments, while the Portuguese and Spaniards were discovering and conquering new countries from the east to the west of the known world. Charles V. had already scattered the treasures of Mexico over Europe, before the subjects of Francis I. had discovered the uncultivated country of Canada; but, by the little which the French did in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may see what they are capable of when properly conducted.

I propose in this place to shew what they have
been

been under Lewis XIV. and it is to be wished that the posterity of this monarch, and that of his subjects, equally animated with an happy emulation, may use their endeavours to surpass their ancestors.

It must not be expected to meet here with a minute detail of the wars carried on in this age: this would be an endless task; we are obliged to leave to the compilers of annals, the care of collecting, with exactness, all these small facts, which would only serve to divert the attention from the principal object. It is their province to point out the marches and counter-marches of armies, and the particular days on which the trenches were opened before towns, which were taken and retaken again by force of arms, or ceded and restored by treaties. A thousand circumstances which are interesting to those who live at the time, are lost to the eyes of posterity, and disappear, to make room for the great events which have determined the fate of empires*. Every transaction is not worthy of being committed to writing. In this history we shall confine ourselves only to what is deserving of the attention of all ages, what paints the genius and manners of mankind, contributes to instruction, and prompts to the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We have already seen what France and the other kingdoms of Europe were, before the birth

* Yet those very events, the recital of which our author seems to despise, have not only influenced the destiny of empires, but even strongly marked the character and understanding of the times in which they happened.

INTRODUCTION. 169

of Lewis XIV. we shall now describe the great political and military events of his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, as being an object of more importance to the people, shall be treated of by itself. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particular anecdotes of his court, and reign, shall hold a principal place in this account. There shall be other articles for the arts and sciences, and for the progress of the human mind in this age. Lastly, we shall speak of the church, which has been so long connected with the government, has sometimes disturbed its peace, and at others been its defence; and which, though instituted for the inculcating of morality, too frequently gives itself up to politics and the impulse of the human passions.

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early attempts to explain the phenomena of life, and then proceeds to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The second part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the principal theories, and to an attempt to show which of them is the most satisfactory. The third part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the present state of the subject, and to an attempt to show what progress has been made since the last time the subject was treated in a book of this kind. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the future of the subject, and to an attempt to show what progress may be expected in the future.

THEORY OF THE EARTH

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early attempts to explain the phenomena of life, and then proceeds to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The second part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the principal theories, and to an attempt to show which of them is the most satisfactory. The third part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the present state of the subject, and to an attempt to show what progress has been made since the last time the subject was treated in a book of this kind. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the future of the subject, and to an attempt to show what progress may be expected in the future.

T H E

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

C H A P. CLXVI.

Of the STATES of EUROPE before
LEWIS XIV.

FOR a long time past the Christian part of Europe (Muscovy excepted) might be considered as a great republic divided into several states, some of which were monarchical, others mixt, some aristocratical, and others popular; but all corresponding with one another; all having the same basis of religion, though divided into several sects, and acknowledging the same principles of public and political equity, which were unknown to the other parts of the world. It is from these principles that the European nations do not make slaves of their prisoners; that they respect the persons of their enemies ambassadors; that they agree together concerning the pre-eminence, and some other rights belonging to certain princes; such as the emperor, kings, and other lesser potentates: and particularly in the prudent policy of preserving, as far as they are able, an equal

ballance of power between themselves ; by continually carrying on negotiations even in the midst of war, and keeping ambassadors, or less honourable spies at each other's courts, to give notice to the rest, of the designs of any single one, to sound the alarm at once over all Europe, and to prevent the weaker side from being invaded by the stronger, who is always ready to attempt it.

After the death of Charles V. the ballance of power inclined too much on the side of the house of Austria. This powerful house was, in the year 1630, mistress of Spain, Portugal, and the riches of America ; the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary, and even Germany, (if we may so say) were become a part of its patrimony : and had all these states been united under one single head of this house, it is reasonable to believe, that he would, at length, have become master of all Europe.

OF GERMANY.

THE empire of Germany is the most powerful neighbour which France has ; it is nearly of the same extent ; there is not, perhaps, so much money in it, but it abounds more with sturdy men, inured to labour. The Germanic nation is governed, with a very little difference, as France was under the first kings of the Capetian race, who were chiefs of several great vassals, by whom they were frequently very ill obeyed, and of a great number of lesser ones. There are sixty free cities, called imperial ; about as many secular princes ; near forty eccle-

ecclesiastical ones, as well abbots as bishops, nine electors, amongst whom we may reckon four kings; and lastly, the emperor, who is head of all these potentates: these at present compose this great Germanic body, which, by the phlegmatic disposition of its members, is maintained in as much order and regularity * as there was formerly confusion in the French government.

Each member of the empire has his particular rights, privileges, and obligations; and the knowledge of such a number of laws, which are frequently disputed, makes, what is called in Germany, "The study of the public law," for which that nation is so famous.

The emperor himself should not in fact be much more powerful or rich than a doge of Venice. You know that Germany being divided into cities and principalities, nothing is left for the chief of such a number of states, but the pre-eminence, accompanied with the supreme honours, without either demesnes or money, and consequently without power. He does not possess a single village in virtue of his title of emperor. Nevertheless this dignity, often as vain as supreme, has become so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it has been frequently feared that they would convert this republic of princes into an absolute monarchy.

* Witness the present war, and the past. We apprehend our author might have compared Germany with more propriety, to the heptarchy of the Saxons, a confederacy of independent states, which choose a president or chief, investing him with a supreme authority to be exercised for the good of the community: but this authority is acquired by election, not enjoyed by hereditary right.

The christian part of Europe, especially Germany, was then, and still is divided into two parties or sects. The first is, that of the catholics, who are all more or less subject to the authority of the pope. The other, that of the enemies to the spiritual and temporal power of the pontiff, and the prelates of the church of Rome. These latter are called by the general name of protestants, though divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and other sects, who all hate one another as much as they do the church of Rome.

In Germany, the states of Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, a part of Bohemia and Hungary, the houses of Brunswick and Wirtemberg followed the Lutheran religion, which is by them called the evangelical. All the free cities of the empire have likewise embraced this sect, as seemingly more agreeable to a people jealous of their liberty than the religion of the church of Rome.

The Calvinists, who are scattered amongst the Lutherans, form but an inconsiderable party. The Roman Catholics constitute the rest of the empire; and having at their head the house of Austria, they were without doubt the most powerful.

Not only Germany but all the christian states were still bleeding with the wounds of the many religious wars in which they had been engaged; a madness peculiar to christians, and unknown to idolaters, and which was the fatal consequence of that dogmatic turn, which had for so long a time been introduced among all ranks of people. Almost every point of controversy occasioned a civil war; and foreign
na-

nations, (nay perhaps our own posterity) will one day be at a loss to comprehend how their ancestors could have thus mutually butchered each other, while they were preaching up the doctrine of patience.

I have already shewn how near Ferdinand II. was to changing the German aristocracy into an absolute monarchy, and how he was on the point of being dethroned by Gustavus Vasa. His son, Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and like him made war from his cabinet, swayed the imperial sceptre during the minority of Lewis XIV.

Germany was not then so flourishing as it has since become. Not only every kind of luxury was wholly unknown there, but even the conveniences of life were very scarce in the houses of the greatest noblemen, till the year 1686, when they were introduced by the French refugees, who retired thither and set up their manufactories. This fruitful and well peopled country was destitute both of trade and money: the gravity of manners, and slowness peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of those pleasures and agreeable arts which the more penetrating Italians had cultivated for many years, and which the French industry began now to carry to perfection. The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where else; and this poverty, added to the difficulty of uniting in a short time, so many different people under one standard, made it impossible for them to carry the war into their neighbours dominions, or support it there for any time, nearly as at this day. Accordingly, we almost always find the French carrying on a war against the em-

pire within the empire. The difference of government and genius make the French more proper for attacking, and the Germans for acting on the defensive.

OF SPAIN.

THE Spanish nation, governed by the elder branch of the house of Austria, after the death of Charles V. had made itself more formidable to Europe than the Germanic empire. The kings of Spain were infinitely more absolute and rich than the emperors : and the mines of Mexico and Peru furnished them with treasures sufficient to purchase the liberties of Europe. You have already seen the project of universal monarchy, or rather universal superiority on the Christian continent, begun by Charles V. and carried on by Philip II.

The Spanish greatness under Philip II. became a vast body without substance, which had more reputation than real strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his neglect ; Roussillon by the inferiority of his arms ; and Catalonia by the abuse of his absolute authority. Such princes could not long continue successful in their wars against France. If our errors and divisions gave them some few advantages, they soon lost the fruits of them by their own want of capacity. Besides, they had a people to command whose privileges gave them a right to serve ill. The Castilians, for instance, had a privilege by which they were exempted from serving out of their own country. The Arragonians were continually opposing their liberties

ties to the orders of the king's council; and the Catalans, who looked upon their kings as their enemies, would not even suffer them to raise militia in their provinces.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Spain, by being united to the empire, threw a very formidable weight into the balance of Europe.

OF PORTUGAL.

AT this time Portugal was again made a kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who passed for a weak prince, had wrested this province from a king who was weaker than himself. The Portuguese, through necessity, cultivated trade, which the Spaniards through pride neglected, and had lately, (in the year 1641) entered into a league with the French and Dutch against Spain. France gained more by the revolution in Portugal than she could have done by the most signal victories. The French ministry, without having in the least contributed to this event, reaped without any trouble the greatest advantage that can be wished for over an enemy; that of seeing him attacked by an irreconcilable power.

Portugal, who thus threw off the Spanish yoke, extended its trade, and augmented its power, puts us in mind of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages, though in a very different manner.

Of the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS small state, composed of seven united provinces, a country abounding in excellent pasturage, but destitute of all kind of grain, unhealthy, and in a manner buried in the sea, was for about half a century almost the only example in the world, of what may be done by the love of liberty and unwearied labour. These poor people, few in number, and inferior in military discipline to the meanest of the Spanish militia, and of no account in the rest of Europe, made head against the whole collected force of their master and tyrant Philip II. eluded the designs of several princes who offered to assist them, in hopes of enslaving them, and founded a power which we have seen counterbalancing that of Spain itself. The desperation which tyranny inspires first armed these people; liberty raised their courage, and the princes of the house of Orange made them excellent soldiers. No sooner were they become conquerors of their masters, than they established a form of government which preserves as far as is possible, equality, the most natural right of mankind.

This state of so new a kind was from its first foundation intimately attached to France: they were united by interest, and had the same enemies. Henry the Great, and Lewis XIII. had been its allies and protectors.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, a far more powerful state, arrogated to itself the sovereignty of the seas, and pretended to preserve a ballance between the powers of Europe; but Charles I. who began his reign in 1625, was so far from being able to support the weight of this ballance, that he found the sceptre already falling through his hands: he had attempted to render his power independent of the laws of England, and to make a change in the religion of Scotland. He was too headstrong to be diverted from his projects, and too weak to carry them into execution. He was the good husband, the good master, the good father, and the honest man*; but an ill advised prince: he engaged in a civil war, which lost him his throne, and made him end his life on a scaffold, by an unparalleled revolution.

This civil war, which was begun in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England for some time from taking part in her neighbours concerns: she lost her credit in Europe, with

* We should be glad to know how he could be a good man that endeavoured to render himself absolute and independent of the laws of his country. Mr. de Voltaire would have done more justice to the character of Charles, had he said that monarch was too jealous of his prerogative, upon which he imagined the commons wanted to intrench; and did not sufficiently advert to the extent of the privileges of the people. That he should be mistaken in these particulars, is not at all surprising, when we conjecture that the bounds of prerogative and privilege were not at that period ascertained,

her quiet at home; her trade was obstructed, and other nations looked upon her as buried beneath her own ruins, till the time that she at once became more formidable than ever, under the rule of Cromwell, who had enslaved her with the gospel in one hand, the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his face; and who in his administration concealed, under the qualities of a great king, all the crimes of an usurper.

OF ROME.

THE ballance which England had so long flattered itself with the hopes of keeping up by its superior power, Rome endeavoured to maintain by its politics. Italy was divided as it now is into several sovereignties; that which is possessed by the pope is sufficiently great to render him respectable as a prince, and too small to make him formidable. The nature of the government does not contribute to the peopling of his country, which also has very little trade or money. His spiritual authority, which is always mixed with something of the temporal, is slighted and abhorred by one half of Christendom: and though he is considered as a father by the other half, yet he has some children who resist his will at times with reason and success. It is the maxim of the French government to look upon him as a sacred but enterprising person, whose hands must sometimes be tied, though they kiss his feet. We still see in all the catholic countries the traces of those steps which the court of Rome has frequently made towards universal monarchy.

narchy. All the princes of the Romish religion, upon their accession, send an embassy to the pope, which is termed the embassy of obedience. Every crowned head has a cardinal at his court, who takes the name of protector. The pope grants bulls for filling up all vacant bishopricks, and expresses himself in these bulls as if he conferred these dignities by his own pure authority. All the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and even some of the French bishops, stile themselves bishops by the divine permission, and that of the holy see. There is no kingdom in which he has not several benefices in his nomination; and he receives as a tribute the first years revenues of consistorial benefices.

The religious orders, whose principals reside at Rome, are again so many immediate subjects to the pontiff, scattered over all states. Custom, which does every thing, and which occasions the world to be governed by abuses as by laws, has not always permitted princes to put an entire stop to this danger, which in other respects is connected with things useful and sacred. To swear allegiance to any other than the sovereign is a crime of high treason in a layman; but in a convent it is a religious act. The difficulty of knowing how far we are to carry our obedience to this foreign sovereign, the ease with which we suffer ourselves to be seduced, the pleasure there is in throwing off a natural yoke for a voluntary one, the spirit of discord and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often prevailed on whole bodies of religious orders to serve the cause of Rome against their own country.

The

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France for this century past, and which has communicated itself to people of all ranks, has proved the most effectual remedy against this abuse. The excellent books which have been written on this subject, have done real service both to kings and people ; and one of the great changes which was wrought by this means in our manners, under the reign of Lewis XIV. is, that the religious of all kinds begin now to be persuaded that they should be subject to their king, before they are servants to the pope. The juridical power, which is the essential mark of sovereignty, still remains with the Roman pontiff ; and even the French government, notwithstanding all the liberties of the Gallican church, allows a final appeal to the pope in all ecclesiastical causes.

If any one is desirous of obtaining a divorce, of marrying a near relation, or of being released from their vows, application is to be made to the court of Rome, and not to the bishop of the diocese ; there all indulgencies are rated, and the individuals of all states may from thence purchase dispensations at all prices.

These advantages, which are by many people looked upon as the consequences of the greatest abuse, and by others as the remains of the most sacred rights, are always artfully preserved ; and modern Rome employs as much policy in keeping up its credit as the ancient republic did in conquering one half of the known world.

No court ever knew better how to act agreeable to men and times. The popes are almost always Italians, grown grey in public affairs,
and

and divested of those passions which make men blind to their interest; their council is composed of cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. This council issues mandates, which reach as far as China, and the extremes of America, in which sense it may be said to take in the whole universe; and we may say of it as a stranger formerly said of the Roman senate: "I have beheld an assembly of kings." Most of our writers have with reason inveighed against the ambition of this court; but I do not find one who has done sufficient justice to its prudence, neither do I know if any other nation could have so long maintained itself in the possession of so many privileges continually contested; any other court might probably have lost them, either by its haughtiness, its effeminacy, its sloth, or its vivacity; but that of Rome, by an almost constant proper use of resolution and concession, has preserved all that was humanly possible for her to preserve. We have seen her submissive to Charles V. terrible to our king, Henry III. the friend and the foe by turns to Henry IV. acting cunningly with Lewis XIII. openly opposing Lewis XIV. at a time when he was to be feared; and frequently a private enemy to the emperors, of whom she was more distrustful than even of the Turkish sultan.

Some rights, many pretensions, politics, and patience, are all that Rome has now left of that ancient power which six centuries ago attempted to subject the empire and all Europe to the triple crown.

Na-

Naples is still an existing proof of that right which the popes formerly assumed with so much art and parade, of creating and bestowing kingdoms; but the king of Spain, who is the present possessor of that kingdom, has only left the court of Rome the dangerous honour of having an overpowerful vassal.

Of the rest of ITALY.

AS for the rest, the pope's dominions were situated in a peaceable country, which had never been disturbed but by a trifling war, of which I have already spoken, between the cardinals Barberini, nephews to Urban VIII. and the duke of Parma.

The other provinces of Italy were biaffed by various interests. Venice had the Turks and the emperor to fear, and could hardly defend its dominions on the continent against the pretensions of Germany, and the invasion of the grand signor. She was no longer that city which was formerly the mistress of the trade of the whole world, and that one hundred and fifty years before had excited the jealousy of so many crowned heads. The wisdom of its administration continued the same as formerly; but its great trade being destroyed, deprived it of almost all its strength, and the city of Venice was by its situation incapable of being conquered, and by its weakness incapable of making conquests.

The state of Florence enjoyed tranquility and abundance under the government of the Medicis family; and literature, arts, and politeness, which they had first introduced, still flourished there.

there. Tuscany was at that time in Italy what Athens had been in Greece.

Savoy, after having been rent by a civil war, and desolated by the French and Spanish armies, was at length wholly united in favour of France, and contributed to weaken the Austrian power in Italy.

The Swiss nation preserved, as at this day, its own liberty, without seeking to oppress its neighbours. They sold the service of their troops to nations richer than themselves: they were poor and ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which are begotten by luxury; but they were wise, and they were happy.

Of the NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

THE Northern nations of Europe, viz. Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy, were like the other powers, always distrustful of, and at war with each other. In Poland, both the manners and government were, as they now are, nearly the same with those of the ancient Goths and Franks. The crown was elective; the nobles had a share in the supreme authority; the people were slaves; the infantry was weak; and the cavalry was wholly composed of nobles; there were no fortified towns, and scarcely any trade. These people were attacked at one time by the Swedes, or the Muscovites, and at others by the Turks.

The Swedes, who were a freer nation by their constitution, which admits even the lowest class of the people into the assembly of the general estates, but at that time more subject to their kings than the Poles, were almost every where
vic-

victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been so formidable to Sweden, was no longer so to any power; and Muscovy was not yet emerged from barbarism.

Of the T U R K S.

THE Turks were not what they had been under their Selims, their Mahomets, and their Solymans. The seraglio, though corrupted by effeminacy, still retained its cruelty. The sultans were at the same time the most despotic of sovereigns, and the least secure of their throne and life. Osman and Ibrahim had lately been strangled, and Mustapha had been twice deposed. The Ottoman empire, tottering from these repeated shocks, was also attacked by the Persians; but when it had enjoyed a little respite from them, and that the revolutions of the seraglio were at an end, this empire became again formidable to Christendom, and spread its conquests from the mouth of the Boristhenes to the Adriatic sea. Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Archipelago, fell alternately a prey to the Turkish arms; and from the year 1644, they had constantly carried on the war of Candia, which proved so fatal to the Christians.

Such then were the situation, strength, and interests of the principal European nations, about the time that Lewis XIII. of France departed this life.

The

The Situation of FRANCE.

FRANCE, who was in alliance with Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and had the favourable wishes of the other nations who remained inactive, was engaged in a war against the empire and Spain, which proved ruinous to both sides, and particularly fatal to the house of Austria. This war was like all those which have been carried on for so many centuries between christian princes, in which millions of men have been sacrificed, and whole provinces laid waste to obtain a few frontier towns, the possession of which is seldom worth the expence of conquering them.

Lewis XIII's generals had taken Roussillon; and the Catalans had given their province to France, as the protectress of that liberty which they defended against their kings; but all these successes had not prevented the enemy from making themselves masters of Corbie, in the year 1637, and advancing as far as Pontoise. Fear had driven one half of the inhabitants out of Paris; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midst of his mighty projects for humbling the Austrian power, had been reduced to lay a tax upon the houses with great gates in the city of Paris; every one of which was obliged to furnish a footman armed, to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis.

The French there had done the Spaniards and Germans a great deal of mischief, and had suffered as much themselves.

The

The Manners of the AGE.

THE wars had produced several illustrious generals ; such as a Gustavus Adolphus, a Walftein, a duke of Saxe Weimar, a Piccolomini, a John de Vert, the marechal of Guebriant, the princes of Orange, and the count of Harcourt : nor was this age less famous for ministers of state. Chancellor Oxenstiern *, the count duke Olivarez, and the cardinal duke de Richelieu, had drawn the attention of all Europe upon them, especially the latter. There never was an age which had not some famous statesmen and soldiers : politics and arms seem unhappily to be the two professions most natural to man, who must always be either negotiating or fighting. The most fortunate is accounted the greatest ; and the public frequently attributes to merit what is only the effect of an happy success.

War was then carried on differently from what it afterwards was in the time of Lewis XIV. There were not such numerous armies : no general since the siege of Metz by Charles V. had been at the head of fifty thousand men. They did not make use of so many cannon in the besieging and defending of places as at present. The art of fortification itself was then in its infancy. Spears and short guns were then in use, as well as the sword, which is now entirely laid aside. One of the old laws of na-

* Axel Oxenstiern was great chancellor of Sweden, and prime minister to Gustavus Adolphus, after whose death he conducted the affairs of the Swedes and their allies in Germany, under the name of Director-General.

tions was still in force, namely, that of declaring war by a herald. Lewis XIII. was the last who observed this custom: he sent an herald at arms to Brussels, to declare war against Spain, in the year 1635.

Nothing was more common at that time than to see armies commanded by priests: the cardinal Infant, the cardinals of Savoy, Richelieu, la Valette*, and Sourdis†, archbishop of Bourdeaux, had put on the cuirass, and waged war in person. A bishop of Mendes had been frequently intendant of the army. The popes sometimes threatened these military prelates with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being incensed against France, sent word to cardinal la Valette, that he would strip him of the purple, if he did not lay down the sword; but when the pontiff came afterwards to be reconciled to France, he loaded them with benedictions.

Ambassadors, who are equally the ministers of peace with churchmen, made no difficulty of serving in the armies of the allied powers, to whom they were sent. Charnacé, who was envoy from the court of France, to Holland, commanded a regiment there in 1637; and

* Louis de Nogaret, cardinal de la Valette, was third son to the duke d'Epemon. While archbishop of Tholouse, pope Paul V. raised him to the rank of a cardinal, in the year 1621. He was also commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, lieutenant general of the king's armies, and governor of Anjou. He owed all his promotions to the favour of cardinal de Richelieu, to whose interest he was entirely devoted.

† It was not Francis d'Escoubleau, cardinal de Sourdis, but his brother Henry, his coadjutor and afterwards successor in the archbishopric of Bourdeaux, who acted in a military capacity, as being commander of the king's orders.

sometimes afterwards, even the ambassador d'Estrade was a colonel in the Dutch service.

France had not in all above eighty thousand effective men on foot. Its marine, which had for some centuries fallen to decay, and had afterwards been a little restored by cardinal de Richelieu, was ruined under Mazarin. Lewis XIII. had not more than forty-five millions of real ordinary revenue; but money was then at twenty-six livres the mark, consequently these forty-five millions amounted to near eighty-five millions of the present currency, when the arbitrary value of the silver mark is carried to forty-nine livres and an half; an exorbitant numerical value, and which justice and the interest of the public forbid ever to be increased.

Trade, which is so universal at present, was then only in a very few hands: the police of the kingdom was entirely neglected, a certain sign of a bad administration. Cardinal de Richelieu, wholly taken up with his own greatness, which was linked with that of the state, had begun to render France formidable without doors, but had not been able to it make flourishing within. The roads were neither kept in repair nor properly guarded; they were infected by troops of robbers. The streets of Paris, which were narrow, badly paved, and covered with disagreeable filth, swarmed with thieves. It is proved by the registers of parliament, that the city watch was at that time reduced to forty-five men, badly payed, and who frequently did no duty at all.

Ever since the death of Francis I. France had been continually rent by civil wars, or disturbed by factions. The people never wore the yoke

in a voluntary or peaceable manner. The nobles were trained up from their youth in conspiracies ; it was the court-art, the same as that of pleasing the sovereign has since been.

This spirit of discord and faction spread itself from the court into the smallest towns, and took possession of all public societies in the kingdom ; every thing was disputed, because there was no general rule ; the very parishes in Paris used to come to blows with each other ; and processions have fought together about the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame were frequently seen engaged with those of the Holy Chapel ; the parliament and the chamber of accounts battled for the upper hand in the church of Notre Dame, the very day that Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

Almost all the public corporations of the kingdom were in arms, and almost every individual was inflamed with the fury of duelling. This Gothic barbarism, which was formerly authorized by kings themselves, and was become the distinguishing character of the nation, contributed as much as the foreign and domestic wars to depopulate the country. It is not saying too much to aver, that in the course of twenty years, of which ten had been troubled by war, there died more French gentlemen by the hands of Frenchmen than by those of the enemy.

We shall not here take any notice of the manner in which the arts and sciences were cultivated : this part of the history of our manners will be found in its proper place. We shall only remark, that the French nation was
plunged

plunged in ignorance, without excepting even those who look upon themselves as removed above the common people.

Astrologers were much consulted, and greatly confided in. All the memoirs of this age, to begin with the history of the president de Thou, are full of predictions: even the grave and rigid duke of Sully himself, very seriously relates those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the most infallible mark of ignorance, prevailed so much at that time, that care was taken to keep an astrologer concealed in queen Anne of Austria's chamber, while she was in labour of Lewis the XIV.

It is hardly credible, though we find it related by the abbot Vittorio Siri, a cotemporary writer of great authority, that Lewis XIII. had the surname of Just given him from his childhood, because he was born under the sign Libra, or the ballance.

The same weakness which first brought this absurd chimera of judicial astrology into vogue, occasioned a belief in fascinations and witchcrafts; it was even made a point of religion, and nothing was to be seen but priests driving out devils from those who were said to be possessed. The courts of justice, composed of magistrates who ought to have more understanding than the vulgar, were employed in trying witches and forcerers. The death of the famous curate of Loudoun, Urban Grandier, will ever be a stain upon the memory of cardinal de Richelieu. This man was condemned to the stake for a magician, by commissioners appointed by the council of state. We cannot without indignation reflect, that the minister and the judges should

should have been so weak as to believe in the devils of Loudun *, and so barbarous as to condemn an innocent man to the flames ; and it will be remembered with astonishment by the latest posterity, that the wife of the marechal d'Ancre was burnt in the Place de Grève for a witch.

There is still to be seen, in a copy of some registers of the Chatelet, a trial which was begun in the year 1601, on account of a horse, whom his master had with great pains taught to perform tricks, as we now see some every day at our fairs. They wanted to burn both master and horse.

We have already said enough to give an idea of the manners and spirit of the age which preceded that of Lewis XIV.

This want of understanding in all orders of the state, did not a little encourage, even among the best people, certain superstitious practices,

* The real crime for which Grandier suffered, was his being believed the author of a lampoon, intituled, *La Cour-donniere de Loudun*, in which the birth and character of cardinal Richelieu were severely satirised. Grandier being accused by the Capuchins, of exercising the black art upon some Ursuline nuns, supposed to be possessed at Loudun, he was brought to his trial, and found guilty on the evidence of the following devils, Ashtaroth, of the order of the seraphim, and chief of the possessing demons ; Eafas, Celsus, Acaos, Cedon, and Asmodeus, of the order of the thrones ; Alex, Zabulon, Nephtholim, Cham, Uriel, and Acbas, of the order of principalities ; in other words, by the Ursulines, supposed to be possessed by these devils. He was condemned to be burned alive, and suffered with great courage and composure : when he was brought to the stake, a drone-fly happening to buz about his head, a monk who was present, cried aloud, that the devil was come in the shape of a drone to fetch away the soul of Grandier.

which were a disgrace to religion. The protestants, confounding the reasonable worship of the catholics with the abuses introduced into that worship, were more firmly fixed in their hatred to our church; to our popular superstitions, frequently intermingled with debaucheries, they opposed a brutal sternness and a ferocity of manners, the character of almost all reformers. Thus was France rent and debased by a party spirit, while that social disposition, for which the nation is now so deservedly famous and esteemed, was unknown amongst us. There were then no houses where men of merit might meet together to communicate their lights to each other, no academies, no theatres. In a word, our manners, laws, arts, society, religion, peace, and war, had no resemblance with what was afterwards seen in that age known by the name of THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.



C H A P. CLXVII.

MINORITY of LEWIS XIV.

The Victories of the FRENCH under the great CONDE, then Duke of ENGHIEN.

CARDINAL de Richelieu and Lewis XIII. were lately dead, the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They had left the French, who were at that time a restless people, in a fixed aversion to the very name of a ministry, and with very little respect
to

to the throne. Lewis XIII. had, by his will, settled a council of regency. This monarch, so ill obeyed when he was ^{Aug. 18,} living, flattered himself with meeting ¹⁶⁴³ with more observance after his death; but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was to procure an arrêt of the parliament of Paris for setting aside her husband's will. This body, which had been so long in opposition to the court, and which under Lewis had with difficulty preserved its right of making remonstrances, now annulled its monarch's will with the same ease as it would have determined the cause of a private citizen. Anne of Austria applied to this assembly to have the regency unlimited, because that Mary of Medicis had made use of the same court after the death of Henry IV. and Mary of Medicis had set this example, because any other method would have been tedious and uncertain; because the parliament being surrounded by her guards, could not dispute her will; and that an arret issued by the parliament and the peers, seemed to confer an incontestable right*.

The custom which always confers the regency on the king's mother, appeared to the French at that time as fundamental a law as that by which women are excluded from the crown. The parliament of Paris having twice settled this point, that is to say, having by its own authority decreed the regency vested in

* Riencourt, in his history of Lewis XIV. says, that Lewis XIII's will was registered in parliament. What deceived this writer is, that Lewis XIII. had actually declared the queen regent, which was confirmed, but that part of his will by which he had limited her authority, was set aside.

the queen-mothers, seemed in fact to have conferred the regency; it considered itself, not without some shew of reason, as the guardian of our kings, and every counsellor thought he had a part in the sovereign authority. By the same arret, Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to the late king, had the vain title given him of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, under the queen-regent, who was absolute.

Anne of Austria was, upon her first assuming the reins of government, obliged to continue the war against her brother Philip IV. king of Spain, whom she affectionately loved. It is difficult to assign any positive reason for the French having undertaken this war; they claimed nothing from Spain, not even Navarre, which ought to have been the patrimony of the kings of France. They had continued at war ever since the year 1634, because cardinal de Richelieu would have it so, and it is to be supposed that he was desirous of it, in order to make himself necessary. He had engaged in a league against the emperor with the Swedes, and duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, one of those generals whom the Italians called Condottieri, who sold the service of their troops. He likewise attacked the Austrian Spanish branch, in those ten provinces which we now call by the general name of Flanders; and he had divided this country with the Dutch, at that time our allies, tho' it was not yet conquered.

The stress of the war lay on the side of Flanders: the Spanish troops marched from the frontiers of Hainault to the number of twenty-six thousand men, under the command of an old experienced general, whose name was Don Fran-

Francisco de Mello, fell upon and ravaged the borders of Champagne, and attacked Rocroi, and thought soon to advance to the very gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. The death of Lewis XIII. and the weakness of a minority raised their hopes, and when they saw only an inconsiderable army opposed to them, and that commanded by a young man of only twenty-one years of age, these hopes were changed into full security.

This unexperienced young man, whom they so much despised, was Lewis of Bourbon, then duke of Enguien, known since by the name of the great Condé. Most great generals have become so by degrees, but this prince was born a general. The art of war seemed in him a natural instinct. There was only him and the Swede Torstenson, who at twenty years of age were possessed of this talent which can dispense with experience.

The duke of Enguien had received, together with the news of Lewis XIII's death, orders not to risk a battle; the marechal de l'Hopital, who had been given him as a counsellor and guide, backed these timid orders by his own caution; but the prince heeded neither the court nor the marechal; he entrusted his design to no one but the field-marshal Gassion, a person worthy of being consulted by him. They together obliged the marechal to give his assent to the battle.

It is observed of the prince, that May. 19. having made all the necessary dispositions the evening before the battle, he slept so soundly that night, that his people were obliged to wake him to begin the engagement. The

same thing is related of Alexander. It is very natural for a young man, exhausted with the fatigue which must attend the preparations for such a day, to fall into a sound sleep; it is likewise as natural that a genius formed for war, and acting without confusion, should leave the body sufficiently calm to enjoy sleep. The prince gained the battle himself, by a quickness of sight, which at once made him discern the danger, and the means to prevent it; and by a cool activity, which carried him to every place at the time his presence was wanted. He himself, at the head of the cavalry, fell upon the Spanish infantry, till then deemed invincible, and which were as strong and compact as the ancient phalanx, so greatly esteemed, and could open much quicker than the phalanx could, in order to give room for the discharge of eighteen pieces of cannon, which were placed in its center. The prince surrounded this body, and charged it three times successively; at length he broke it, and no sooner was he assured of the victory, than he gave orders to put a stop to the slaughter. The Spanish officers threw themselves at his feet, for protection against the fury of the victorious soldiery. The duke of Enguien was as assiduous in securing them as he had been in conquering them.

The old count de Fuentes, who commanded this body of foot, was slain on the field of battle; which when Condé heard, he said, "He should have wished to have died like him, if he had not conquered."

The high esteem which the Spanish arms had till then been held in by all Europe was now lost, and those of the French began to gain

gain repute, who had not for a century past gained so great a victory; for the bloody day of Marignan *, which was rather disputed than gained by Francis I. over the Swifs, was as much owing to the black bands of Germany as to the French.

The battles of Pavia and of St. Quintin were again two fatal æras to the reputation of France. Henry IV. had the misfortune to gain great advantages only over his own nation. In the reign of Lewis XIII. the marshal de Guebriant had had some small successes, but they were always counterbalanced by losses. Gustavus Adolphus was the only one at that time who fought those great battles which shake a state, and remain for ever in the memory of posterity.

This battle of Rocroi became the æra of the French glory, and of the great Condé's. This general knew how to conquer, and to make the most of conquest. The letters he wrote made the court resolve on the siege of Theonville, which cardinal Richelieu had not dared to hazard; and when his couriers returned, they found every thing ready for the expedition.

The prince of Condé marched thro' Aug. 8.
the enemy's country, eluded the vigi-
lance of general Beck, and at length 1643.
took Thionville; from thence he hastened and
laid siege to Cirq, which he likewise reduced.
He obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine,
followed them over that river, and came upon
the frontiers, where he repaired all the defeats
and losses which the French had sustained after

* See Vol. IV. Chap. CI.

the death of the marshal de Guebriant. He found the town of Fribourg in the enemy's possession, and general Merci under its walls, with an army superior to his own. Condé had under him two marechals of France, Grammont and Turenne, the latter of whom had been made marechal about a month, in consideration of the good services he had done against the Spaniards in Piedmont, where he laid the foundation of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired. The prince with these two generals attacked Merci's camp, which was entrenched

upon two eminences. The fight
 Aug. 31, 1644. was renewed three times in three several days. It is said that the duke

of Enguien threw his commander's staff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to retake it sword in hand, at the head of the regiment of Conti. There may sometimes be a necessity for such bold actions, in leading on troops to attacks of so dangerous a nature. This battle of Fribourg, rather bloody than decisive, was the second victory the prince had gained. Merci decamped four days afterwards; and the surrender of Philipsbourg and Mentz were at once the proofs and fruits of this victory.

The duke of Enguien then returned to Paris, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and demanded of the court the rewards due to his services; he left the command of his army to marechal Turenne; but

April, 1645. this general, notwithstanding his great military skill, was defeated at Mariendal. Upon this the prince flies back to his army, resumes the command, and to the glory

glory of commanding the great Turenne, adds that of repairing his defeat. He attacks Merci in the plains of Nordlingen, and gains a complete victory. Aug. 3,
1645.

Marshal Grammont was taken; but general Glen, the second in command to Merci, was likewise made prisoner, and Merci himself was among the number of the slain. This general, who was esteemed one of the greatest captains of his age, was interred on the field of battle with this inscription on his tomb, *Sta, viator, heroem calcas*; Stop, traveller, thou treadest on a hero.

The name of the duke of Enguien now eclipsed all others. He afterwards laid siege to Dunkirk, in sight of the Oct. 7th.
1646 Spanish army, and was the first who added that place to the French territories.

These many successes and services, which were rather looked upon with a suspicious eye by the court, than properly rewarded, made him as much feared by the ministry as by his enemies. He was therefore recalled from his theatre of conquest and glory, and sent into Catalonia with a handful of bad troops, as badly paid; then he besieged the town of Lerida, but was obliged to quit the siege. He is accused by several writers of a foolish bravado, in having opened the trenches to the sound of musical instruments. They did not know that this was the custom in Spain.

It was not long however before the ticklish situation of affairs obliged the court to recall him back to Flanders. Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, was then besieging the town of Lens in Artois. Condé, as soon as he was re-

stored to those troops who had always conquered under his command, led them directly against the archduke Leopold. This was the third time he had given battle with the advantage of numbers against him. He addressed his soldiers in this short speech; "My Friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen." This battle of Lens put the finishing stroke to his reputation.

Aug. 20th, 1648. He succoured in person marshal Grammont, who was giving way with the left wing, and took general Beck prisoner. The archduke with great difficulty saved himself, with the count of Fruenfaldagna. The enemy's army, which was composed of the Imperialists and Spaniards, was totally routed. They lost upwards of an hundred stands of colours and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, which at that time was a considerable number; there were five thousand men taken prisoners, and three thousand slain; the rest deserted, and the archduke was left without an army.

While the prince of Condé * was thus numbering the years of his youth by victories, and that the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. likewise maintained the reputation of a son of Henry IV. and that of his country, by the taking of Gravelines, Courtray, and Mardyke; the viscount of Turenne reduced Landau, drove the Spaniards out of Triers, and restored the elector.

* His father died in 1646.

He gained the battles of Lavingen and Sommerhausen with the Swedes, and obliged the duke of Bavaria to fly November, 1647 out of his dominions, when almost eighty years old. The earl of Harcourt took Balaguier, and beat the Spaniards. 1645 They lost Portolongone in Italy, and their fleet was defeated on that coast by 1646 twenty ships of war, and as many galleys, which was the whole of the French navy, then newly restored by cardinal de Richelieu.

This was not all; the French army took Lorraine from duke Charles IV. a warlike, but fickle, imprudent, and unfortunate prince, who at the same time saw his dominions seized on by the French, and himself a prisoner to the Spaniards. The Austrian power was hard pressed by the allies of France in the North and South. The duke of Albuquerque, the Portugese general, gained the battle of May; Bajadex * against the Spaniards. Torstenfon defeated the Imperialists near March, Tabor †, and gained a complete victory; and the prince of Orange, at 1645 the head of his Hollanders, penetrated as far as the province of Brabant in Flanders.

The Spanish king was beaten on all sides, and saw Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the French. Naples had lately revolted against him, and thrown itself 1647 into the hands of the duke de Guise, the last

* A fortified city of Spain, and a frontier place, towards Portugal.

† A small town of Bohemia, lying between Budweis and Prague.

prince of that branch of a house which had teemed with so many illustrious and dangerous men. This prince, who was deemed only a rash and bold adventurer, because he did not succeed, had however the glory of passing alone in a boat through the midst of the Spanish fleet, landing in Naples, and defending it without any other assistance than his own valour.

At the view of so many misfortunes pouring upon the house of Austria, and such a train of victories gained by the French, and seconded by the successes of their allies, one would imagine that Vienna and Madrid only waited the moment when they should be obliged to throw open their gates, and that the emperor and the king of Spain must shortly be almost destitute of dominions; nevertheless, five years of excessive good fortune, hardly chequered by one disappointment, produced but very few real advantages, cost an infinite deal of blood, and brought about no change; or if there was one to be apprehended, it was rather on the side of France, who was bordering upon its ruin, in the midst of so many apparent successes.

CHAP. CLXVIII.
THE CIVIL WAR.

QUEEN Anne of Austria, the absolute regent, had made cardinal Mazarine * master of the kingdom, and of herself. He had that power over her, which every artful man must have over a woman who is weak enough to be governed, and resolute enough to persist in the choice she has made of a favourite.

We read in some of the memoirs of those times, that the queen only made choice of Mazarine for her confidant, in consequence of the inability of Potier, bishop of Beauvais, whom she had at first chosen for her minister, and who is represented as a man of no capacity. This might possibly have been the case, and the queen might have made use of this man for some time as a cypher not to exasperate the nation by the choice of another cardinal, and he a foreigner; but we can never believe that Potier began his short administration by declaring to the Dutch,

* Julio Mazarine was born in the little town of Piscina, in the Abruzzo. He raised himself, by his political knowledge and address, to the notice of the court of Rome, by which he was employed in several negociations. After the peace of Querasque, in 1631, he was sent as nuncio extraordinary to France, where he insinuated himself into the good graces of cardinal de Richelieu, and gained the friendship of Lewis XIII. in consequence of whose nomination he was created cardinal in the year 1641. After the death of Richelieu, Lewis appointed him counsellor of state, and one of his executors: thus he naturally succeeded to the management of affairs during the minority of Lewis XIV.

“ That

‘ That they must become catholics, if they were desirous of continuing in alliance with France;’ he might as well have made the same proposal to the Swedes. We find this piece of absurdity related by almost all our historians, because they have read it in the memoirs of some of the courtiers and those concerned in the civil war; there are however but too many passages in these memoirs, either falsified by prejudice, or related on the authority of popular rumour. Puerilities should never be quoted, and absurdities can never be believed.

Mazarine exercised his power with moderation at the beginning. It is necessary to have lived a long time with a minister to be able to draw his character, to determine what degree of courage or weakness there was in his mind, or how far he was prudent or knavish: therefore, without pretending to guess at what Mazarine really was, we shall only say what he did. In the first days of his greatness he affected as much humility as Richelieu had displayed haughtiness. Instead of taking a guard for his person, and appearing in public with royal pomp, he had at first a very modest retinue, and substituted an air of affability, and even of softness, in all things where his predecessor had shewn an inflexible pride. The queen was desirous to make the court and the people fond of her person and authority, in which she succeeded. Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. and the prince of Condé supported her power, and had no emulation but that of serving the state.

It was found necessary to lay taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the empire; some were accordingly imposed, which

were

were in fact very moderate, compared with those which we have since paid, and very insufficient to the wants of the crown.

The parliament, who had the power of authenticating the edicts for these ¹⁶⁴⁷ taxes, strongly opposed that of the tariff, and gained the confidence of the people, by continually thwarting the schemes of the ministry.

In short, the creation of twelve new places of masters of requests, and the withholding of about eight thousand crowns from the salaries of the superior companies, caused an insurrection among all the people of the long robe, and with them of all Paris; and what at this time would hardly be of consequence enough to make a paragraph in a news paper, then stirred up a civil war

Broussel, counsellor-clerk of the upper chamber, a man of no capacity, and whose only merit was that of being the foremost to open all arguments against the court, having been put under arrest, the people expressed more concern than they had ever shewn at the death of a good king. The barricadoes of the league were now revived, the flame of sedition burst out in an instant, and raged so fiercely as hardly to be quenched, being industriously fed by the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal de Retz: this was the first bishop who had ever excited a civil war without a religious pretext. This extraordinary man has given us his own portrait in his memoirs, which are wrote with an air of greatness, an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality, which form a perfect image of his conduct. He was a man, who, in the midst of the most debauched course of life, and still
lan-

languishing with the consequences it produces, had the art to harangue the people with success, and make himself idolized by them : he breathed nothing but faction and conspiracy. At the age of twenty-three he had been at the head of a conspiracy, which was hatched against the life of cardinal de Richelieu ; he was the contriver of the barricadoes ; he always urged the parliament on to cabals, and the people to seditions. What is most extraordinary is, that the parliament, wholly guided by him, set up their standard against the court, even before they had the countenance or assistance of any prince.

This assembly had for a long time been looked upon in a different light by the court and the people. According to the declaration of all the ministers of state, and of the court itself, the parliament of Paris was a court of justice set apart for trying causes between the subjects : this prerogative it held purely from the will of our kings, and had no other pre-eminence over the other parliaments of the kingdom than that of seniority. It was a court of peers only because the court generally resided at Paris : it had no greater right to make remonstrances than the other bodies in the state, and this right was a matter of pure indulgence. It had succeeded those parliaments which heretofore represented the French nation, but it retained nothing more of those ancient assemblies than the bare name ; an incontestable proof of which is, that the general estates were actually substituted in the place of the national assemblies ; and the parliament of Paris no more resembled the ancient parliaments held by our
first

first kings, than a consul of Smyrna or Aleppo resembles a Roman consul.

This single mistake in the name served as a pretext to the ambitious pretensions of a body of men of the long robe, who all of them, by having purchased their seats, looked upon themselves as intitled to fill the places of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the lords of crown fiefs. This body has at all times abused the power which a chief tribunal, always existing in a capital, necessarily arrogates to itself. It had the boldness to issue an arret against Charles VII. and to banish him from his kingdom. It began a criminal process against Henry III. It always, to the utmost of its power, opposed its sovereigns; and in this minority of Lewis XIV. under the most mild of governments, and the most indulgent of queens, it attempted to raise a civil war against its prince, after the example of the English parliament, which at that time kept its king a prisoner, and condemned him to lose his head. Such was the manner of speaking, and the thoughts of the cabinet !

But the citizens of Paris, and all those connected with the long robe, looked upon the parliament of Paris as an august body, that dispensed justice with a laudable integrity ; that had the good of the state only at heart, which it cherished at the hazard of its own fortune ; that confined its ambition to the glory of curbing the aspiring designs of favourites ; that preserved an equal conduct between the prince and the people ; and the people without enquiring into the origin of its rights or authority, supposed it possessed of the most sacred privileges and indisputable authority ; and when they saw it maintaining

taining the public cause against ministers whom they hated, gave it the title of, "The father of the state;" and placed a very small difference between the right by which kings hold their crowns, and that which gives the parliament a power to lay a restriction upon the wills of kings.

It was impossible then to hit upon a medium between these two very opposite extremes, for in short there was no other fixed law but that of time and circumstances. Under a vigorous administration the parliament was nothing; under a weak king it was all-powerful; and that is very applicable that was said by Mr. de Guimené, when this body, in the reign of Lewis XIII. complained of the deputies of the noblesse for having taken precedence of it, "Gentlemen, you will have ample revenge in the minority."

We shall not repeat in this place all that has been written concerning these troubles, nor copy whole volumes to recall to observation the numerous circumstances which were then thought so important and dear, and that are now almost buried in oblivion; it is our business to speak of what characterises the spirit of the nation, and not dwell so much upon what relates to the civil wars in general, as to what particularly distinguishes that of the Fronde, as it was called.

Two powers, which were instituted wholly for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongst mankind, namely, an archbishop and a parliament, having begun these troubles, the people looked upon themselves as justified in the greatest extravagancies. The queen could no longer appear abroad without being insulted

in

in the grossest manner ; she was called by no other name than that of Dame Anne, or if any other title was added, it was generally an injurious one. The populace reproached her in the most virulent terms with her fondness for Mazarine ; and, what was yet more insufferable, her ears were filled in all places where she went with ballads and lampoons, the monuments of low ribaldry and malice, which seemed calculated to convey a lasting suspicion of her virtue.

She was now obliged to fly from Paris with her children, her minister, the duke of Orleans, and even the great Condé himself, and to retire to St. Germain, and reduced to pawn the crown-jewels for subsistence ; the king himself was frequently in want of necessaries, the pages of his bed-chamber were dismissed, because they could no longer be maintained. At that time even Lewis XIV.'s aunt, the daughter of Henry the Great, and consort to the king of England, who had taken refuge in Paris, after having been expelled her own kingdom, was then reduced to the utmost extremities of poverty ; and her daughter, who was afterwards married to the brother of Lewis XIV. lay in bed for want of cloaths to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blinded with their mad rage, paid not the least attention to the sufferings of so many royal personages.

The queen, with tears in her eyes, besought the great Condé to protect the young king. The conqueror of Rocroi, Fribourg, Lens, and Nordlingen, could not belie those great services. He found himself agreeably flattered with the honour of defending a court which had

had been ungrateful to his merits, against rebels who sought his assistance. The parliament then had the great Condé to encounter, and yet dared to carry on the war.

The prince of Conti, brother to the great Condé, who was as jealous of his elder brother as he was incapable of equalling him, the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, all animated with the same restless spirit as the coadjutor, all fond of novelties, full of the hopes of aggrandising themselves on the ruins of the state, and of making the blind motions of the parliament subservient to their own private interests, went in a body and offered their services to that prelate. The high chamber then proceeded to appoint generals for an army which was not yet raised. Every one taxed himself to raise troops. There were twenty counsellors possessed of new posts, which had been created by cardinal de Richelieu; their brethren, by a meanness of spirit of which every society is susceptible, seemed to wreak their vengeance against the memory of cardinal Richelieu upon them. They gave them a thousand mortifications, would hardly look upon them as members of the parliament, and obliged each of them to pay fifteen thousand livres towards the expence of the war, and to purchase the forbearance of those of their own body.

The high chancellor, the courts of inquests and requests, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, who had so loudly inveighed against a trifling and necessary tax, which did not exceed an hundred thousand crowns, now furnished a sum amounting nearly to ten millions of our present money, for the subversion of
their

their country. Twelve thousand men were raised by an arret of parliament; every house with a great gate furnished a man and an horse, from whence this body of horse got the name of "The Great-gate Cavalry." The coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was called the Regiment of Corinth, because he was titular archbishop of Corinth.

Had it not been for the names of the king of France, the great Condé, and the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini; no one knew for what he was in arms. The prince of Condé besieged five hundred thousand citizens with eight thousand soldiers. The Parisians came out into the field dressed in ribbons and plumes of feathers, and their evolutions were the sport of the military people; they took to their heels at the sight of two hundred men of the king's army. All this was made a subject of raillery; the regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a small party of the king's troops, this little repulse was called "The first of the Corinthians."

The twenty counsellors who had furnished fifteen thousand livres a piece, had no other distinction than that of being called the Twenty Fifteens.

The duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, and the instrument made use of in stirring them up to sedition, though a popular prince, had but a narrow understanding, and was a public object of raillery both with the court and those of his own party. He was never mentioned but by the name of the King of the Mob. The Parisian troops, after sallying
out

out of the city, and always coming back beaten, were received with peals of laughter. They repaired the repulses they met with by sonnets and epigrams; the taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of singing, laughing, and the most dissolute pleasures. The general licentiousness was carried to such an height, that one night some of the principal officers of the malcontents having met the holy sacrament, which was carrying through the streets to a sick person whom they suspected of being a Mazarinian, they drove the priest back again with the flat of their swords.

In short, the coadjutor coming to take his seat in parliament as archbishop of Paris, the handle of a poinard was seen sticking out of his pocket; upon which some one cried out "Behold our archbishop's breviary *."

In the midst of all these troubles, the nobility assembled in a body at the convent of the Augustine friars, appointed sundies, and held public sessions. It might have been supposed this was to new-model the government, and convoke the general estates, but it was only to settle a claim to the tabouret †, which the queen had granted to madam de Pons. Perhaps there never was a stronger proof of that levity of mind of which the French were then accused.

The civil discords under which England groaned at the very same time, may serve to shew the characters of the two nations. There

* A Romish prayer-book.

† The tabouret is a stool appointed for ladies of the first distinction at the French court to sit upon, in presence of the queen, at her levees.

was a gloomy desperation and a sort of rational rage in the civil wars of the English. Every thing was decided by the sword; scaffolds were erected for the vanquished; and their king, who was taken prisoner in a battle, was brought as a culprit before a court of justice, examined concerning the abuse he was said to have made of his power, condemned to lose his head, and executed in the sight of all his subjects with as much regularity and with the same forms of justice, as if it had been a private man condemned for a crime; while, during the course of these dreadful troubles, the city of London was not even for a moment affected with the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, ran headlong into seditions through caprice, and laughing all the time. Women were at the head of factions, and love made and broke cabals. The dutchess of Longueville prevailed on Turenne, lately made a marshal of 1649 France, to persuade the army which he commanded for the king to revolt. Turenne failed of success, and quitted like a fugitive the army of which he was general, to please a woman who made a jest of his passion. From general to the king of France, he descended to be the lieutenant of Don Estevan de Gamara, with whom he was defeated at Retel by the king's troops. Every one knows this billet of the marshal d'Hoquincourt to the dutchess of Montbazou: "Peronne belongs to the fairest of the fair;" and the following verses, which the duke of Rochefoucault wrote on the dutchess of Longueville, when he received a wound by a musket, at the battle of St. Anthony, by which he was for some time deprived of sight:

*Pour meriter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux
yeux,*

*J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, & l'aurais faite
aux Dieux.*

The war ended, and was renewed again at several different times; and there was not a person who had not frequently changed sides. The prince of Condé, having brought the court back in triumph to Paris, indulged himself in the satisfaction of despising those whom he had defended; and thinking the rewards bestowed on him unequal to his reputation, and the services he had done, he was the first to turn Mazarine into ridicule, to brave the queen, and insult a government which he disdained. He is said to have wrote in this stile to the cardinal, To the most illustrious scoundrel; and that, taking his leave of him one day, he said, Farewell, Mars. He encouraged the marquis of Jarfai to make a declaration of love to the queen, and pretended to be angry that she was affronted with it. He joined with his brother the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, who quitted the party of the malcontents. The party formed by the duke of Beaufort at the beginning of the regency had been nicknamed the Self-sufficients; this of the prince of Condé's was called the faction of the Petits-Maitres, because they wanted to be masters of the state. There are no other traces left of all these terms, except the name of Petit-Maitre, which is now a-days applied to young men of agreeable persons, but badly educated, and that of Frondeurs, or Grumblers, which is given to those who censure the government.

The

The coadjutor, who had declared himself an implacable enemy to the administration, was privately reconciled to the court, in order to obtain a cardinal's hat, and sacrificed the prince of Condé to the minister's resentment. In a word, this prince, who had defended the state against its enemies, and the court against the rebels; Condé, at the summit of his glory, and who always acted more like the hero than the man of prudence, saw himself arrested, together with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville. He might have governed the state, if he would only have endeavoured to please; but he was contented with being admired. The people of Paris, who had made barricadoes for a counsellor-clerk, hardly a degree removed from a fool, made public rejoicings when the hero and defender of France was hurried away to the dungeon of Vincennes.

A year afterwards, the very men, who had sold the great Condé and the other princes, to the dastardly revenge of Mazarin, obliged the queen to set open the gates of their prisons, and drive her prime minister out of the kingdom. Condé now returned amidst the acclamations of that very people who had shewn such hatred to him, and by his presence occasioned new cabals and dissensions.

The kingdom remained for some years longer in this tumultuous situation. The government, always the dupe to weak and uncertain councils, seemed now on the point of ruin; but dissention, which always prevailed among the rebels, saved the court. The coadjutor, who was sometimes a friend, and at others an enemy to the prince of Condé, stirred up a

part of the parliament and people 'gainst him, and boldly undertook at the same time to serve the queen by opposing this prince, and to insult her by obliging her to banish cardinal Mazarin, who retired to Cologne. The queen, by a contradiction too common to weak administrations, was obliged at once to accept of his services, to put up with his insults, and to nominate to the purple this very man, who, when coadjutor, had been the author of the barricadoes, and had obliged the royal family to quit their capital and besiege it.



CHAP. CLXIX.

Continuation of the CIVIL WAR, till the End
of the REBELLION in 1654.

AT length Condé determined upon a war, which he ought to have begun in the time of the rebellion, if he was desirous of being master of the state, or never to have undertaken, if he meant to live as a subject. He quits Paris, arms the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou, and applies for succours against his own country to those Spaniards, of whom he had so lately been the most dreadful scourge.

Nothing can better shew the madness of these times, and the confused manner of proceeding, than what then happened to this prince. A courier was sent to him from Paris, with proposals for engaging him to return and lay down his arms. The courier by a mistake, instead of going to Angerville where the prince then was,

was, went to Augerville. The letter came too late: Condé declared, that if he had received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposals for peace; but since he was now at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth while to go back. Thus, by the mistake of a courier, and the mere capriciousness of this prince, France was once more plunged in a civil war.

And now cardinal Mazarin, who while an exile at the farther end of Cologne, had still continued to govern the court, returned back to France rather like a sovereign who returns to take possession of his dominions, than like a minister coming to resume his post; Dec. 1651 he was escorted by a small army of seven thousand men, raised wholly at his own expence; that is to say, with the government's money, which he had appropriated to his own use.

The king, in a declaration at this time, is made to say, that the cardinal actually raised those troops with his own money; which at once overturns the opinion of those writers who say that when he first left the kingdom he was very poor. He gave the command of his small army to the marshal d'Hoquincourt; all the officers wore green sashes, which was the colour of the cardinal's livery. Each party at that time had its particular sash. The king's was white, and the prince of Condé's yellow: it was surprising that cardinal Mazarin, who had all along affected so much humility and modesty, should have had the arrogance to make a whole army wear his livery, as if he had been of a different party from the king his master; but he could not resist this emotion of vanity. The

queen approved of it, and the king, who was then come of age, with his brother, went to meet him.

On the first news of his return, Gaston, duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. who had insisted upon his being banished, began to raise troops in Paris without well knowing how he was to employ them. The parliament renewed its arrets, proscribed Mazarin, and set a price upon his head. They were obliged to consult the registers for the price paid for the head of an enemy to the state, and they found that in the reign of Charles IX. the sum of fifty thousand crowns had been promised by arret to any person who should produce admiral Coligny alive or dead. It was therefore very seriously determined to act according to form, by setting the same price on the assassination of a cardinal and prime minister. No one however was tempted to gain the fifty thousand crowns offered by the proscription, which, after all, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, such an arret would have met with persons to put it in execution; but now it served only to afford new subject of raillery. Blot and Marigni, two witty writers, who mingled gaiety with these tumults and disorders, caused a paper to be fixed up in the public places of Paris, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty thousand livres divided into shares; so much to the person who should cut off the cardinal's nose, so much for an ear, so much for an eye, and so much for the person who would make him an eunuch. This raillery was the only effect produced by this proscription. The cardinal, on his side, made no use either of

poison or assassination against his enemies ; and notwithstanding the rancour and madness of so many factions, and their hatred, no very great crimes were committed on any side. The heads of parties were not inclined to cruelty, nor were the people very furious, for it was not a religious war.

The whimsical spirit which prevailed at that time, had taken such thorough possession of the body of the parliament of Paris, that having solemnly ordered an assassination which was laughed at, they issued an arret, by which a certain number of counsellors were ordered to repair to the frontiers, and take depositions against the army of cardinal Mazarin, that is to say, the king's army.

Two of these counsellors had the imprudence to take some peasants with them, and break down the bridges over which the cardinal was to pass : they were taken prisoners in the attempt by a body of the king's troops, but were released again, without any farther punishment than that of being laughed at by all parties.

At the very time that this body was running into these extremes against the king's minister, it declared the prince of Condé guilty of high treason, who had taken up arms solely to oppose this minister ; and by a strange reverse of judgment, which nothing but their former actions could render credible, they ordered the fresh troops which had been raised by Gaston, duke of Orleans, to march against Mazarin, and at the same time prohibited any sums to be taken out of the public funds to pay them.

Nothing else could be expected from a body of magistrates, who, thrown quite out of its proper sphere, ignorant of its own rights and real power, and as little acquainted with state affairs and war, meeting in a tumultuous manner, and passing decrees in hurry and confusion, took measures which it had not thought of the day before, and which it was afterwards astonished at itself.

The parliament of Bourdeaux, which was at that time in the prince of Condé's interest, observed a more uniform conduct, because, being at a greater distance from the court, it was not so much agitated by opposite factions.

But objects of greater importance now engrossed the attention of all France.

Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field against the king; and Turenne, having deserted those Spaniards with whom he had been defeated at Retel, had just made his peace with the court, and commanded the king's army. The finances were already too much drained to allow either of the two parties to keep great armies on foot; but small ones were sufficient to decide the fate of the kingdom. There are times when an army of one hundred thousand men is barely sufficient to take two towns; and there are others in which eight thousand men may subvert or establish a throne.

Lewis XIV. who was brought up in adversity, wandered with his mother, his brother, and cardinal Mazarin, from province to province, with not near so many troops to attend his person, as he afterwards had in time of peace for his ordinary guard; while an army of five or six thousand men, part sent from Spain,
and

and part raised by the prince of Condé, pursued him to the very heart of his kingdom.

The prince of Condé, in the mean time, made quick marches from Bourdeaux to Montauban, taking towns and increasing his numbers in every place.

All the hopes of the court were centered in marshal Turenne. The king's army was at Guienne, on the Loire, and the prince of Condé's a few leagues distant, under the command of the dukes of Nemours and Beaufort. The misunderstanding between these two generals was near proving fatal to the prince's party. The duke of Beaufort was unfit for the least command. The duke of Nemours past for a brave and amiable, rather than a skilful general. The army was ruined by them both together. The men, who knew that the great Condé was an hundred leagues distant from them, looked upon themselves as lost; when, in the middle of the night, a courier presented himself to the main guard, in the forest of Orleans: the centinels presently discovered this courier to be the prince himself, who had come post from Agen, through a thousand adventures, and always in disguise, to put himself at the head of his army.

His presence did a great deal, and this unforeseen arrival still more: he knew that men are elated with whatever is sudden and unexpected; he therefore took immediate advantage of the confidence and boldness with which his presence had inspired his troops. It was this prince's distinguishing talent in war to form the boldest resolutions in an instant, and to execute them with equal prudence and promptitude.

April 1652 The royal army was divided into two corps; Condé fell upon that which lay at Blenau, under the command of marshal d'Hoquincourt, which was broke almost as soon as attacked. Turenne could not receive advice of this. Cardinal Mazarin, struck with a panic, flew to Gien in the midst of the night, to awaken the king and acquaint him with this news. His little court was struck with consternation: it was proposed to save the king by flight, and convey him privately to Bourges. The victorious Condé advanced towards Gien, and the fear and desolation became universal. Turenne however quieted the apprehensions of the people by his steadiness, and saved the court by his dexterity. With the few troops he had left, he made such dexterous movements, and so well improved his ground and time, that he prevented Condé from prosecuting the advantage he had gained. It was difficult at that time to determine which of these two generals had acquired the most honour; Condé by the victory he had gained, or Turenne by having snatched the fruits of his victory from him. It is certain that in this battle of Blenau, which for a long time continued to be famous in France, there were not above four hundred men killed: nevertheless, the prince of Condé was on the point of making himself master of the whole royal family, and of getting his enemy, the cardinal, into his hands. There could not well be a smaller battle, greater concerns depending, or a more pressing danger.

Condé, who did not flatter himself with the notion of surprising Turenne as he had done Hoquincourt, made his army march to Paris,
and

and hastened to enter that city, and enjoy the glory he had acquired, in the favourable dispositions of a blinded people. The admiration that this last action, which was exaggerated in all its circumstances, had raised in all ranks of people, the general hatred to Mazarin, and the name and presence of the great Condé, seemed at first to make him absolute master of the capital: but in fact the minds of the people in general were divided, and each party was split into different factions, as is the case in all civil troubles. The coadjutor, now become cardinal de Retz, and who had in appearance been reconciled to a court that feared him, and whom he equally distrusted, was no longer master of the people, nor acted the principal part in these transactions. He governed the duke of Orleans, and opposed Condé. The parliament fluctuated between the court, the duke of Orleans, and the prince; but all sides joined in crying out against Mazarin: every one in private took care of his own concerns. The people were like a stormy ocean, whose waves were driven at hazard by many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried in procession through Paris to obtain the expulsion of the cardinal minister; and the populace did not in the least doubt that the saint would perform this miracle in the same manner as she grants rain.

Nothing was to be seen but negotiations between the heads of parties, deputations from the parliament, meetings of the chambers, seditions among the people, and soldiers all over the country. Guards were mounted even at the gates of convents. The prince had called

in the Spaniards to his assistance: Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and who had nothing left but an army of eight thousand men, which he sold every year to the Spanish king, advanced with this army towards Paris: but cardinal Mazarin offering him more money to return back, than he was to have from the prince of Condé for advancing, the duke soon withdrew out of France, after having laid the countries waste in his march, and carried off a handsome sum of money from both sides.

Condé then remained in Paris, where his power was every day growing weaker, and his army dwindling away, while Turenne conducted the king and his court towards the capital. The king, who was then fifteen years old, beheld from the heights of Charonne, the battle of St. Anthony, in which these two generals, with an handful of troops, performed such great things, as considerably increased the reputation of both, which already seemed incapable of addition.

The prince of Condé, with a few noblemen of his party, and a small number of soldiers, sustained and repelled the efforts of the king's army. The king himself, attended by cardinal Mazarin, beheld this fight from a neighbouring eminence. The duke of Orleans, uncertain which side to take, kept within his palace of Luxembourg, and cardinal de Retz remained in his archbishopric. The parliament waited the issue of the battle to enact new decrees. The people, who at that time were equally afraid of the king's troops and the prince's, had
shut

shut the city gates, and would not suffer any one to come in or go out, while the most noble blood of the kingdom was streaming in the suburbs. There it was that the duke of Rochefoucault, who was so famous for his courage and wit, received a blow over his eyes, which deprived him of his sight for some time. Nothing was to be seen but young noblemen killed or wounded, carrying to St. Anthony's gate, which was kept shut.

July
1652

At length mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, taking Condé's part, whom her father had not dared to assist, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldness to fire the cannon of the Bastile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired. Condé gained only glory; but mademoiselle ruined herself for ever with the king her cousin by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great desire she had to espouse a crowned head, observed upon this occasion that, "Those cannon had killed her husband."

Most of our historians amuse their readers only with accounts of the battles fought, and the prodigies of valour and politics displayed on these occasions; but whoever is acquainted with the shameful expedients which were put in practice, the wretchedness which was brought upon the people, and the meanness to which all sides were reduced, will look upon the glory of the heroes of these times with more pity than admiration; as we may judge from what we find related by Gourville, a man who was devoted to the prince of Condé. This writer acknowledges, that he himself, in order to procure money for the prince on a pressing occa-

sion, was obliged to rob a receiver's office; and that he went one day and seized a director of the posts in his own house, and obliged him to purchase his liberty with a sum of money; he relates all these outrages as common occurrences at that time.

After the bloody and indecisive battle of St. Anthony, the king could neither enter Paris, nor could the prince of Condé think of remaining there much longer. A commotion of the populace, and the deaths of several citizens, of which he was thought to be the author, had made him hateful in the eyes of the people. Nevertheless, he had still a party in the parliament. This body, who had then little to apprehend from the resentment of a wandering court, driven, as it were, from their capital, being pressed by the duke of Orleans and the prince's cabals, issued an arret declaring the former lieutenant-general of the kingdom, though the king was then of age. This was the same title which had been conferred on the duke of Mayenne in the time of the league. The prince of Condé was appointed generalissimo of the forces. The court, incensed at these proceedings, ordered the parliament to remove itself to Pontoise, which some few of the counsellors did; so that there were now two parliaments, who disputed each others authority, enacted contradictory decrees, and would by this means have fallen into universal contempt, had they not always agreed in demanding the cardinal's expulsion: so much was an hatred to that minister looked upon at that time as the essential duty of a Frenchman.

At

At that time all parties were alike weak, and the court was as much so as the rest. They all wanted men and money. Factions were daily encreasing: the battles which had been fought on both sides had produced only losses and vexations. The court found itself obliged once more to give up Mazarin, whom every one accused of being the cause of these troubles, while he was in fact only the pretence. Accordingly he quitted the kingdom a second time; and, as an additional disgrace, the king was obliged to issue a public declaration, by which he banished his minister while he commended his services and lamented his exile.

Charles I. of England had lately lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the beginning of his troubles, sacrificed the life of his friend and counsellor, the earl of Strafford, to his parliament's resentment. On the other hand, Lewis XIV. became the peaceable master of his kingdom, by agreeing to the banishment of Mazarin. Thus the same weakness had very different successes. The king of England, by giving up his favourite, emboldened a people who delighted in war, and had a hatred to all kings: and Lewis XIV. (or rather the queen-mother) by banishing the cardinal, took away all pretence for a revolt from a people who were grown weary of war, and had an affection for the royal character.

No sooner was the cardinal departed on his way to Bouillon, the place fixed for his new retreat, than the citizens of Paris, of their own accord, sent deputies to the king to beseech him to return to his capital, which he accordingly did; and every thing appeared so peaceable, that

it

it would have been difficult to suppose that a few days before all had been in confusion. Gaston of Orleans, ever unfortunate in his undertakings for want of spirit to carry them through, was banished to Blois, where he passed the rest of his days in repentance; and he was the second of the great Henry's sons who died without glory. Cardinal de Retz, who was perhaps as imprudent as he was bold and aspiring, was arrested in the Louvre, and after being carried from prison to prison, he for a long time led a wandering life, which at length ended in a retirement, where he acquired virtues which his high spirit had made him a stranger to, amidst the tumults of his fortune.

Some counsellors of the parliament, who had most abused their power, payed the forfeit of their faults by banishment; the rest were restricted within the proper limits of the magisterial function; and some were encouraged to do their duty by a yearly gratification of five hundred crowns, which was payed them privately by Fouquet, procuror-general, and comptroller of the finances.

In the mean time the prince of Condé, abandoned in France by almost all his partizans, and but weakly seconded by the Spaniards, still carried on an unsuccessful war on the frontiers of Champagne. There were still some few factions subsisting in Bourdeaux, but they were soon quelled.

The calm which the kingdom now enjoyed was owing to the banishment of cardinal Mazarin. Yet scarcely was he expelled by the general cry of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king,

king, and, to his infinite surprize, entered Paris once more in full power, and without the least disturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a master. A public entertainment was made for him at the town-house, amidst the acclamations of the citizens: he distributed money among the populace on this occasion; but amidst all the satisfaction he received in this happy change, he is said to have shewn a contempt for our levity and inconstancy. The parliament, who had before set a price upon his head as a public robber, now sent deputies to compliment him; and this very parliament, a short time afterwards, passed sentence of death on the prince of Condé for contumacy; a change common in such times, and which was the more base, as by this decree they condemned the very man in whose crimes they had been so long partakers.

The cardinal likewise, who urged this condemnation of the great Condé, was soon afterwards seen to give one of his nieces in marriage to the prince of Conti, Condé's brother, a proof that this minister's power would soon become boundless.

CHAP. CLXX.

Condition of FRANCE, till the Death of
Cardinal MAZARIN, 1661.

WHILE the state was thus torn in pieces within, it had likewise been attacked and weakened from without. All the fruits of the victories of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen, were lost, the important fortress of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who had likewise driven the French out of Barcelona, and retaken Casal in Italy. Yet, notwithstanding the tumults of the civil broils, and the weight of a foreign war, Mazarin had been fortunate enough to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia, by which the emperor and the empire sold the sovereignty of Alsace to the king and the crown of France, for three millions of livres, (about six millions of our present money,) to be paid to the archduke by this treaty, which became the basis of all future treaties. A new electorate was created in favour of the house of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and even the privileges of every private gentleman, was settled at this peace. The emperor's power was restricted within very narrow limits, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the law-givers of Germany. The glory accruing from hence to France, was in part owing to the Swedish arms; Gustavus Adolphus had first begun to shake the empire. His generals had also pushed their conquests pretty far, under the government of his daughter Christina. Her
general

general Wrangel was ready to enter into Austria, count Koningsmark was master of one half of the city of Prague, and was laying siege to the other half, when this peace was concluded : and to overwhelm the emperor in this manner, it cost France only a million a year in subsidies to the Swedes.

And indeed the Swedes gained more advantages from this treaty than the French. They had Pomerania, several fortified places, and a considerable sum of money. They obliged the emperor to deliver into the hands of the Lutherans certain benefices which belonged to the Roman Catholics. The court of Rome set up the cry of impiety, and loudly declared that the cause of God and religion was betrayed. The Protestants boasted that they had sanctified the work of peace by stripping the Papists. Every one speaks as interest dictates.

The Spanish court did not accede to this peace, and with good reason ; for seeing France overwhelmed with its civil wars, the Spanish ministry was in hopes of profiting by our disensions. The German troops, who were now disbanded, served as a fresh reinforcement to the Spaniards. The emperor, after the peace of Munster, sent thirty thousand men into Flanders, in the space of four years. This was a manifest violation of treaties ; but they are seldom executed in any other manner.

The ministers of the court of Madrid had the address in this treaty of Westphalia to make a separate peace with the Dutch. The Spanish monarchy, in short, thought itself happy to have no longer for enemies, and to acknowledge as sovereigns, those whom they had so long treated

CHAP. CLXX.

Condition of FRANCE, till the Death of
Cardinal MAZARIN, 1661.

WHILE the state was thus torn in pieces within, it had likewise been attacked and weakened from without. All the fruits of the victories of Rocroi, Lens, and Nordlingen, were lost, the important fortress of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards, who had likewise driven the French out of Barcelona, and retaken Casal in Italy. Yet, notwithstanding the tumults of the civil broils, and the weight of a foreign war, Mazarin had been fortunate enough to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia, by which the emperor and the empire sold the sovereignty of Alsace to the king and the crown of France, for three millions of livres, (about six millions of our present money,) to be paid to the archduke by this treaty, which became the basis of all future treaties. A new electorate was created in favour of the house of Bavaria. The rights of all the princes and cities of the empire, and even the privileges of every private gentleman, was settled at this peace. The emperor's power was restricted within very narrow limits, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the law-givers of Germany. The glory accruing from hence to France, was in part owing to the Swedish arms; Gustavus Adolphus had first begun to shake the empire. His generals had also pushed their conquests pretty far, under the government of his daughter Christina. Her
general

general Wrangel was ready to enter into Austria, count Koningsmark was master of one half of the city of Prague, and was laying siege to the other half, when this peace was concluded : and to overwhelm the emperor in this manner, it cost France only a million a year in subsidies to the Swedes.

And indeed the Swedes gained more advantages from this treaty than the French. They had Pomerania, several fortified places, and a considerable sum of money. They obliged the emperor to deliver into the hands of the Lutherans certain benefices which belonged to the Roman Catholics. The court of Rome set up the cry of impiety, and loudly declared that the cause of God and religion was betrayed. The Protestants boasted that they had sanctified the work of peace by stripping the Papists. Every one speaks as interest dictates.

The Spanish court did not accede to this peace, and with good reason ; for seeing France overwhelmed with its civil wars, the Spanish ministry was in hopes of profiting by our dissensions. The German troops, who were now disbanded, served as a fresh reinforcement to the Spaniards. The emperor, after the peace of Munster, sent thirty thousand men into Flanders, in the space of four years. This was a manifest violation of treaties ; but they are seldom executed in any other manner.

The ministers of the court of Madrid had the address in this treaty of Westphalia to make a separate peace with the Dutch. The Spanish monarchy, in short, thought itself happy to have no longer for enemies, and to acknowledge as sovereigns, those whom they had so long treated

as rebels, unworthy of pardon. These republicans encreased their wealth, and secured their tranquillity and greatness, by thus treating with Spain without breaking with France.

1653 They were so powerful, that in a war which they had some time afterwards with England, they sent an hundred ships of the line to sea ; and victory long remained doubtful between Blake the English admiral, and Tromp who commanded the Dutch fleet, who who were both of them at sea what Condé and Turenne were on shore. France had not at that time ten ships of fifty guns fit to send to sea ; and her navy was every day falling more and more into decay.

Lewis XIV. then saw himself in 1653 absolute master of the kingdom, which was still affected with the shocks it had received ; full of disorder in every branch of the administration, but abounding in resources, without any ally, except the duke of Savoy, to assist it in carrying on an offensive war, and having no foreign enemies but Spain, which was then in a worse condition than France itself. All the French who had been concerned in the civil war were subjected, except the prince of Condé and some few of his partizans, of which one or two remained faithful to him thro' friendship and gratitude, as the counts de Coligni and Bouteville ; and some others, because the court would not buy their services at an exorbitant price.

Condé, now made general of the Spanish forces, could not recruit a body which he himself had weakened by the destruction of its infantry, in the battles of Rocroi and Lens. He fought

fought with new troops, of which he was not master, against the veteran regiments of the French, who had learnt to conquer under him, and were now commanded by Turenne.

It was the fortune of Condé and Turenne to be always conquerors when they fought together at the head of the French, and to be beaten when they commanded the Spaniards. Turenne had with great difficulty saved the shattered remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Retel, where, from being general to the king of France, he became lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamarra.

The prince of Condé met with the same fate before Arras: he and the archduke were besieging that town; Turenne came and besieged them in their camp, forced their lines, and the archduke's troops were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained the attack of all Turenne's army; and, while the archduke was flying, he beat marshal Hoquincourt, repulsed marshal de la Ferté, and covered the retreat of the defeated Spaniards. Upon which the Spanish king wrote to him in these terms: "I have heard that all was lost, and that you have saved all."

It is difficult to say by what battles are lost or won; but it is certain that Condé was one of the greatest military geniuses that had ever appeared, and that the archduke and his council refused to do any thing that day which Condé had proposed.

Though the raising the siege of Arras, the forcing the enemy's lines, and putting the archduke to flight, reflected the highest glory on

Tu-

Turenne, it was observed, that in the letter * written in the king's name to the parliament upon this victory, the whole success of the campaign was attributed to cardinal Mazarin, without the least mention made of Turenne's name. The cardinal was actually within a few leagues of Arras with the king. He had even gone into the camp at the siege of Stenai, a town which Turenne had taken before he relieved Arras. Several councils of war had been held in the cardinal's presence: on this he founded his pretension to the honour of these events; and by this piece of vanity he drew a ridicule upon himself, which not all the authority of prime minister could efface.

The king was not present at the battle of Arras, though he might have been so; he had been in the trenches at the siege of Stenai; but the cardinal would not suffer him any more to hazard a person on which the tranquillity of the state, and the power of the minister, seemed alike to depend.

This war, which was but weakly supported, was carried on in their masters names, on one side by Mazarin, who was absolute master of France, and its young monarch; and on the other by don Lewis de Haro, who governed the Spanish kingdom under Philip IV. The name of Lewis XIV. was not then known to the world, and the king of Spain had never been spoken of. There was no crowned head at that time in Europe who enjoyed any share of personal reputation. Queen Christina of Sweden was the only one who governed alone,

* Dated at Vincennes, Sept. 11, 1654.

and supported the dignity of the throne, which was abandoned, disgraced, or unknown in other kingdoms.

Charles II. king of England, then a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, had brought thither his misfortunes and his hopes; a private subject had subdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, that usurper so worthy of reigning, had prudently taken the title of Protector, and not that of King, as he knew that the English were acquainted with the extent of the royal prerogative, but did not so well know the limits of a protector's authority.

He strengthened his power by knowing when to restrain it: he made no attempt upon the rights of the people, of which they were always jealous*; he never quartered soldiers upon the city of London, nor imposed any tax which might occasion murmurings; he did not offend the public eye with too much pomp; he did not indulge himself in any pleasures; nor did he heap up riches: he took care that justice should be observed with that stern impartiality, which knows no distinction between the great and small.

* Cromwell's power was not founded upon the opinion of the people, by whom in general he was detested; but upon the strength of a standing army, inured to war, and devoted to his interest. All the world knows how he was abhorred by the friends of the church, of the old constitution, and the royal family. He was hated by the presbyterians, whom he had shamefully expelled from the parliament, and excluded from all share of his favour; and by assuming the protectorship, he had incensed his former friends and instruments the independents, who, besides, were not numerous in the kingdom.

The brother of Pantaleon Sá, the Portuguese ambassador in England, thinking that he might act as he pleased with impunity, because the person of his brother was sacred, had committed an outrage upon some citizens of London, and afterwards caused some to be assassinated by his own people, in revenge for the opposition he had met with from the rest; for this he was condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, though he had it in his power to save him, suffered him to be executed, and the next day signed a treaty with the ambassador.

Never had the trade of England been in so free and so flourishing a condition, nor the state so rich. Its victorious fleets made its name respected in every sea, while Mazarin, wholly employed in governing and heaping up riches, suffered justice, trade, navigation, and even the revenue itself, to languish and decline in France. As much master in France as Cromwell was in England, after a civil war, he might have procured the same advantages for the country which he governed, as Cromwell had done for his; but Mazarin was a foreigner, and though of a less cruel disposition than Cromwell, wanted his greatness of soul.

All the nations of Europe, who had neglected an alliance with England during the reigns of James I. and Charles, solicited it under Cromwell. Queen Christina * herself, though she

* Christina queen of Sweden, was the only child of the great Gustavus Adolphus, whom she succeeded on the throne of Sweden in the year 1633, being then about five years of age; she was a woman of a masculine genius, well tinctured with learning, and a generous patron of the liberal arts.

she had expressed her detestation at the murder of Charles I. entered into an alliance with a tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro vied with each other, in exerting their politics to engage the protector in an alliance; and he had for some time the satisfaction to see himself courted by the two most powerful kingdoms in Christendom*.

The Spanish minister offered to assist him to take Calais; Mazarin proposed to him to besiege Dunkirk, and to put that place into his hands. Cromwell then had at his option the keys of France and Flanders. He was also strongly solicited by the great Condé; but he would not enter into a negotiation with a prince who had nothing to depend upon but his name, and who was without a party in France, and without power among the Spaniards.

The protector then determined in favour of France; but without making any particular treaty, or sharing conquests beforehand: he was desirous to render his usurpation illustri-

arts. In her disposition she was proud, vain, passionate, and capricious. Finding her government and conduct disagreeable to her subjects, she voluntarily abdicated the throne in favour of her kinsman Charles Gustavus, count-palatine of Deux-Ponts, renounced Lutheranism, embraced the Roman-catholic faith, and fixed her residence at Rome, in the midst of the literati, whom she always affected to cultivate. She was treated with great respect by the sovereign pontiffs, and, dying in the year 1689, was interred in the church of St. Peter.

* It was wretched policy in Cromwell to join France against the Spaniards; and to this step he is said to have been determined by a very singular regard he had for Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, who was the ally of France.

ous by great undertakings. He had formed the design of taking America from the Spaniards, but they had timely notice of his intention. His admirals however took the May, 1655 island of Jamaica from them, which is still in the possession of the English, and secures their trade in the new world. It was not till after the expedition to Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the French king; and then no mention was made of Dunkirk. The protector treated with the French king as a prince with his equal, and obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector. His secretary signed before the French plenipotentiary on the copy of the treaty which remained in England; but he treated as a real superior, when he obliged Nov. 8, 1644 the French king to compel Charles II. and his brother the duke of York, both grandsons to Henry IV. (and to whom France consequently owed an asylum) to quit his dominions.

While Mazarin was engaged in this treaty, Charles II. asked one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad condition of this prince's affairs, which had obliged him to take this step, was the cause of his meeting with a refusal; and the cardinal was even suspected of an intention to marry the very niece, whom he had refused to the king of England, to Cromwell's son. This however is certain, that when he afterwards found Charles's affairs take a more favourable turn, he was for setting this match on foot again; but then he met with a refusal in his turn.

The mother of these two princes, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, who was left in France destitute of all assistance, saw herself

herself reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell, that she might at least receive her jointure. It was certainly the most extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to sue for subsistence to the man who had spilt her husband's blood on a scaffold. Mazarin, after some few remonstrances in the queen's favour to the English court, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing. She therefore continued in poverty at Paris, and with the shame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity, while her sons went into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and Don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had abandoned them.

The children of Charles I. thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. Upon this the Spanish ministry loudly inveighed, both by word of mouth and writing, in all courts, and especially at Rome, against the cardinal's behaviour, who, they said, had sacrificed all laws, divine and humane, all honour and religion, to the murderer of a king, and had driven out of France Charles II. and the duke of York, tho' cousins to Lewis XIV. to please their father's executioner. No other reply was made to these outcries of the Spaniards, than the producing the very offers which they themselves had made to the protector.

The war was still carried on in Flanders with various success. Turenne having laid siege to Valenciennes, together with the marechal de la Ferté, experienced the same reverse of fortune which had befallen Condé before Arras. The

July, 17, 1656 prince, seconded at that time by Don John of Austria, more worthy of fighting by his side than the arch-duke had been, forced the marshal de la Ferté's lines, took him prisoner, and delivered Valenciennes. Turenne then did what Condé had done before in a like defeat. He saved the routed army, made head every where against the enemy, and in less than a month afterwards went and laid siege to and took the small town of La Capelle: this was perhaps the first time that a defeated army had dared to undertake a siege.

This march of Turenne's, which was so greatly admired, and after which la Capelle was taken, was eclipsed by a still finer march of Condé's. Turenne had hardly sat down before Cambrai, when Condé, at the head of two thousand horse, penetrated through the army of the besiegers, and, after having May 30, 1658. routed every thing that attempted to stop him, threw himself into the town; where he was received by the citizens on their knees as their deliverer. Thus did these two great men display all the power of their military genius in opposition to each other. They were equally admired for their retreats, for their victories, for their good conduct, and even for their faults, which they always knew how to repair. By their talents they alternately checked the progress of the two monarchies whom they served; but the disordered state of the finances, both in France and Spain, still proved a great obstacle to their successes.

At length France acquired a more distinguished superiority, by the league it had made with

with Cromwell. On one hand admiral Blake went and burned the Spanish galleons at the Canary islands, and thus deprived them of the only treasures with which they could carry on the war; and, on the other, twenty sail of English ships blocked up the port of Dunkirk, while six thousand veteran soldiers, who had been concerned in the revolution in England, were sent to reinforce Turenne's army.

And now Dunkirk, the most important place of all Flanders was besieged by land and sea. The prince of Condé and Don John of Austria having assembled all their forces, presented themselves before the city, to raise the siege. The eyes of all Europe were attentively fixed on this great event. Cardinal Mazarin carried Lewis XIV. into the neighbourhood of the theatre of war, without suffering him to act a part therein, though he was then upwards of twenty years old. The king remained in Calais while his army attacked that of Spain near the Downs, and gained June 14, 1658 the most glorious victory which had been known since that of Rocroi.

The prince of Condé's genius could do nothing that day against the superior forces of France and England. The Spanish army was destroyed, and Dunkirk capitulated soon after. The king and his minister repaired thither, to see the garrison march out. The cardinal would not permit Lewis XIV. to appear either in the light of a king or a warrior. He had no money to distribute among the soldiers, and indeed had hardly proper attendants: whenever he went with the army, he used to eat at Mazarin's, or at the viscount Turenne's table.

This neglect of the royal dignity was not the effect of any contempt that Lewis XIV. had for show and parade, but from the bad state of his affairs, and the care taken by the cardinal to arrogate all splendor and authority to himself.

Lewis took possession of Dunkirk only to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador. Mazarin endeavoured, by some finess to elude the treaty, and prevent the place being given up to the English; but Lockhart's threats and the English resolution got the better of Italian cunning.

It has been asserted by several persons, that the cardinal, who had arrogated to himself the affair of Arras, wanted to prevail on Turenne to yield him likewise the honour of this battle. Du Bec-Crespin, count of Moret, was sent, they say, in the minister's name, to propose to the general to write a letter, by which it might appear that the cardinal himself had laid down the whole plan of operations. Turenne received these insinuations with the contempt they deserved, and would not consent to avow a thing which would have brought disgrace on a general, and ridicule on a churchman. Mazarin, after this weakness, had that of continuing at enmity with Turenne till the day of his death.

Sept. 13. Some time after the siege of Dun-
1658. kirk died Cromwell, aged 55 years, in the midst of the vast projects he had formed, for the establishment of his own power and the glory of the nation he governed. He had humbled the Dutch, dictated the conditions of a treaty with the Portuguese, conquered Spain,

Spain, and forced France to solicit his protection. Not long before his death, on being informed of the haughty manner in which his admirals behaved at Lisbon, "I am resolved," said he, to make the English republic as much respected as that of Rome was in former times." It is false what some writers pretend to tell us, that he played the enthusiast and false prophet on his death-bed*; but it is certain, that he died with the same intrepidity of soul which he had always shewn during his lifetime. He was interred like a lawful sovereign, and left behind him the reputation of a great king, which threw a veil over the crimes of the usurper.

Sir William Temple pretends that Cromwell designed before he died to enter into an alliance with Spain against France, and to recover Calais by the help of the Spanish arms, as he had got Dunkirk by those of France. Nothing was more agreeable to his character and politics; he would have rendered himself the idol of the English, by thus stripping, one after another, two nations whom they equally hated. Death however at once overturned his great designs, his tyranny, and the English greatness. It is observable, that the court of France went in mourning for Cromwell; and that mademoiselle, the duke of Orleans' daughter, was the only

* Begging our author's pardon, Cromwell had been an enthusiast from the beginning, and became so much of a prophet on his death-bed, that even when the physicians despaired of his life, "I tell you," (cries he) "I shall not die of this distemper: favourable answers have been returned from heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord."

person who refused to pay this mark of respect to the memory of the murderer of a king, her relation.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father in the protectorship, without any opposition, and in the same manner as a prince of Wales would have succeeded a king of England.

Richard was a proof that the fate of a kingdom frequently depends upon the character of one man. His genius was wholly different from that of his father Oliver; he was possessed of all the meek virtues which make the good citizen, and had none of that brutal intrepidity which sacrifices every thing to its own interests. He might have preserved the inheritance which his father had acquired by his labours, if he would have consented to put to death three or four of the principal officers of the army, who opposed his elevation; but he chose rather to lay down the government than to reign by assassination, and lived retired, and almost unknown, till the age of ninety, in a country of which he had once been the sovereign. After his quitting the protectorship he made a voyage to France, where being one day at Montpellier, the prince of Conti, brother of the great Condé, discoursing with him, without knowing who he was, observed, "That Oliver Cromwell was a great man, but that his son Richard was a poor wretch, not to know how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes." This Richard however lived contented, whereas his father had never known what happiness was.

Some time before, France had seen another much more extraordinary example of the contempt of a crown in the famous Christina of Sweden,

Sweden, who came to Paris. Every one admired, that a young princess, so worthy of reigning, should quit the sovereign authority for the sake of leading a life of ease and freedom. It is shameful in the Protestant writers to assert, without the least shadow of proof, that she resigned the crown only because she could keep it no longer. She had formed this design from the time she was twenty years of age, and had allowed seven years to bring it to maturity. A resolution so much above all vulgar conception, and which had been formed for such a length of time, ought to stop the mouths of those who reproach her with a levity of disposition, and of having been compelled to this abdication. One of these accusations destroys the other: but every thing great and noble is sure to be attacked by narrow minds.

The extraordinary turn of mind of this princess is sufficiently shewn by her letters. In that which she wrote to Chanut, who had formerly been ambassador from France at her court, she thus expresses herself: "I wore the crown without ostentation, and I resign it with readiness: after this you have nothing to fear for me, my happiness is out of the reach of fortune." She wrote thus to the great Condé: "I think myself as much honoured by your esteem as by the crown I have worn. If after having resigned that, you shall think me less deserving of the other, I will own to you that the tranquillity I have so much desired, will appear dearly bought; but I shall never repent of having purchased it at the price of a crown; nor will ever sully an act which to me appears so glorious, by a mean repentance: and

if perchance you should condemn what I have done, I shall only tell you in excuse, that I should never have resigned the possessions which Fortune bestowed on me, had I judged them necessary to my happiness; and should even have aspired at the sovereignty of the world, could I have been as certain of succeeding or dying in the attempt, as the great Condé would have been."

Such was the soul of this extraordinary personage, and such her stile in our language, which she was but rarely accustomed to speak. She understood eight different languages; she had been the friend and pupil of Descartes, who died in her palace at Stockholm, after having in vain tried to obtain a pension in France, where his works were even forbidden to be read, on account of the only good things which were in them. She invited into her kingdom all who were capable of bringing any knowledge into it; and the vexation of finding no men of learning among her own subjects, had given her a dislike to reigning over a people who were unacquainted with every thing but arms. She judged it more eligible to live privately among thinking men, than to rule over a people who had neither learning nor genius. She patronized and cultivated all the arts, in a country where they were till her time unknown, and designed to make Italy the place of her retreat, where she might indulge herself in the midst of them; and, as they had but just begun to make their appearance in France, she only passed through that kingdom in her way to Rome, where her inclination determined her to fix her abode; and with this view she quitted the

the Lutheran religion for the Catholic. Equally indifferent to either, she made no scruple of outwardly conforming to the sentiments of a people among whom she was desirous of passing her life. She quitted the throne in 1654, and publickly performed the ceremony of her abjuration at Inspruck. She was admired at the French court, though she surpassed all the women there in understanding. The king saw her, and did her the greatest honours; but he did not discourse much with her. He had been bred up in ignorance, and his natural good sense made him bashful.

The only extraordinary thing the ladies and courtiers remarked in this philosophical queen was, that she did not dress after the French fashion, and that she danced ill. The learned found nothing to condemn in her except the murder of Monaldeschi *, her master of the horse,

* John marquis de Monaldeschi was master of the horse to queen Christina, and one of her greatest favourites; but he abused her confidence, and divulged some secrets that concerned her honour and reputation. Christina, having discovered his treachery, condemned him to death while she resided at the palace of Fontainebleau. One day she sent for the superior of the fathers Trinitarians, and in the mean time talked as usual with Monaldeschi in a gallery. When the father arrived, he was followed into the apartment by the captain of her guards and two soldiers. Then Christina produced to the delinquent his own intercepted letters, to prove his infidelity. Having reproached him for his baseness, she desired the priest to dispose him for death. The marquis, who was in the flower of his age, and very unwilling to die, had recourse to prayers, tears, and intreaties, that his life might be spared, even though he should be banished from Europe, and live in perpetual exile. The priest joined in his intreaties, and even remon-

horse, whom she caused to be assassinated at Fontainebleau in the second journey she made to France, for some fault he had been guilty of towards her. As she had laid down the sovereign authority, she had no longer a right to do herself justice. She could no longer be considered as a queen who punished a misdemeanour of state, but as a private woman who ended a love-affair by a murder. This infamous and cruel action sullied that philosophy which had made her quit a throne. Had she been in England, she would have been punished; but the court of France winked at this insult against the royal authority, the law of nations, and humanity.

After Cromwell was dead, and his son Richard deposed, England continued for a year in anarchy and confusion. Charles Gustavus, to whom queen Christina had resigned the kingdom of Sweden, made himself formidable in the North and in Germany. The emperor Fer-

strated on the consequences of her taking such a violent step in a palace belonging to the king of France. She remained inflexible, and withdrew. The father confessed Monaldeschi, and the soldiers falling upon him with their swords, slew him with some difficulty; for he wore secret armour under his cloaths. Christina caused his body to be decently interred, and masses to be said for the repose of his soul. She attempted to justify what she had done by alledging, that though she had abdicated the crown, she did not divest herself of that royalty which authorized her to punish the treachery of her own domestics. This excuse was not admitted by the French ministry, and she was given to understand that her presence was no longer agreeable in France; an intimation in consequence of which she returned to Rome, where she effected a match between the niece of Monaldeschi and Matthew de Bourbon, lord of Delmonte.

dinand

Ferdinand died in 1657. His son Leopold, who was seventeen years old, and was already king of Hungary and Bohemia, had not been chosen king of the Romans during his father's lifetime. Mazarin endeavoured to get Lewis XIV. chosen emperor. This was a wild scheme: he ought to have compelled or corrupted the electors into his interest; but France was not in itself sufficiently powerful to seize on the empire, nor rich enough to purchase it; consequently the first overtures of this kind made at Frankfort by the marshal de Grammont and Lionne were laid aside almost as soon as proposed, and Leopold was chosen emperor. All that Mazarin's policy could then effect, was to engage the German princes in a league for securing the observance of the treaties of Munster, and to curb the emperor's authority in the empire.

After the affair of Dunkirk, France became powerful abroad by the reputation of her arms, and the bad condition to which other nations were reduced: but she suffered greatly at home; she was exhausted of money, and in want of peace.

In christian monarchies the state itself is seldom interested in its sovereign's wars. Mercenary armies, raised by the order of a minister, and commanded by generals blindly devoted to his will, carry on several destructive campaigns, without the princes in whose name they fight having the least expectation or even intention of depriving each other of their whole patrimony. The people of the victorious state reap no advantage from the spoils of those who are conquered. They pay all expences, and

are alike sufferers, whether their country be prosperous or unsuccessful. Peace therefore is as necessary to them, even after the greatest victory, as if even their enemies were in possession of all their frontier places.

There were two things wanting for the cardinal to finish his administration happily, the one was to bring about a peace, and the other to secure the tranquility of the nation by marrying the king. The young monarch had been dangerously ill after the campaign of Dunkirk, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The cardinal, who knew he was not liked by monsieur the king's brother, had some intention, at this dangerous conjuncture, of securing his immense riches, and preparing for a retreat. These considerations determined him to marry his royal pupil as soon as possible. Two parties presented themselves at that time; the king of Spain's daughter and the princess of Savoy. The king's heart however had been previously engaged a different way; he was desperately in love with mademoiselle de Mancini, one of the cardinal's nieces, and as he was by nature amorous, positive in his will, and void of experience, it was not unlikely that in the warmth of his passion, he might have determined to marry his favourite mistress.

Madame de Motteville, the queen mother's confidante, whose memoirs carry a great air of truth, pretends that Mazarin was tempted to give way to the king's passion, and place his niece on the throne. He had already married one of his nieces to the prince of Conti, and a second to the duke of Mercœur; and her whom Lewis XIV was so fond of, had been demanded
in

in marriage by the king of England*. These were so many encouragements to justify his ambition. Being one day alone with the queen mother, he artfully took opportunity to sound her on this subject. "I am afraid," said he, "that the king has a strong inclination to marry my niece." The queen mother, who knew the cardinal perfectly well, presently conjectured that he wished what he affected to fear, and with all the haughtiness of a princess of the Austrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of kings, and full of resentment against a minister who seemed to have shaken off all dependence upon her, she made him this reply: "Was the king himself capable of such a meanness, I would instantly put myself, with my second son, at the head of the people against the king and you."

It is said that Mazarin never forgave the queen for this spirited answer: but he was wise enough to fall in with her sentiments, and made a merit of opposing the king's passion; his power did not stand in need of a queen of his own blood to support it. He was even apprehensive of his niece's disposition, and thought he should more effectually secure the authority of his place by shunning the dangerous glory of too greatly exalting his family.

He had in the year 1656 sent Lionne into Spain to bring about a peace, and demand the infanta in marriage; but Don Lewis de Haro, sensible that weak as Spain was, France was not much stronger, had rejected the cardinal's offers. The infanta, who was the child of a

* Charles II. when in exile in France.

former

former marriage, was destined for young Leopold. The Spanish king had at that time only one son by his second wife, and this young prince was of so infirm a constitution, that it was imagined he could hardly live. It was therefore determined that the infanta, who was likely to become heiress to such large dominions should transfer her claims to the house of Austria, rather than to the family of an enemy: but Philip IV. having afterwards another son, (Don Philip Prospero) and his queen being again with child, there did not appear so much danger in giving the infanta to the French king; besides, the battle of Dunkirk had made him wish for a peace.

The Spanish court then promised the infanta to Lewis XIV. and desired a cessation of arms. Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro met on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, in the Isle of Pheasants. Notwithstanding the design of their meeting was no less than that of settling the marriage of the king of France, and a general peace, a whole month was taken up in determining the disputes which arose about precedence, and in adjusting certain points of ceremony. The cardinals insisted upon being equal with kings, and superior to other sovereign princes. France with more justice pretended to the preheminance over all other kings. However, don Lewis de Haro kept up a perfect equality between Mazarin and himself, and between the crowns of France and Spain.

The conferences lasted four months, in which don Lewis and Mazarin displayed the whole strength of their politics. The cardinal excelled in finesse, Don Lewis was remarkable for his

his deliberation. The former never spoke but with a double meaning, the latter very sparingly. The Italian minister's talent lay in endeavouring to surprise; that of the Spaniard, in guarding against a surprise. It is reported that in speaking of the cardinal he said, "There is one great fault in his politics, he is always endeavouring to deceive."

Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, that there are hardly two articles of this famous treaty of the Pyrenees now subsisting. The French king kept Roussillon, which he would always have kept without this peace; but with respect to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy has now nothing left there. Our court (of France) was at that time necessarily in friendship with Portugal; we are now no longer so; every thing is changed. Though Don Lewis de Haro accused cardinal Mazarin of deceit, the world has since acknowledged that he had the gift of foresight. He had for a long time formed the design of an alliance between France and Spain, witness that famous letter of his which he wrote during the conferences at Munster. "If his most christian majesty could have the Low Countries and Franche Comté, as a marriage portion with the infanta, in that case we might aspire to the Spanish succession, notwithstanding any renunciation made in the infanta's name; neither would it be a very distant prospect, seeing that there is only the life of the prince, her brother, to exclude her from it." This prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

It is plain that the cardinal was deceived, in supposing that the court of Spain would give the Low Countries and the Franche Comté with

with the infanta. There was not a single town stipulated for a dowry with her; on the contrary, we restored several considerable towns to the Spanish monarchy, which we had taken from it during the course of the war; such as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and some other places. The cardinal however was right in supposing that the renunciation would one day be of no effect; but those who give him the honour of this prediction, suppose him to have likewise foreseen that prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that afterwards the three children by the second wife, should all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all these male children, should die without issue; and that this Austrian king should one day make a will in favour of Lewis XIV's. grandson. But the truth is, that cardinal Mazarin foresaw what value would be set upon a renunciation, in case the male issue of Philip IV. should all fail; and this was justified by a series of extraordinary events, above fifty years afterwards.

The infanta Maria Theresa, who might have had for her dowry those towns which France by this treaty of marriage was obliged to restore, instead of that had only five hundred thousand golden crowns for her fortune: it cost the king more to go and receive her on the frontiers. However, these five hundred thousand crowns, worth at that time about two millions five hundred thousand livres, were the subject of much altercation between the two ministers, and at last we never received more than one hundred thousand francs.

So far was this marriage from being of any real present advantage, excepting that of peace, that

that the infanta renounced for ever all right or claim to any of her father's territories, and Lewis XIV. ratified this renunciation in the most solemn manner, and caused it to be registered in parliament.

These renunciations, and a portion of five hundred thousand crowns, seemed to be customary clauses in the marriage-contracts between the infantas of Spain and the kings of France. Queen Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. was married to Lewis XIII. on the same conditions; and when Isabella, daughter of our Henry the Great, was married to Philip IV. king of Spain, there were no more than five hundred thousand crowns agreed upon for a portion with her, and no part of that was ever payed; so that there did not seem at that time to be any great advantage in these grand marriages.

Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, of whom France and Spain had great reason to complain, or rather who had great reason to complain of them, was included in this treaty; but on the footing of an unfortunate prince, whom they punished because he could not make himself feared. France restored him his dominions, after dismantling Nanci, and prohibiting him from keeping any troops. Don Lewis de Haro obliged cardinal Mazarin to procure the prince of Condé's pardon, threatening otherwise to bestow on him the sovereignty of Rocroi, Cha-telet, and other places in which he was in possession. Thus France at once gained these towns and the great Condé. However, he lost his post of master of the household to the king, and returned with little else than glory.

Charles

Charles II. the titular king of England, who was still more unfortunate than the duke of Lorraine, came to the Pyrenees, while they were negotiating the peace, to implore the assistance of the cardinal and don Lewis de Haro. He flattered himself that their kings, who were his cousin-germans, being now in alliance, would, as Cromwell was no more, have the courage to revenge a cause which concerned every crowned head; but he could not even obtain an interview with either of the ministers. Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador, was at St. John de Luz, and made himself still respected, notwithstanding the death of his master; and the two ministers fearing to disoblige him, refused to see Charles. They thought it impossible that he should ever be restored, and were persuaded that all the English factions, though at variance among themselves, would unanimously join to exclude for ever the kingly authority; but herein they were both deceived, and fortune a few months afterwards brought about that which these ministers might have had the honour of undertaking. Charles was recalled by the English, without a single potentate having interfered, either to prevent the murder of the father, or the son's restoration. He landed at Dover, and was received by twenty thousand of his subjects on their knees. I have been told by some old people who were upon the spot, that almost every one present was bathed in tears. There never was perhaps a more affecting sight, nor a more sudden revolution. This change was brought about in less time than the

the treaty of the Pyrenees took in concluding ; and Charles II. was in quiet possession of the English throne before Lewis XIV. was even married by proxy.

And now cardinal Mazarin conducted the king and his new consort back to Paris. His behaviour on this occasion was like that of a father who had married his son, without allowing him to have the management of his estate. This minister returned more powerful and more jealous of his authority and dignity than ever. He no longer gave the upper hand to the princes of the blood, in a third place, as formerly ; and he who had behaved towards don Lewis de Haro as his equal, attempted to treat the great Condé as his inferior. He now appeared in public with royal pomp, having, besides his ordinary guard, a company of musqueteers, the same which is now the second company in the king's musqueteers. There was no longer any access to be had to the royal person ; and whosoever was so little of a courtier as to apply to the king for any favour, was surely ruined. The queen-mother, who had so long been this minister's firm protectress, against the whole French nation, saw herself left without credit, as soon as he was no longer in want of her assistance. The king, her son, who had been brought up in a blind submission to this minister, was unable to throw off the yoke she had imposed upon him as well as herself : she had a respect for her own work, and Lewis XIV. never dared to reign while Mazarin was alive.

A minister is excuseable for the evil he may do when the helm of the government is forced into

into his hands by storms of state; but when there is a calm, he is answerable for all the good he does not do. Mazarin did good to no one but himself and those related to him: of the eight years of absolute and undisturbed authority which he enjoyed, from his last return till the day of his death, not one was distinguished by any honourable or useful establishment; for the college of the four nations was erected only in consequence of his last will. He managed the finances like a steward whose master is immersed in debt.

The king would sometimes ask Fouquet for money, who used to answer, "Sire, there is none in your majesty's coffers, but my lord cardinal can lend you some." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to the present value of money. It is said, in several memoirs, that he acquired great part of his wealth by means which were beneath the dignity of his post; and that he obliged those who fitted out privateers to allow him a share in the profits of their cruizes: this has never been proved; but the Dutch suspected him of something of this nature, a suspicion they would never have entertained of his predecessor, cardinal Richelieu.

It is said that he was troubled with some scruples of conscience on his death-bed, though he died in appearance with great courage. He was certainly in apprehension for his riches, of which he made a full donation to the king, supposing that his majesty would restore them to him again; in this he judged right, for three days afterwards the king returned him back his deed of gift. Soon afterwards he died, seemingly

ingly unregretted by any one but the king, who had already learnt the art of dissembling. The yoke began to sit heavy upon his shoulders, and he grew impatient to reign; nevertheless he thought it prudent to wear the appearance of concern for a death which put him in possession of his throne.

Lewis XIV. and his court went into mourning for the cardinal; a very extraordinary mark of honour, and what Henry IV. had paid to the memory of the fair Gabrielle d'Etrees.

We shall not undertake in this place to examine whether cardinal Mazarin was a great minister or not; we leave his actions to speak for him, and posterity to judge; but we cannot forbear opposing that mistaken notion, which ascribes a more than common understanding, and an almost divine genius, to those who have governed great kingdoms with tolerable success. It is not a superior share of penetration that makes statesmen, it is their particular character; all men that have any tolerable degree of understanding can nearly discern what is their interests. A common citizen of Amsterdam, or Berne, knows as much on this head as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin: but our conduct and our undertakings depend wholly upon the temperament of our souls, and our successes depend upon fortune.

For example: if one with a genius like that of pope Alexander VI. or his son Borgia, had undertaken to reduce Rochelle, he would have invited the principal citizens of the place into his camp, under the sanction of the most solemn oaths, and then have murdered them all. Ma-

zarin would have got possession of the town two or three years later, by gaining over some of the citizens, and sowing dissention among the rest. Don Lewis de Haro would never have hazarded the undertaking. Richelieu, after the example of Alexander, built a mole in the sea, and entered as a conqueror; but a stronger tide than usual, or a little more diligence on the part of the English, would have saved Rochelle and have made Richelieu pass for a mad adventurer.

We may judge of a man's character by the nature of his undertakings. We may safely affirm that Richelieu's soul was full of pride and revenge; that Mazarin was prudent, supple, and avaritious; but to know how far a minister is a man of understanding, we must either have frequently heard him discourse, or have read what he has written. That which we every day see among courtiers frequently happens amongst statesmen. He who has the greatest talents often fails, while he who is of a more patient, resolute, supple, and equable disposition, succeeds.

In reading Mazarin's letters, and cardinal de Retz's memoirs, we may easily perceive de Retz to have been the superior genius; nevertheless, the former attained the summit of power, and the latter was banished. In a word, it is a certain truth, that, to be a powerful minister, little more is required than a middling understanding, good sense, and fortune; but, to be a good minister, the prevailing passion of the soul must be a love for the public good; and he is the greatest statesman who leaves behind him the most noble monuments of public utility.

C H A P. CLXXI.

LEWIS XIV. governs alone. He obliges the SPANISH Branch of the House of AUSTRIA to yield him the Precedency every where, and the court of ROME to give him Satisfaction. He purchases DUNKIRK, sends Succours to the EMPEROR, the DUTCH, and the PORTUGUESE, and renders his Kingdom powerful and flourishing.

NEVER was a court so full of intrigues and expectations as that of France, while cardinal Mazarin lay dying. Those among the women who had any claim to beauty, flattered themselves with the hopes of governing a young prince, who was only two and twenty years old, and whom love had already influenced to make a tender of his crown to a favourite mistress. The young courtiers imagined that they should easily renew the reign of favourites. Every one of the officers of state thought that he should fill the first place in the ministry, not one of them suspecting that a king, who had been brought up in such an ignorance of state-affairs, would venture to take the burthen of government upon his own shoulders. Mazarin had kept the king in a state of nonage as long as he was able, and had not till very lately let him into the mystery of reigning, and then only because he had insisted upon being instructed.

They were so far from wishing to be governed by their sovereign, that of all those who had been concerned with Mazarin in the administration,

nistrations, not one applied to the king to know when he would give them an audience; on the contrary, every one asked him "Whom they were to apply to?" and were not a little surprised when Lewis answered, "To me;" their astonishment was still increased, on finding him persevere. He had for some time confuted his own strength, and made a trial in secret of his capacity for reigning. His resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He appointed every minister proper limits to his power, obliging them to give him an account of every thing at certain hours, shewing them so much confidence as was necessary to give a proper weight to their office, and carefully watching over them to prevent their abuse of it. He began by restoring order in the finances, which had been miserably mismanaged through a continuance of rapine.

He likewise established a proper discipline among the troops. His court was at once magnificent and decent; even the pleasures appeared there with a degree of lustre and greatness. The arts were all encouraged and employed, to the glory of the king and kingdom.

This is not the place for painting his character in a private life, nor in the domestic government of his kingdom: we shall reserve this for a part by itself. It is sufficient to say, that the people, who, since the death of Henry IV. had never seen a true king, and who detested the authority of a prime minister, were filled with admiration and hope, when they saw Lewis XIV. do that, at twenty-two years of age, which Henry did at fifty. Had Henry IV. had a prime minister, he would have been lost,

lost, because the hatred against a private man would have awakened twenty different factions, which would have become too powerful. If Lewis XIII. had not had a minister, that prince, whose feeble and sickly constitution made his soul weak and enervated, would have sunk beneath the weight of government; Lewis XIV. might or might not have had a prime-minister without any danger. There were not the least traces left of the old factions which had distracted the state. There was now only a master and subjects in France; Lewis, at the very beginning, shewed that he aspired after glory, and that he was resolved to make himself respected both at home and abroad.

The antient kings of Europe had always pretended to an exact equality with each other; this was very natural: but the kings of France always claimed that precedency which was due to the antiquity of their race and kingdom; and if they yielded place to the emperors, it was because mankind have hardly ever the courage to abolish a long established custom. The head of the German republic, though an elective prince, and has very little power of his own, has undoubtedly the precedency of all kings, in virtue of his title of Cæsar and heir to Charlemagne. His German chancery does not even give the title of majesty to any other crowned head. The kings of France might dispute the precedency with the emperors, as France had founded the real western empire, of which the name only subsists in Germany. They could plead not only the superiority of an hereditary crown over an elective dignity, but the advantage of being descended in an uninterrupted

succession of sovereigns, who reigned over a great monarchy several centuries before that any of those houses who are now in possession of crowns, had attained to the least degree of dignity. However, they were determined to assert their right of precedency over all the other potentates of Europe. They alledged in support of their claim the title of Most Christian, to which the Spanish kings opposed theirs of Most Catholic; and since Charles V. had had a king of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish pride had made them more tenacious than ever of their rank. The English and Swedes, who plead none of these surnames at present, acknowledged as little as was possible this superiority.

Rome was the place where these pretensions used formerly to be canvassed; the popes, who disposed of kingdoms by a bull, imagined they had a much greater right to settle the rank between crowned heads. This court, where every thing passes in ceremony, was the tribunal for trying these varieties of greatness. France had always had the superiority there when she was more powerful than Spain; but since the reign of Charles V. Spain had let slip no opportunity of maintaining an equality. The dispute was left undetermined; the precedency at a procession, or an elbow-chair placed near the altar, or opposite to the pulpit, were matters of triumph, and established titles to that precedency. The chimerical point of honour in these articles was at that time carried to as great extremes between crowned heads, as duels were among private persons.

It

It happened, that at the entry of a Swedish ambassador at London, the count d'Eftrade, ambassador from France, and the baron Watteville, ambassador from the court of Spain, disputed the way. The Spaniard having more money, and a greater train of servants, gained the English populace over to his interest, who began to kill the French ambassador's coach-horses, and soon afterwards fell upon his people, who being wounded took to their heels, and left the Spaniards to proceed in triumph with their swords drawn.

Lewis XIV. being informed of this insult offered to his ambassador, immediately recalled the minister he had at Madrid, and ordered the Spanish ambassador to leave France; broke off the conferences which were then carrying on in Flanders on the subject of the limits, and sent word to his father-in-law Philip IV. that, unless he acknowledged the superiority of the French crown, and repaired the affront which had been offered its ambassador, by a public satisfaction, he would instantly renew the war. Philip IV. was not willing to plunge his kingdom again into a fresh war for the sake of an ambassador's precedence: he sent the count of Fuentes to declare to the king at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign ministers who were then in France, "That the Spanish ministers should no longer dispute the precedence with those of France." This was not clearly acknowledging the king's pre-eminence, but it was a sufficient avowal of the weakness of the Spanish court. This court, which still preserved its haughtiness, murmured for a long time at its

March 14,
1661

humiliation. Since then several Spanish ministers have renewed their old pretensions, and actually obtained an equality at Nimeguen ; but Lewis XIV. at that time acquired by his resolution a real superiority in Europe, by convincing all the powers how much he was to be feared.

He had scarcely concluded this small affair with so much dignity, when he shewed still more on an occasion in which his glory seemed not so much interested. During the long wars carried on against the Spaniards in Italy, the behaviour of the young French gentry had inspired the cautious and jealous Italians with the notion of their being a headstrong and impetuous people. The Italians looked upon all the nations by whom theirs was over-run as barbarians, and the French as barbarians more gay, but at the same time more dangerous than the rest, as they introduced, into all families where they came, a taste for pleasures, with an air of contempt, and debauchery with outrage ; in short, they were dreaded every where, and especially at Rome.

The duke de Crequi, the French ambassador at the pope's court, had greatly displeased the people of Rome by his arrogant behaviour : his servants, a set of people who always carry the faults of their masters to extremes, committed the same disorders in Rome as the unbridled youth of France did in Paris, who at that time prided themselves in attacking the city-watch every night.

Some of this nobleman's servants took it into their heads to fall sword in hand upon a party of the Corsi, (who are the city-guard at Rome)

and put them to flight. The whole body of the Corsi, incensed at this ill usage, and spirited up by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Alexander VII. the reigning pope, who hated the duke of Crequi, went with a multitude of his followers in arms, and besieged the duke in his own house. They even fired upon the ambassadress' coach, as she was driving into her palace, killed one of her pages, and wounded several of her other servants. The duke de Crequi upon this left Rome, loudly accusing the pope's relation, and even his holiness himself, of having countenanced this insult and murder. The pope deferred giving him satisfaction as long as he possibly could, in the persuasion that there requires only a little temporising with the French, for every thing to be forgotten. At the end of about four months he caused one of the Corsican guard, and a Sbirri, to be hanged, and banished the governor of Rome, who was suspected of having authorised these violent proceedings: but he was in no small consternation when he learnt that the French king threatened to lay siege to Rome; that he had already ordered troops to be transported into Italy for that purpose; and that the marshal du Pleffis-Pralin was appointed general. This affair was become a national quarrel, and the king was determined to support the dignity of his crown. The pope, before he could be brought to make the concessions demanded of him, implored the mediation of all the catholic princes, and at the same time did all in his power to stir them up against Lewis XIV. but the situation of affairs were at

Aug. 30,
1661

that time unfavourable for the holy father. The emperor was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was engaged in an unsuccessful war against the Portuguese.

The court of Rome therefore only irritated the king, without being able to hurt him. The parliament of Provence summoned the pope to appear, and seized upon his county of Avignon. At any other time such an insult upon the papal dignity would have been followed by a peal of excommunications from the Vatican, but those arms were now become equally useless and ridiculous. The holy father found himself under the necessity of giving way, and was obliged to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew cardinal Chigi, in character of legate *a latere*, to make the king satisfaction; to break the Corsican guard; and to erect a pillar in the city of Rome, with an inscription expressing the injury and reparation.

Cardinal Chigi was the first legate, who had ever been sent from the papal court to ask pardon. Before that, the legates had always been sent to give laws, and impose the tax of the tenth penny. The king did not content himself with accepting these temporary ceremonies, in return for an injury offered, nor yet with monuments which are equally so, (for some years afterwards he permitted this pyramid to be destroyed) but he obliged the court of Rome to restore Castro and Ronciglione to the duke of Parma; to indemnify the duke of Modena for his claims on Commachio; and thus, from an insult offered him, he derived the solid honour of being the protector of the Italian princes.

While

While he thus supported his dignity, he forgot not to increase his power. The good management of his finances, under Colbert, enabled him to purchase Dunkirk and Mardyke of the king of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty six livres ten sous the mark. Charles II. who was a spendthrift and a beggar, to his eternal disgrace sold this place, which his subjects had purchased with their blood. Lord chancellor Hyde, who was accused of having advised or connived at this meanness, was banished by the English parliament, who frequently punish the crimes of favourites, and sometimes even pass sentence upon its kings. Oct. 27 1662

Lewis set thirty thousand men to work to fortify Dunkirk both towards land and sea. 1663 A large basin was dug between the town and the citadel, capable of containing several men of war; so that the English had hardly sold this place, when it became the object of their terror. A short time afterwards, the king obliged the duke of Lorraine to give him up the strong hold of Marsal. This Aug. 1663 unfortunate prince, who, though in some reputation as a soldier, was of a weak, fickle, and imprudent disposition, had lately made a treaty, by which he gave the dutchy of Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the king should permit him to raise a million upon the territory, which he gave up; and the princes of the blood-royal of Lorraine should take rank as princes of the blood of France. This treaty, which was in vain registered by the parliament of Paris, served only to produce new instances of levity on the side of the duke,

who in the end thought himself very happy to give up Marfal, and throw himself upon the king's clemency.

Lewis encreased his dominion even in peace, and always kept himself in readiness for war, fortifying the frontier towns, augmenting the number of his troops, keeping them well disciplined, and frequently reviewing them in person.

The Turks were then a very formidable people in Europe; they attacked the emperor and the Venetians at one and the same time. It has been a maxim in politics with the kings of France ever since Francis I. to be in alliance with the Turkish emperors, not only on account of the advantage arising to their trade, but for the sake of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too powerful. However, a Christian king could not well refuse his assistance to the emperor, when so hard pressed. It was the interest of France that the Turks should raise disturbances in Hungary, but not that they should get possession of it; and, lastly, the treaties in which Lewis was engaged with the empire made this step as indispensable as it was honourable to him.

Lewis then sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the count of Coligni, the only remaining branch of the family of Coligni, formerly so famous in our civil wars, and who perhaps deserves to be as much renowned as the admiral for his valour and virtuous qualifications. He was strictly connected by friendship with the great Condé; and not all the offers of cardinal Mazarin could ever make him fail in what he owed to his friend.

He

He was accompanied by the flower of the French nobility; and, among others, by the young Feuillade, a man of an enterprising disposition, and unquenchable thirst for riches and glory. These went all together into Hungary, to serve under general Montecuculi, Aug. 1663 who was making head against the Turkish vizir Kiuperli, and who afterwards, when he served against France, counterbalanced the reputation of the great Turenne. A great battle was fought at Saint Gothard on the banks of the Raab, between the Imperial and Turkish armies, in which the French performed such prodigies of valour, that the Germans themselves, who were not fond of them, could not help doing them justice. The Germans however are not treated with the same justice by those writers, who pretend to ascribe the honour of the victory wholly to the French.

The king, while he thus placed his greatness in openly assisting the emperor, and raising the glory of the French arms, made a point of politics in secretly succouring the Portuguese against the king of Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had solemnly given up the cause of Portugal by the Pyrenean treaty; but the Spanish court, having been guilty of several little tacit infractions of that treaty; the French, in their turn, made a more bold and decisive one. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot by religion, was sent over to Portugal with four thousand French soldiery, who, under pretence of being in the pay of the Portuguese, were in fact maintained by the French king's money. These French troops, in conjunction with a

June 1664 body of Portuguese, gained a complete victory over the Spanish army at Villa Viciofa, by which the house of Braganza was fixed on the throne of Portugal. Lewis now began to be looked upon as a warlike and politic prince; and Europe stood in dread of him even before he had declared war.

By the same policy, he eluded the performance of the promises he had made, to join the few ships he had at that time with the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with the states-general, in the year 1662, about which time that republic had renewed a war with England, on the vain and idle subject of the honour of the flags, and its real claim to a trade in the Indies; Lewis beheld with pleasure these two maritime powers sending fleets of an hundred sail every year to destroy each other, by the most obstinate fights that had ever been known, which only tended to the weakening of both sides. One of these

June, 11, 12, and 13, anno 1666. engagements lasted for three days, and here it was that the

Dutch admiral de Ruyter acquired the reputation of being the greatest seaman that had yet appeared. This was the same who burnt the finest ships the English nation had, even in their own harbours, not above four leagues distant from London. He made the Dutch flag triumphant at sea*, where the English

* That the Dutch admirals and De Ruyter in general behaved with great gallantry and conduct in the course of this war, is not to be denied; but that the Dutch wrested the empire of the sea from England, we cannot allow. In the first battle of this war, fought in the year 1665, the

lish had hitherto always been the masters, and where Lewis XIV. was as yet nothing.

The empire of the sea was for some time divided between these two nations. They were then the only people who rightly under-

the duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Van Tromp. The second engagement between prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle on one part, and the admirals De Ruyter and Van Tromp on the other, fought in the year 1666, was a drawn battle; after which both sides claimed the victory, though it must be owned that the English sustained the greatest loss. This battle was fought in the beginning of June; and about the end of July, De Ruyter and Van Tromp were defeated by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. Admiral Holmes insulted the coast of Holland, burned two ships of war, and a great number of merchant ships in the river Vlie, and making a descent on Schelling, reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. With respect to the boasted exploit of burning the English ships in the river Medway, this is a true state of the case. The conferences for a peace were already opened at Breda, and the chief articles of the treaty agreed upon. Charles II. looking upon the peace as already concluded, and being desirous of converting part of the parliamentary supply to his own private use, ordered the large ships to be unrigged, keeping only a small squadron in commission. De Ruyter, taking advantage of his security, sailed from the Texel with fifty ships of the line, silenced the small fort at Sheerness, broke down a chain drawn across the mouth of the Medway, destroyed three guard-ships moored within side of chain, sailed up the river to Upmore castle, which they easily reduced, together with three ships of the line, which were set on fire. After this exploit, De Ruyter made an unsuccessful attempt upon Portsmouth, and another upon Plymouth, took some merchant ships, insulted the coast, and domineered in the channel, till the treaty was concluded. In the second war with the Dutch, the fight of Solebay ended to the disadvantage of De Ruyter, who retired in the night. The second, third, and fourth were drawn battles,

stood

stood the art of building ships, and employing them either for trade or war. France, during Richelieu's ministry, thought herself powerful at sea, because, out of about threescore vessels, which was then the whole of its marine, it had about thirty fit to send to sea, the largest of which mounted only seventy guns. In Mazarin's administration, they purchased what few ships they had from the Dutch. They were in want of sailors, officers, and manufactories, both for building and fitting out ships. The king with incredible diligence set about repairing the ruined condition of the marine, and to supply his kingdom with all it wanted; but in 1664 and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the ocean with near three hundred sail of large men of war, he had not above fifteen or sixteen, and those of the smallest rates, which were employed under the duke of Beaufort against the Barbary corsairs; and when the states-general pressed Lewis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one fire-ship in Brest harbour, which it was shameful to send, till upon their repeated remonstrances it was at last sent. This was no small disgrace to the French nation; but Lewis, by his extraordinary vigilance, speedily and effectually removed it.

But he furnished the states with much more essential and honourable succours by land; he sent six thousand French to defend them against Christopher Gerard Van Galen, bishop of Munster, a prelate of a warlike disposition, and implacable in his enmity, who was paid by England to distress the Dutch; but Lewis made them pay dearly for this assistance, and behaved towards them

them like a great man in power, who sells his protection to a body of rich merchants. Colbert made them accountable, not only for the pay of these troops, but even for the charges of an embassy, which was sent to England to conclude a peace for them with Charles II. Never were succours given with a worse grace, nor accepted with less thankfulness.

The king having thus exercised his troops in martial discipline, formed a number of good officers by the campaigns in Hungary, Holland, and Portugal, and asserted the honour of his name, and made it respected at Rome, beheld not a single potentate of whom he had occasion to stand in awe. England, visited by a plague, which laid waste the whole kingdom, and London its capital reduced to ashes by a fatal conflagration, which was falsely charged upon the Roman catholics; the prodigality and continual indigence of Charles II. which proved as fatal to his affairs as the scourges of pestilence and fire; made France perfectly easy with respect to that nation. The emperor had scarcely recovered the losses he had suffered in the war with the Turk. The Spanish king Philip IV. being on the point of death, and his kingdom in as weak a condition as himself, Lewis XIV. remained the only powerful and formidable sovereign in Europe. He was young, rich, well served, blindly obeyed, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself and to become a conqueror.

C H A P. CLXXII.

The Conquest of FLANDERS.

THE king was not long without an opportunity he so earnestly desired. His father-in-law, Philip IV. died ; this prince had by his first wife, sister to Lewis XIII. the princess Maria-Theresa, who was married to her cousin, Lewis XIV. by which match the Spanish monarchy fell at length into the house of Bourbon, which had been so long its enemy. By his second marriage, he had Charles II. a weak and unhealthy child, but who lived to inherit his father's crown, being the only surviving of three male children, the other two having died in their infancy. Lewis XIV. pretended that Flanders and the Franche-Comté, two provinces belonging to the kingdom of Spain, ought by the laws of those provinces to devolve to his wife, notwithstanding her former renunciation. Were the causes of kings to be tried by the laws of nations, before an impartial tribunal, perhaps this affair might have appeared a little doubtful.

Lewis submitted his claims to the examination of his council, and the body of theologians, who declared them indisputable ; but the council and confessor of Philip IV's widow, thought them very ill founded. This princess had a very powerful argument in her favour ; the express law made by Charles V. but Charles V's laws were very little attended to by the court of France.

One of the pretexts made use of by the French king's council was, that the five hundred thousand
crowns

crowns which had been granted in dowry with his wife, had never been payed; but they had forgot at the same time, that the marriage portion of Henry IV's daughter had likewise never been payed. The two courts at first waged a paper war with each other, in which the nicest calculations, and most learned arguments were displayed on both sides; but reasons of state silenced all other pleas.

The king confiding more in strength than arguments, marched in person into 1667 Flanders, as a place he was sure of conquering, at the head of thirty-five thousand men; while another body of eight thousand was dispatched towards Dunkirk, and a third, consisting of four thousand, to Luxembourg. Turenne had the command of this army, under his majesty. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state, to furnish the necessary expences. Louvois, the new secretary at war, had made immense preparations for carrying on the campaign, and magazines of all kinds were distributed over the frontiers. He was the first who introduced the advantageous method of supplying the army by magazines, which the weak condition of the government had hitherto rendered impracticable. Whatever place the king chose to lay siege to, or whithersoever he turned his arms, he was sure of finding supplies and subsistence ready. The quarters for the troops were all fixed, and their marches regulated. The officers were all kept close to their duty, by the strict discipline which this minister caused to be observed amongst them: and the presence of a young monarch, who was the idol of his army,

army, made the strictness of their duty light, and even pleasing to them. The military degree became a right more inviolably observed than even that of birth. It was the man's services and not his family that was considered; a thing which had hitherto been rarely seen. By this means an officer however inconsiderable in point of birth, met with the encouragement due to his merit; and those of the most exalted rank had no reason for complaint. The infantry, who sustained all the weight of the war, since the disuse of lances, shared with the cavalry in those rewards which they had till then been in sole possession of. These new maxims in the government inspired every one with a new kind of courage.

The king, assisted by a general and minister of equal abilities, both jealous of each other, and striving who should best serve him, at the head of the best troops in Europe, and newly engaged in an alliance with Portugal, with all those advantages attacks an ill defended province of a ruined and distracted kingdom. He had only his mother-in-law, Philip IV's widow to deal with, and she a weak woman, whose unfortunate administration left her kingdom defenceless. She had made her confessor, one father Nitard, a German Jesuit, prime minister, a man as fit for lording it over his penitent, as he was unfit for governing a state, having nothing of the minister or the churchman but haughtiness and ambition. He had the influence one day to say to the duke of Lerma, even before he came into the administration, "It is you who ought to shew me respect, since

since I have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With all this insolence, so contrary to true greatness of mind, he suffered the treasury to remain without money, all the fortifications in the kingdom to go to ruin, the harbours to be without shipping, and the army without discipline, destitute of generals, badly payed, and still worse commanded, in presence of an enemy who possessed all the requisites which Spain wanted.

The art of attacking places was not at the degree of perfection it now is, because that of fortifying and defending them was not so well known. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were almost destitute of fortifications, and even garrisons.

Lewis then had nothing more to do than to present himself before them. He entered Charleroi as he would Paris: Ath, and Tournai, were taken in two days: Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtrai, made as little resistance. The king entered the trenches before Douai one day, and the next morning it capitulated. Lisle, which was the finest town in that country, and the only one well fortified, and had a garrison of six hundred men, capitulated after nine days siege. The Spaniards had only eight thousand men to oppose a victorious army, and even the rear guard of this small body was cut in pieces by the marquis, afterwards marshal de Crequi: the remainder hid itself under the walls of Brussels and Mons, leaving Lewis to carry on his conquests, without striking a blow.

This

This campaign, which was made in the midst of abundance, and had been attended with such easy successes, seemed a party of pleasure made by a court. High living, luxury, and pleasures, were then first introduced into our armies, at the same time that the strictest discipline likewise was established. The officers performed military duty much more exactly than before; but with every kind of convenience. Marshal Turenne had for a long time been served only upon iron plates, when in camp. The marquis d'Humieres was the first at the siege of Arras, in 1658, who was served in plate in the trenches, and had different courses at his table. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young monarch, who was fond of magnificence, held the most brilliant court amidst the fatigues of the field, every one prided himself in shewing a taste for splendor, elegant living, dress, and equipage. This luxury, the certain mark of riches in a great state, and frequently the cause of ruin to a small one, was nothing in comparison of what has been seen since. The king, his generals, and ministers, then went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback; whereas now, there is not a captain of horse, nor the secretary of a general officer, but has his post-chaise hung on springs, in which he travels with greater ease and convenience, than in those days a person could make a visit from one part of Paris to another.

This delicacy in the officers did not hinder them from going into the trenches with their steel caps and cuirasses: the king himself set
the

the example. This prudent precaution preserved many a great man. It has been too much neglected since by our young people, who are naturally tender and effeminate, though courageous, and who seem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of the king's conquests filled Brussels with alarms. The inhabitants already began to remove their effects to Antwerp. All Flanders might have been conquered in a single campaign. The king only wanted a sufficient number of troops to put into those places which were ready to open their gates at his approach. Louvois advised him to put large garrisons into the conquered towns, and to fortify them; and Vauban, one of the many great men and surprising geniuses which appeared in this century, for the service of Lewis XIV. was appointed for this purpose. He constructed the fortifications on a new method of his own, which is now become the standard for all good engineers. It was matter of surprize to see towns surrounded by walls which were almost on a level with the neighbouring country. The old lofty and menacing ramparts were only more exposed by their height to the force of the artillery; but by making them sloping or shelving, they were the less liable to this inconvenience. He built the citadel of Lille on these principles. At that time, 1686 the government of a town and its citadel were among the French always vested in the same person; but now an innovation was made in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel: and here we may observe

serve, that the first of those plans in relievo, which are to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, is that of the fortifications of Lisle.

The king now hastened back to Paris to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his courtiers and mistresses, and partake of the splendid entertainments which he gave to his court.

END of the SIXTH VOLUME.



LOUIS XIV.

N. Rigaud pinx.

J. Hall sculp.

14 A. B. i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

W. Souther

COLEMAN'S

TAIR

THE

OF

LONDON

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CLXXIII.

*C*onquest of the Franche-Comte. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 1

CHAP. CLXXIV.

Magnificence of Lewis XIV. Conquest of Holland 10

CHAP. CLXXV.

Holland evacuated. The Franche Comte conquered a second time 37

CHAP. CLXXVI.

The glorious campaign and death of marshal Turenne. 48

CHAP. CLXXVII.

From the death of Turenne to the peace of Nimeguen, in 1678 61

CHAP. CLXXVIII.

The taking of Strasburg; the bombarding of Algiers; the submission of the Genoese; the embassy from the emperor of Siam; the pope braved in Rome; and the succession to the electorate of Cologne disputed. 78

CHAP. CLXXIX.

King James of England deposed by his son-in-law William III. and protected by Lewis XIV. 97

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CLXXIX.

Of what passed on the continent, while William III. was invading England, Scotland, and Ireland, till the year 1697. The burning of the Palatinate. Victories of the marshals Catinat and Luxembourg. 116

C H A P. CLXXX.

Treaty with Savoy. Marriage of the duke of Burgundy. Peace of Ryswick. State of France and Europe. Death and last will of Charles II, king of Spain. 129

C H A P. CLXXXI.

The war of 1701. Conduct of Prince Eugene, Marshal Villeroy, the duke of Vendome, the duke of Marlborough, and Marshal Villars till the year 1703.

C H A P. CLXXXII.

Loss of the battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim 200

C H A P. CLXXXIII.

Losses in Spain. Loss of the battle of Ramillies and Turin, and their consequences. 212

C H A P. CLXXXIV.

The losses of the French and Spaniards continued. Lewis XIV. humbled; his perseverance and resources. Battle of Malplaquet. 228

C H A P. CLXXXV.

Lewis XIV. continues to solicit peace, and to defend himself. The duke of Vendome secures the king of Spain on his throne. 253

C H A P. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by marshal Villars at Denain. The affairs of France retrieved. The general peace. 267

T H E

AGE of LEWIS XIV.

C H A P. CLXXIII.

Conquest of the FRANCHE-COMTE. Peace
of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE whole court was taken up with the diversions at St. Germain's, when, in the midst of winter, in the month of January, every one was surpris'd to see troops in motion on all sides, and several bodies coming and going on the road to Champagne; in the three bishoprics. Several trains of battering cannon, and waggons loaded with ammunition, stopped under different pretences on the route which leads from Champagne to Burgundy. This part of France was fill'd with movements, of which no one could conjecture the cause. Foreigners through interest, and the courtiers through curiosity, exhausted themselves in surmises: Germany was alarmed; but every one was alike ignorant of the object of these vast preparations and irregular marches. Never

was more secrecy observed in a conspiracy than in this expedition of Lewis XIV. At length, on the second of February, the king himself set out from St. Germain's, with the young duke of Enguien and some of his courtiers, the other officers were at the place of rendezvous appointed for the troops. He made long journeys on horseback, and arrived at Dijon. Twenty thousand men, who had been assembled on different routes, met the same day in the Franche-Comté, at some leagues distance from Besançon, and the great Condé appeared at their head, having his friend Bouteville-Montmorency* for his chief lieutenant-general, lately made duke of Luxembourg, and who had always preserved an inviolable attachment to him through every change of his fortune. Luxembourg had studied the art of war under the great Condé, and his great merit obliged the king, who did not love him, to employ him.

The springs of this unforeseen expedition were these: the prince of Condé was jealous of Turenne's reputation †; and Louvois ‡ of his

* Francis Henry de Montmorency, duke of Luxembourg, peer and marechal of France, count de Bouteville and de Lusse, lord of Brecy, &c. was the posthumous son of Francis de Montmorency, count de Lusse and de Bouteville, and became one of the greatest generals that France ever produced.

† It may perhaps be unnecessary to inform the reader that this great captain, Henry de la Tour vicomte de Turenne, was second son to the duke of Bouillon.

‡ Louvois-Francis-Michael le Tellier marquis de Louvois, was the eldest son of Michael le Tellier chancellor of France. As secretary of war, and afterwards minister of state, he distinguished himself by his capacity and diligence, and was famous for the art of providing magazines for the use of armies.

favour with his master. Condé's jealousy was that of an hero, Louvois' that of a minister. The prince, who was governor of Burgundy, which borders upon the Franche-Comté, had formed the project of making himself master of this province during the winter season, in as short a time as Turenne had taken in the foregoing summer to make the conquest of French Flanders. He immediately communicated his scheme to Louvois, who eagerly embraced it, glad of an opportunity of removing Turenne to a distance, and making him uselefs, and at the same time of serving his master.

This province, which was then very poor, but extremely well peopled, is forty leagues long, and twenty broad. It was called the Franche-Comté, (or the free country,) and was actually so; for the Spanish kings were rather its protectors than its masters: and though this country was in the government of Flanders, yet it was very little dependent on it. The administration was divided and disputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comté. The people enjoyed many considerable privileges, which the court of Madrid were cautious of infringing, being desirous to keep fair with a province that was jealous of its rights, and so near a neighbour to France. Never did people live under a milder government, or were more attached to their sovereigns. They had preserved an affection to the house of Austria for near two generations; but this was rather the love of their liberty.

In a word, the Franche-Comté was happy, though poor; but as it was a kind of republic, there were necessarily some factions among its

inhabitants ; and notwithstanding what is said by Pelisson, Lewis did not confine himself merely to force on this occasion.

He began by gaining over some of the inhabitants, by presents and promises. He made sure of the abbot John Watteville, brother to him who having insulted the French ambassador at a public entry at London, had by this outrage occasioned the humiliation of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria*. This abbot, who had formerly been an officer, then a Carthusian friar, afterwards a Turk, and last of all a churchman, had the promise of being made high dean, and of having several other preferments in the church. The count of St. Amour, the governor's nephew, was likewise bribed, and the governor himself at last proved not inflexible. A number of the counsellors of the parliament were bought at a reasonable rate, and all these private intrigues were at their very beginning seconded by an army of twenty thousand men. Besançon, the capital of the province, is invested by the prince of Condé. Luxembourg marches to Salins ; and the next day Besançon and Salins surrender. Besançon insisted on no other terms of capitulation than that it should remain in possession of the holy handkerchief, which was held in great reverence in that city, and which was very readily granted them. The king being arrived at Dijon, Louvois, who had hastened to the frontiers to direct all the marches, comes and informs them at the same time, that these two towns are besieged and taken. The king

* See Chap. CLXXI, Vol. VI.

immediately flies to shew himself to fortune, who did every thing for him.

He next went and laid siege to Dole, in person, a place reputed very strong, in which the count of Montrevel commanded; a person of distinguished valour, who, out of a greatness of mind was faithful to the Spanish government, which he hated, and a parliament which he despised. His garrison consisted of no more than four hundred soldiers, and the inhabitants of the place, and yet he bravely resolved to defend it. The trenches were not carried on in form; for no sooner were they opened than a crowd of young volunteers, who had followed the king, flew to attack the counterscarp, on which they made a lodgment. The prince of Condé, whose age and experience gave him a more sedate courage, supported them properly, and by sharing in their danger extricated them from it. This prince was every where with his son; and went to give an account of all that passed to the king, as if he had been an officer who had his fortune to make. The king remained in his quarters, where he displayed the dignity of a monarch in his court, rather than that impetuous ardour which is by no means necessary. The same ceremonials were observed there as at St. Germain's. He had his great couché, and his lesser one; he had his drawing-rooms, his public audience hall in his tent, and never stooped from the dignity of the throne in any other respect than that of permitting his general officers and aids-de-camp to dine at the same table with him. He never was seen to expose himself to the ruder fatigues of war, nor to shew that rash

courage for which Francis I. and Henry IV. were so famous, who greedily sought after danger in all shapes. He was contented with not fearing it himself, and with encouraging all about him to rush into it with ardour for his service. He entered Dole after four days siege, and twelve days after his departure from St. Germain's, and in less than three weeks the whole province of Franche-Comté was reduced. The Spanish council, both amazed and incensed at the small resistance which had been made, told the governor in a letter, "That the French king should have sent his valets to take possession of the province, instead of marching against it in person."

So much ambition and good fortune roused Europe from its lethargy. The empire began to stir, and the emperor to raise troops. The Swiss nation, who are neighbours to the people of Franche-Comté, and who have nothing to depend upon but their liberty, trembled for themselves. The rest of Flanders might be invaded the ensuing spring: the Dutch, whose interest it had always been to have the French their friends, shuddered at the thoughts of having them for neighbours. Spain had then recourse for protection, and actually received it from that inconsiderable nation, which it had hitherto looked upon as a contemptible and rebellious people.

Holland was then governed by John de Witt, who had been chosen grand pensionary, when he was only twenty-five years old; a man who had the freedom of his country as much at heart as his own personal greatness: wedded to the old republican principles, frugality and moderation,

ration, he kept only one man and a maid, and walked always on foot at the Hague, while in the negociations of Europe his name was ranked with that of the most powerful kings: he was a person of unwearied application, of the greatest regularity, prudence, and assiduity in public affairs; an excellent citizen, a great politician, and yet in the end very unfortunate.

He had contracted a friendship with Sir William Temple, the English ambassador at the Hague, which is rarely to be found between statesmen. Sir William was a philosopher, who blended a taste for literature with public affairs, and an honest man, notwithstanding that bishop Burnet has reproached him with atheism; he was born with a prudent republican genius, loved Holland like his own country, because it was the seat of liberty, of which he was as jealous as the grand pensionary himself. These two excellent members of community, joined with count Dohna, the Swedish ambassador, to stop the French king's progress.

This period was distinguished by rapid events. That part of Flanders which is called French Flanders had been all taken within three months, and the Franche-Comté in the space of three weeks. The treaty entered into between Holland, England, and Sweden, for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and bridling the ambition of Lewis XIV. was proposed and concluded in five days-time*.

The French monarch was not a little incensed, that a pitiful state like that of Holland should have presumed to think of setting bounds

* This was called the triple alliance.

to his conquests, and being the arbiter between crowned heads ; and still more so, that it was in a condition to do it. He was sensibly affected with this indignity put upon his greatness by the Dutch, which he was obliged to swallow for the present ; but for which he from that instant meditated revenge.

Ambitious, powerful, and incensed as he was, he yet found it most prudent to divert the storm which began to gather from all parts of Europe. He himself made the first overtures for peace. Aix-la-Chapelle was pitched upon by the courts of France and Spain for the place of conferences, and the new pope, Rospigliosi, (Clement IX.) was chosen mediator.

The court of Rome, to cover its weakness with a shew of credit, earnestly contended for the honour of being the arbiter between crowned heads. It had been disappointed at the peace of the Pyrennees ; but it seemed to have carried its point at this of Aix-la-Chapelle. A nuncio was sent to the congress, to be a phantom of an arbiter between phantoms of plenipotentiaries. The Dutch, who already began to feel a thirst for honour, would not share that of concluding what they had begun with any other. Accordingly every thing was in fact settled at St. Germain's, by their ambassador Van-Beuning. What had been privately agreed upon there with him, was sent to Aix-la-Chapelle to be signed in great pomp by the ministers assembled at the congress. Who could have supposed thirty years before, that a burgher of Holland would oblige the kings of France and Spain to abide by his arbitration ?

This

This Van-Beuning, who was burgomaster of Amsterdam, had all the vivacity of a Frenchman, with the pride of a Spaniard. He took a pleasure to thwart the king's imperious disposition on all occasions; and opposed a republican inflexibility to the magisterial tone, which the French ministers began to assume. "Do you doubt the king's word?" said monsieur de Lionne to him, one day at a conference. "I know not what the king may intend, said Van-Beuning, I only consider what he may do." In short, at the court of the proudest monarch in the world, a simple burgomaster concluded by his own authority a peace by which the king was obliged to restore the Franche-Comté. May 2. The Dutch would have been much better pleased that he had restored Flanders, by which they would have been freed from so formidable a neighbour: but all Europe thought the king shewed sufficient moderation, in parting with the Franche-Comté. However, he was a greater gainer by keeping the towns in Flanders, as by this means he opened himself a way into Holland, whose destruction he meditated even while he appeared to make the greatest concessions.

CHAP. CLXXIV.

Magnificence of LEWIS XIV. Conquest of
HOLLAND.

LEWIS XIV. being obliged to remain peaceable for some time, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, fortify, and embellish his kingdom. His example shewed, that an absolute prince, who has good intentions, can compass the greatest things without difficulty. He had only to command; and the successes in the administration were no less rapid than his conquests had been. It was a thing truly wonderful to see the sea-ports, which were in a manner desolate and in ruins, now surrounded with works which served at once for their ornament and defence, full of shipping and seamen, and containing upwards of sixty large vessels, which might occasionally be fitted for war. New colonies were every day sailing from all the ports in the kingdom, under the protection of the French flag, for America, the East Indies, and the coast of Barbary. At the same time, thousands of hands were employed at home under the king's eye, in raising immense edifices, and in all the arts which architecture introduces; while those of the more noble and ingenious kind embellished the court and capital, and diffused a degree of delight and fame over the kingdom, of which the preceding age had not even an idea. Literature flourished, and good taste and sound reasoning made their way into the schools of error and barbarism. But a
more

more circumstantial account of these things, which made the happiness and glory of France, will be found in their proper place in this work : at present we must confine ourselves to general and military affairs.

At this period Portugal exhibited a strange spectacle to the rest of Europe. Don Alphonso, the unworthy son of the fortunate Don John of Braganza, reigned in that kingdom. He was a weak and hot-headed man. His wife, who was daughter to the duke of Nemours, had conceived a passion for his brother, Don Pedro, and had the boldness to form a design of dethroning her husband and marrying the man she loved. The brutishness of her husband, in some measure justified this bold attempt of the queen's. Alphonso was of a more than common bodily strength : he had had a child by a courtesan, whom he publicly acknowledged for his own : he had for a long time cohabited with the queen his wife, and yet, notwithstanding all this, she accused him of impotency, and having by her dexterous management acquired that authority in the kingdom, which her husband had lost by his mad frenzy ; she shut him up in a prison, and obtained a dispensation from the pope to marry her brother-in-law. It is not in the least surprising that the court of Rome should grant these dispensations ; but it is very extraordinary, that those who have the power in their own hands should stand in need of them. This event, which affected only the royal family, and caused no revolution in the kingdom of Portugal, nor produced any change in the affairs of Europe,

merits our attention only on account of its singularity.

France soon afterwards gave asylum to a king who descended from the throne in another manner: this was John Casimir, king of Poland, who renewed the example of queen Christina. Tired by the fatigues of government, and desirous to live happily, he pitched upon Paris for the place of his retreat, and retired to the abbey of St. Germain, of which he was abbot. Paris, which had for some years past been the abode of all the arts, afforded a delightful residence for a prince who sought the enjoyment of social pleasures, and was a lover of learning. He had been a jesuit and a cardinal before he was king; and now, equally disgusted with the regal and ecclesiastical state, was only desirous of living as a private person and a philosopher, and would never suffer the title of majesty to be given him at Paris.

But an affair of a more interesting nature took up the attention of all the Christian potentates.

The Turks, who, though not so formidable as under their Mahomets, their Selims, and their Solymans, were still dangerous, and strengthened by our divisions, had been laying siege to the island of Candy for above two years, with all the forces of the empire. We can hardly say whether it was most astonishing, that the Venetians made so long a defence, or that the princes of Europe should have abandoned them.

Times were greatly changed. Formerly, when Christendom was in a barbarous state, a pope, or even a monk, could send forth millions of Christians

stians to make war upon the Mahometans in their own empire: our dominions were stripped of men and money, to make the conquest of the wretched and barren province of Judæa; and now that the island of Candy, deemed the bulwark of Christendom, was over-run by sixty thousand Turks; the Christian kings looked on with indifference while it was lost. A few gallies sent by the Maltese and the pope, were the only succours this republic received to defend itself against the whole Ottoman empire. The senate of Venice, with all its prudence, was unable with such weak succours to withstand the grand vizir Kiuperli, who was an able minister, a still more able general, and master of the Turkish empire, assisted by a formidable army, and even provided with good engineers.

Lewis in vain attempted to set the other princes of Europe an example in assisting Candy. The galleys and ships of war which he had newly built in the port of Toulon transported thither seven thousand men, under the command of the duke of Beaufort: but this assistance proved too weak in this dangerous conjuncture, no other court chusing to imitate the generosity of France.

A private French gentleman, named La Feuillade, did an action on this occasion which had no example but in the old times of chivalry. He carried near three hundred gentlemen over to Candy at his own expence, though he had but a moderate fortune. If any other nation had assisted the Venetians in the same proportion with La Feuillade, it is more than probable that the island might have been saved.

These

These succours, however, only served to retard its fall for some days, and to spill a great deal of blood to no purpose. The duke of Beaufort was killed in a sally; and the city, Sept. 16 reduced to a heap of ashes, was surrendered to the grand vizir by capitulation. 1669

At this siege, the Turks had shewed themselves superior even to the Christians, in the knowledge of the military art. The largest cannon which had hitherto been seen in Europe, were cast in their camp. They were the first who drew parallel lines in the trenches. It is from them that we learnt this custom; but they were indebted for it themselves to an Italian engineer. It is certain, that a victorious people, such as the Turks then were, with their experience, courage, riches, and that unwearied perseverance which then made their distinguishing character, might have conquered Italy, and made themselves masters of Rome in a very little time; but the dastardly emperors they have since had, their bad generals, and their faulty administration, have preserved Christendom.

The king, little affected with these distant events, waited only for the ripening of his grand project, of conquering all the Netherlands, and beginning by Holland. The opportunity became every day more favourable. This little republic was mistress of the seas, but by land nothing could be more weak. In alliance with England and Spain, and at peace with France, she placed too much security in treaties, and the advantages accruing from an immense trade: and with a well disciplined and invincible naval power,

power her land forces were as badly provided and contemptible. The cavalry was composed only of burghers, who never stirred out of their houses, and payed the dregs of the people to do duty in their stead. The infantry was nearly upon the same footing. Commissions in the army, and even the command of garrison towns, were given to children, or the relations of burgomasters, brought up in idleness and inexperience, who considered their posts in the same light as priests do their benefices. The pensionary, John de Witt, endeavoured to reform this abuse; but he did not endeavour at it sufficiently, and this was one of the great faults of this famous republican.

In order to facilitate Lewis's scheme, it was previously necessary to detach England from its alliance with the Dutch, whose ruin seemed inevitably to follow, upon their being deprived of this support. The king found no difficult matter to persuade Charles II. to concur in his designs. This monarch indeed was not much affected with the disgrace thrown upon his reign and the English nation, when his ships were burnt even in the river Thames by the Dutch fleet. He entertained no thoughts of revenge or conquest. He was desirous of enjoying a life of pleasure, and reigning as much as possible without controul. This was his weak side: accordingly Lewis, who had only to speak the word, and be supplied with what money he had occasion for, promised Charles a very considerable sum, who was not able to raise any himself without the concurrence of his parliament. This secret alliance between the two kings was known to no

1670

one

one in France but Madame, sister to Charles II. and wife to Monsieur, the king's brother, to Louvois, and Turenne.

A young princess then, who was only twenty-five years of age, was the plenipotentiary pitched upon to put the finishing hand to this treaty with Charles. A visit which the king was to make to his new conquests of Dunkirk and Lisle served as a pretence for Madame's journey over to England. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient kings of Asia were nothing in comparison with the magnificence of this excursion. The king was always preceded or followed by thirty thousand men, while on the road, some of whom were destined to reinforce the garrisons of the conquered countries, others to work at the fortifications, and the rest to level the roads. His majesty was likewise accompanied by the queen his consort, all the princesses of the blood, and the most beautiful ladies of his court, amongst whom Madame shone with a superior lustre, and secretly enjoyed the glory and satisfaction of all this parade, which was wholly on her account. It was one continual feast from St. Germain to Lisle.

The king, willing to gain the hearts of his new subjects, and to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring states, distributed his liberalities wherever he came, to a degree of profusion. The most magnificent presents were lavished upon every one who had the least pretext for speaking to him. The princess Henrietta embarked at Calais to pay a visit to her brother, who was already come as far as Canterbury to receive her. Charles, blinded by the love he bore his sister, and the great sums promised him
from

from France, signed every thing that Lewis XIV. desired, and laid a foundation for the ruin of Holland, in the midst of feasting and diversions.

The loss of Madame *, who died in a sudden and shocking manner, immediately upon her return from England, and drew great suspicions upon the duke of Orleans her husband, made no alteration in what had been resolved upon between the two kings. The spoils of the republic they had devoted to destruction, were already shared by the secret treaty between them, in the same manner as Flanders had been shared between the Dutch and the French in 1635. Thus states frequently change their views, their alliances, and their enmities, and are not unfrequently disappointed, in all their projects. The rumour of this approaching expedition began to spread abroad, but Europe listened to it without being stirred. The emperor, taken up with seditions in Hungary, the Swede lulled asleep by negotiations, and the Spanish monarchy still weak and ever irresolute and slow in its determinations, left Lewis XIV. to follow the career of his ambition uninterrupted.

To complete its misfortune, Holland was at that time divided into two factions, the one

* The dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, was, in consequence of drinking a glass of succory water, by her physician's direction, seized with rack-ing pains in the bowels, of which she died. She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of her husband, who seemed to take umbrage at the intimacy of friendship that subsisted between her and his brother Lewis XIV.

composed of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of absolute authority seemed a monster contrary to the laws of human society: the other of republicans of a more moderate disposition, who were desirous of investing the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the posts and dignities of his ancestors. The grand pensionary John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the rigid sticklers for liberty; but the young prince's party began to gain ground. The republic was more attentive to its domestic dissensions, than to the danger which threatened it from without, and thus contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchased the king of England, but he likewise brought over the elector of Cologne, and the famous Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who was greedy of war and plunder, and was naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly assisted them against the bishop, and now joined with him for their destruction. The Swedes, who had joined with the republic in 1668, to check the progress of a conqueror who had then no designs against them, abandoned her as soon as they saw her threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former subsidies.

It is somewhat singular and worthy of remark, that of all the enemies who were about to fall upon this petty state, there was not one that could alledge a lawful pretext for entering into the war. This was much such an undertaking as the league between Lewis XII. the emperor Maximilian and the king of Spain, who.

who entered into a covenant to destroy the republic of Venice, only for being rich and haughty.

The states-general in the utmost consternation wrote to the king, beseeching him in the humblest manner to let them know if the great preparations he was making were really destined against them, his ancient friends and faithful allies? How they had offended him, or what satisfaction he required? To these remonstrances he returned for answer, "That he should employ his troops in such manner as became his dignity, for which he should be accountable to no one." All the reasons his ministers could give were, that the writer of the Dutch Gazette had been too insolent, and that Van Beuning was said to have caused a medal to be struck, reflecting upon the honour of Lewis XIV. Van Beuning's Christian name was Joshua. A taste for devices prevailed at that time in France. Lewis XIV. had taken a sun for his, with this legend: *Nec pluribus impar.*" Now it was pretended that Van Beuning, in the medal in question, which however never had existence, was represented with a sun, and these words for the motto: *In conspectu meo stetit sol*: "At sight of me the sun stood still*." It is certain, that the states-general had ordered a medal to be struck,

* It is certain that a medal was afterwards struck in Holland, which was supposed to be that of Van Beuning, but it had no date, on which there is the representation of a battle, with the meridian sun darting its rays down upon the combatants, with this legend: *Stetit sol in medio cæli.* This medal, which was the work of some private persons, was not struck till after the battle of Hochstet,
or

struck, expressing all the glorious deeds of the republic in the following legend: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, stabilita orbis Europæ quiete*: "The laws asserted, religion amended, princes succoured, defended, and reconciled; the freedom of the ocean vindicated, and peace restored to Europe."

In all this they boasted of nothing more than they had done, and yet they ordered the mould of this medal to be broke, in order to appease Lewis's anger.

The king of England on his side pretended that their fleet denied the honours due to the English flag, by refusing to lower their topsails to an English pleasure-boat, and complained of a certain picture in which Cornelius de Wit, the pensionary's brother, was painted with the ensigns of a conqueror. On the back-ground the painter had exhibited a representation of ships on fire. The truth is, that Cornelius de Wit, who bore a considerable share in the maritime exploits against England, had indulged himself in this trifling monument of his fame; but the picture itself was in a manner unknown, and hung in a room where hardly any one ever entered. The English ministers, who had transmitted their master's pretended grievances in

or Blenheim, in 1709, and relates to these two verses which were handed about at that time:

*Alter in egregio nuper certamine Josue
Clamavit, sol sta Gallice, solque stetit.*

Now, Van Beuning's Christian name was Conrad, and not Joshua.

writing

writing to the states-general, made mention of certain "Abusive Pictures." Now the Dutch, who always translate the memorials of foreign ministers into French, had rendered the term "Abusive," by the French word *fautifs, trompeurs*, false or lying pictures; upon which they returned for answer, that they did not know what was meant by *lying pictures*; in short, they never once conceived, that it related to this portrait of their fellow-citizen, nor could they imagine this to be a pretext for the war.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foresight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Lewis XIV. The history of mankind hardly furnishes us with an instance of such formidable preparations being made for so small an expedition. Of all the different conquerors that have invaded a part of the world, not one ever began the career of conquest with so many regular troops, and so much money, as Lewis employed in subduing the petty state of the United Provinces. No less than fifty millions, which were worth ninety-seven millions of our present currency, were expended in these pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail. The king, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maestricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand more. The prince of Condé and the marshal Turenne were the head-generals of the king's army, and the duke of Luxembourg

embourg commanded under them. Vauban had the direction of the sieges. Louvois was present in all places, with his customary vigilance. Never was there so magnificent an army, and at the same time so well disciplined; but the king's household troops, which were newly reformed, made a most glorious spectacle. They consisted of four companies of *gardes du corps*, or body-guards, each company composed of three hundred gentlemen, among whom there were a considerable number of young cadets, who served without pay, but were equally subject to strict military discipline with the rest; two hundred gendarmes of the guard, two hundred light-horse, five hundred musketeers, three hundred chosen gentlemen remarkable for their youth and handsome appearance, twelve companies of gendarmerie, since augmented to the number of sixteen; even the hundred Swiss regiment accompanied the king on this occasion, and the royal regiment of French and Swiss guards mounted before the house where he took up his residence, or at the door of his tent. These troops, the greater part of whom were covered with gold and silver, were at once the object of terror and admiration to a people who were strangers to all kind of magnificence; and the exact discipline which was kept up in this army, made it appear in a different light to any that had yet been seen. There were at that time no inspectors of the horse and foot, as there has since been; but these offices were performed by two men who were singular in their way. Martinet* put the infantry upon the

* Hence all strict disciplinarians have been distinguished by the name of Martinets.

footing of discipline in which we now see it; and the chevalier de Fourilles did the same by the cavalry. Martinet had, a year before, introduced the use of the bayonet among some of the regiments: before him it had never been made use of in a constant or uniform manner. This last effort of what perhaps is the most terrible of the whole military art, was already known, but had been little practised, because spears were still much in use. This same officer likewise invented copper boats for bridges, which might easily be transported in waggons, or on horseback. The king, secure of success and glory from all these advantages, carried along with him an historian to write his conquests. This was Pelisson, of whom mention will be made in the article of polite arts, a person whose talent lay more in good writing than avoiding flattery.

Against the great Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, an incredible train of artillery, and immense sums of money, to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrison-towns, what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle or a siege, and about twenty-five thousand bad soldiers, which were all the strength of the country. William, prince of Orange, who was about twenty-two years old, had lately been elected captain-general of the land-forces, in spite of the opposition of John de Witt, who could no longer withstand the wishes of the nation. This prince, under the Dutch phlegm, concealed an ardent ambition and love of glory, which ever afterwards

wards manifested itself in its conduct, without ever appearing in his discourse. He was of a cold and sour disposition, but of an active and penetrating genius. His courage, which never abandoned him, supported his feeble and languid body under fatigues which seemed above his strength. He was valiant without ostentation, ambitious without being fond of vain glory, and endowed by nature with a phlegmatic obstinacy, formed for combating adversity. He delighted in war and politics, and was equally a stranger to the joys of society, or the pleasures attendant upon greatness; in a word, he was in almost every respect the direct opposite to Lewis XIV.

He was unable at first to make head against the torrent which overflowed his country; his forces were but inconsiderable, and even his authority was greatly limited by the states. The whole power of France was ready to fall upon a republic which had nothing to defend it. The imprudent duke of Lorraine, who endeavoured to raise troops in order to join his fortune with that of the republic, had just beheld his country seized upon by the French troops, with as much facility as they can seize upon Avignon on any quarrel with the papal see.

In the mean time the king caused his armies to advance on the side of the Rhine, into those countries which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He ordered money to be distributed among the inhabitants of all the villages which were likely to suffer from the march of his troops through them. If a private gentleman made the least complaint to him, he was sure of being dismissed with a present. An en-

voy being sent from the governor of the Netherlands to make a representation of some disorders committed by the soldiers, the king with his own hand presented him with his picture, richly set in diamonds, and valued at upwards of twelve thousand franks. This behaviour attracted the admiration of the people, and made them stand more in awe of his power.

The king was at the head of his household, and a body of his choicest troops, in all amounting to thirty thousand men. Turenne had the command under him. The prince of Condé was likewise at the head of as strong an army. The other corps, commanded alternately by Luxembourg and Chamilli, formed occasionally separate armies, which could all join one another in case of necessity.

The campaign was opened by the siege of four towns at once, Rhinberg, Orsoi, Wesel, and Burick; names which merit a place in this history only on account of the event. These were all taken almost as soon as they were invested; Rhinberg, which the king thought proper to besiege in person, did not stand a single attack; and, in order to make more sure of its reduction, means had been found to corrupt the lieutenant of the garrison, one Dofferi, an Irishman, who, after having been base enough to sell his trust, was so imprudent as to retire to Maestricht, where the prince of Orange punished his treachery with death.

All the strong holds upon the Issel capitulated. Some of the garrisons sent the keys of their town as soon as they perceived two or three squadrons of the French appear in sight. Several officers fled from the towns where they were

in garrison, even before the enemy had entered their territories : in short, the consternation was general. The prince of Orange had not a sufficient force to take the field. All Holland prepared to submit to the yoke as soon as the king should cross the Rhine. The prince of Orange caused lines to be drawn with the utmost haste on the other side the river ; and even after he had done this, he was sensible how impossible it was for him to defend them. Nothing now remained but to discover, if possible, in what part the French intended to throw over a bridge, in order to oppose their passage. In fact, it was the king's intention to pass the river on a bridge of those little copper boats, invented by Martinet. At that time the prince of Condé had received information from some of the country-people, that the dryness of the season had formed a ford on a branch of the Rhine, near an old castle, which served as an office for the toll-gatherers, and was called Toll Huis, or the Toll-house. The king ordered this ford to be sounded. According to Pelisson, who was an eye-witness of the whole, there was not above forty or fifty paces to swim over in the midst of this arm of the river. This was in fact nothing, for a number of horses abreast entirely broke the current of the water, which was of itself very weak. The landing on the opposite side was very easy, as it was defended only by four or five hundred horsemen, and two weak regiments of foot, without any cannon. The French artillery played upon those in flank, while the household troops, and some of the best of the cavalry, crossed the river without any hazard, to the number of fifteen thousand men.

The

The prince of Condé crossed at the same time in one of the copper boats. Some few Dutch officers, who at first made a shew of advancing into the water in order to oppose their landing, took to their heels the instant the French troops drew near to the shore, unable to stand before the multitude which came pouring on them. The foot immediately laid down their arms, and called for quarter. This passage was effected with the loss of only a few drunken horsemen, who had swam out of their depth; and there would not have been a single life lost that day, had it not been for the imprudence of the young duke of Longueville, who being, as it is said, overheated with wine, fired his pistol at some of the enemy's people, who had laid down their arms and were begging their lives, crying out, "Give the scoundrels no quarter;" and drawing his trigger, shot an officer dead. Upon this the Dutch infantry, in a fit of despair, instantly flew to their arms and made a general discharge, by which the duke of Longueville himself was killed. A captain of their horse, named Ossembrouk, who had not fled with the rest, rode up to the prince of Condé, who was just got on shore, and going to mount his horse, and pointed his pistol at his head. The prince, by a sudden motion of his body, turned aside the piece, and received only a wound in his wrist, which was the first wound he had ever received in all his campaigns. The French immediately fell upon this small body sword in hand, who began to fly on all sides. In the mean time the king crossed the river with the rest of the army, on a bridge of boats.

Such was the passage of the Rhine; an action which made a great noise, was singular in its kind, and was celebrated at that time as one of those great events which ought to occupy the memory of mankind. The air of greatness with which the king performed all his actions, the rapid success of his victories, the glory of his reign, the adulation of his courtiers, and, lastly, the fondness which the common people, especially those of Paris, have in general for every thing that appears extraordinary, or else that ignorance of military operations, which prevails among those who pass a life of idleness in great cities, made this passage of the Rhine be looked upon as a prodigy. It was the common opinion, that the whole army had swam across the river in presence of the enemy, entrenched on the opposite side, and in defiance of the fire from an impregnable fortress, called the Toll-house. It is a certain truth, that the enemy themselves were greatly imposed upon in this affair, and that if they had had a body of good troops on the other side of the river, the attempt would have been extremely dangerous.

As soon as the French army had passed the Rhine, it took Doesbourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Nisembourg, Nimeguen, Skenk, Bommel, Crevecœur, &c. and there was hardly an hour in the day in which the king did not receive the news of some fresh conquest. An officer, by name Mazel, sent monsieur de Turenne word, "That if he would send him fifty horse, he would engage to make himself master of two or three places."

The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and it capitulated, together with the whole province which bears

its name. Lewis made his entry into this city in triumph, accompanied by his high-almoner, his confessor, and the titular bishop of Utrecht. The high church was with great solemnity delivered up to the catholics; and the bishop of Utrecht, who had hitherto only held the empty title, was now for a little time put in possession of the real dignity.

June 20,
1672

The provinces of Utrecht, Overysfel, and Gueldres, were actually reduced, and Amsterdam only waited the hour of its slavery or destruction. The Jews who are settled there made interest with Gourville, the prince of Condé's confident, and chief manager of his affairs, to accept of two millions of florins, to save them from being plundered.

Naerden, which is in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, was already taken. Four horsemen, who were on a marauding party, advanced to the very gates of Muyden, which is not above a mile from Amsterdam, and where are the sluices by which the country may be laid under water. The magistrates, struck with a panic at the sight of these four soldiers, came out and offered them the keys of the town; but at length perceiving that no other troops came up, they took back the keys and shut the gates again*. A moment's more diligence would have put Amsterdam into the king's hands. This capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would no lon

* The castle or citadel of Muyden was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the draw-bridge, and so prevented the French stragglers from taking possession.

ger have been such a republic as Holland, and even the country itself would have been annihilated. Some of the richest families, and those who were most zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly to the extremity of the globe, and embark for Batavia. There was actually a list made out of the shipping fit for undertaking this voyage, and a calculation of the numbers they would carry; when it was found, that fifty thousand families might be thus transported into their new country. Holland then would have existed only in the farther end of the East Indies: its provinces in Europe, who purchase their corn wholly with the riches they import from Asia, who subsist wholly upon their commerce, and their liberty, if I may use that expression, would have been almost in an instant depopulated and ruined. Amsterdam, the staple and warehouse of Europe, where three hundred thousand souls are daily employed in cultivating arts and trade, would have become one vast marsh. All the lands round about require an immense expence, and thousands of men to raise their dykes: those would, in all probability, have been stripped at once of their inhabitants and riches, and at length buried under water.

The distresses of the state were still farther increased by the divisions which commonly arise among unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The grand pensionary, John de Wit, thought there was no other way left to save what remained of his wretched country, but by suing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he dreaded the aggrandizement of the house of Orange still
more

more than the conquests of the French king; on this account he had obliged the prince of Orange himself to swear to the observance of a perpetual edict, by which he, the prince, was excluded from the stadtholdership. Honour, authority, party-spirit, and interest, all concurred to make de Wit a strenuous asserter of this oath; and he chose rather to see his country subdued by a victorious king, than under subjection to a stadtholder.

The prince of Orange, on his side, who had more ambition than de Wit, was as much attached to his country, more patient under public calamities, and expecting every thing from time and his own unshaken constancy, tried all means to obtain the stadtholdership, and opposed a peace with as much vehemence as de Wit promoted it. The states, however, came to a resolution to sue for peace in spite of the prince, but the prince was raised to the stadtholdership in spite of de Wit.

Four deputies arrived in the king's camp, to implore mercy in the name of 1672
a republic, who six months before looked upon itself as the arbiter of kings. Lewis's ministers did not receive the deputies with that French politeness, which blends the mildness of civility with the severity of government. Louvois, who was of an haughty and arrogant disposition, and seemed better suited to serve his master well than to make him beloved, received the suppliants in a disdainful manner, and even with insulting raillery. They were obliged to go backwards and forwards several times, before the king would deign to make his will known to them. At length they were told,

that his majesty expected the states-general should give up all the places they were in possession of on the other side of the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their country; that they should pay him twenty millions of livres; that the French should be masters of transporting merchandize on all the principal roads in Holland, both by land and water, without ever paying any duty; that the Roman-catholic religion should be every where established; that the republic should send an extraordinary embassy to the French court every year, together with a golden medal, on which should be engraved a legend, importing, that they held their freedom of Lewis XIV. lastly, that they should make satisfaction to the king of England, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, who had joined in the desolation of their country.

A peace on these conditions, which were little better than articles of slavery, appeared insupportable; the haughtiness of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage, and it was unanimously resolved to die fighting. The hearts and hopes of every one were now fixed upon the prince of Orange. The populace grew furious against the grand pensionary, who had asked for peace. The prince by his politics, and his party by their animosity, increased the ferment. An attempt was made upon the grand pensionary's life; and afterwards his brother Cornelius was accused of a design to murder the prince, and was put to the rack. In the midst of his tortures he repeated the beginning of this ode of Horace,

Iustum

Iustum & tenacem propositi virum, which perfectly well suited with his condition and courage, and which may be thus translated, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin :

The man in conscious virtue bold,
Who dares his secret purpose hold,
Unshaken hears the croud's tumult'ous
cries,
And the impetuous tyrant's angry brow defies.
Let the loud winds that rule the seas
Tempest'ous their wild horrors raise;
Let Jove's dread arm with thunders rend
the spheres ;
Beneath the crush of worlds, undaunted he ap-
pears.

At length the two brothers were
massacred at the Hague, by the mad Aug. 20,
multitude, after one of them had go- 1672
vern'd the state, for upwards of nineteen years,
with the most unspotted integrity, and the other
had defended it at the hazard of his life. The
most shocking cruelties which could enter into
the imagination of a furious populace, were
exercis'd upon their dead bodies. These barba-
rities are common in all nations, the French
themselves had exercis'd them upon the marshal
d'Ancre, admiral Coligni, &c. for the popu-
lace is almost every where the same. They
wreaked their revenge upon all the pensionary's
friends ; even de Ruyter himself, the republic's
admiral, and who was the only one who fought
her battles with success, had his house surround-
ed by assassins at Amsterdam.

In the midst of these disorders and desola-
tions, the magistrates gave an example of integrity

grity rarely found in republics. Those private persons who were possessed of bank-notes, ran in crouds to the bank of Amsterdam, apprehending that the public stock had been broken in upon: every one was for being paid with the little money supposed to be left. The magistrates immediately ordered the vaults to be opened where this treasure is kept, when it was found entire, as it had been deposited there, for upwards of sixty years. The money was still black and discoloured, with the fire which had burnt down the town-house several years before. The bank-notes had been negociated till that time, and the money had never been touched; every one was then paid with this money, that chose to receive it, in lieu of their notes. So much integrity, and so powerful a resource, was at that time the more admirable, as Charles II. of England, not satisfied with the money he had received from France, and wanting a farther supply to carry on his war against the Dutch, and answer the expence of his pleasures, had lately turned bankrupt. If it was shameful in this monarch thus to violate public faith, it was no less glorious in the magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when they might have had a plausible excuse for a failure.

To this republican virtue they added that courageous spirit, which has recourse to the utmost extremities in irremediable evils. They ordered the dykes which keep out the sea to be thrown down. The country-seats, which are in prodigious numbers about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring cities of Leyden and Delft, were in an instant laid under water.

The

The peasant beheld his flocks drowned in the pastures, without once murmuring. Amsterdam stood like a vast fortress in the midst of the waves, encircled by ships of war, which had water enough to ride all round the city. The people suffered great want; they were in particular distressed for fresh water, which sold for six sous the pint; but these extremities seemed less grievous than slavery. It is a thing worthy of observation, that Holland, thus distressed by land, and no longer a state, still retained its power at sea, which was this nation's true element.

While Lewis XIV. was crossing the Rhine, and reducing these provinces, the Dutch admiral, de Ruyter, with an hundred sail of men of war and fifty fire-ships, sailed for the English coast in quest of the combined fleets of the two sovereigns, who, notwithstanding they had united their forces by sea, were not able to fit out a naval armament superior to that of the Dutch. The English and Dutch fought like people accustomed to dispute the empire of the sea with each other. This battle, which was fought near Solebay, lasted a whole June 7, day. Ruyter, who made the signal 1672 for beginning the engagement, attacked the English admiral's ship, in which was the duke of York, the king's brother. De Ruyter gained all the glory of this single combat*; the duke of York was obliged to go on board ano-

* There could be no glory lost on either side; for the duke did not quit his ship until she was disabled, and de Ruyter declared that this was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged.

ther ship, and never faced the Dutch admiral afterwards. The French squadron, consisting of thirty ships, had little share in this action; and so decisive was the fortune of this day, that it put the coast of Holland out of danger.

After this battle de Ruyter, notwithstanding the fears and contradictions of his countrymen, conveyed the fleet from the East Indies safe into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country on one side, while she was falling, overwhelmed with ruin, on the other. The Dutch even kept up their trade, and no colours but theirs were to be seen in the Indian seas. One day the French consul telling the king of Persia, that his master, Lewis XIV. had conquered almost all Holland; "How can that be, (replied the monarch) when there is now in the port of Ormus twenty Dutch ships for one French?"

The prince of Orange, however, had the ambition of being a good citizen. He made an offer to the state of the revenues of his posts, and of all his private fortune, towards the support of the common cause. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. By his prompt and secret negotiations he raised the emperor, the empire, the Spanish council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy: he even disposed the English court to listen to peace. In a word, Lewis had entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in confederacy against him.

Monterey, governor of Flanders, sent a few regiments privately to the assistance of the United Provinces. The emperor Leopold's council likewise

likewise dispatched Montecuculi, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with twenty-five thousand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The king now quitted his army, as there were no more conquests to be made in a country that was overflowed. July,
1672

It was even become difficult to keep the provinces which had been conquered. Lewis, desirous to secure the glory he had acquired, contented himself with having taken such a number of towns in the space of two months; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finish the war, he returned to St. Germain about the middle of the summer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his subjects were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the powers of Europe were at work to snatch them out of his hands.



C H A P. C L X X V .

HOLLAND evacuated. The FRANCHE COMTE conquered a second Time.

WE think it necessary to advertise those who may read this work, that they are to remember it is not a bare relation of campaigns, but rather an history of the manners of mankind. There are already a sufficient number of books filled with the minute particulars of military actions, and details of human rage and misery. The design of this essay is to describe

scribe the principal characters of these revolutions, and to remove the multitude of trifling facts, in order to set to view those only which are considerable, and (if it is possible) the spirit by which they were actuated.

France was at that time in the zenith of her glory. The names of her generals impressed veneration. Her ministers were regarded as geniuses superior to the counsellors of other princes; and Lewis XIV. seemed almost the only king in Europe. As to the emperor Leopold, he never appeared with his armies. Charles II. king of Spain, son to Philip IV. was as yet a child; and the king of England shewed no activity but in the pursuit of his pleasures.

The princes of Europe and their ministers were all guilty of great blunders. England acted against the common principles of reason in joining with France to aggrandize a power which it was her interest to weaken.

The emperor, the empire, and the king of Spain's council, committed still a greater error in not opposing this torrent in the beginning; and even Lewis himself was as blameable as any of them, for not rapidly pursuing conquests which were so easily made. Condé and Turenne were for demolishing the greatest part of the fortified places taken from the Dutch, alledging, that states were not to be taken by garrisons but by armies; and that, keeping one or two strong holds only for a retreat, they ought to proceed immediately to complete the conquest of the whole country. Louvois, on the contrary, was for making every place a garrison or fortress. This was his peculiar genius, and

and it was likewise the king's own taste. Louvois had by this means more employments in his disposal, and increased his ministerial influence; besides, he took a pride in thwarting the two greatest captains of the age. Lewis implicitly believed what he said, by which he was deceived, as he afterwards acknowledged. He let slip the opportunity of entering the capital of Holland; he weakened his army by dividing it into too many places, and gave the enemy breathing time. The history of the greatest princes is frequently a narrative of human errors.

After the king had quitted the army, affairs took a different turn. Turenne was obliged to march into Westphalia, to oppose the Imperialists. Monterey, the governor of Flanders, whom the Spanish council were afraid of countenancing openly, reinforced the prince of Orange's small army with about ten thousand men, by which the prince found himself strong enough to make head against the French till the winter. It was doing a great deal to be able to hold fortune in suspense. At length winter came on, and covered the overflowed country of Holland with ice. Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, carried on a new kind of war, to which the French themselves were strangers, and threw the Dutch into a fresh dilemma, as terrible as any thing they had yet experienced.

One night he gets together near twelve thousand foot soldiers, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons; and having ordered every man to be furnished with a pair of skates, he puts himself at their head, and begins his march over the
ice

ice towards Leyden and the Hague: a thaw comes on, which saves the Hague; and his little army, surrounded by the waters, knowing no longer which way to go, and being destitute of provisions, was on the point of perishing. There was a narrow and muddy dyke, where hardly four men could walk a-breast, which he was obliged to march over before he could get back to Utrecht; and there was no way to get at this dyke, but by attacking a fort which seemed impregnable without artillery; and had those who were in it defended it but for a single day, the French army must inevitably have perished with hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg now looked upon himself as lost; but the same good fortune which had preserved the Hague, saved his army, through the cowardice of the commandant of the fort, who abandoned his post without the least reason. There are a thousand events in war, as in civil life, which are altogether incomprehensible, and this was of the number. This expedition was productive of nothing but a piece of cruelty, which rendered the French name completely odious in this country. Bodegrave and Suvamerdam, two considerable villages, each well peopled, and as large as some of our middling towns, were given up to the soldiery for plunder, as a reward for the fatigues they had undergone. They immediately set fire to both towns, and indulged themselves by the light of the flames in all excesses of debauchery and cruelty. It is surprising that the common soldiers among the French can be so barbarous, seeing they are commanded by such a prodigious number of officers, who have with justice the reputation of being as humane

mane as they are brave. The sacking of these two places was so exaggerated, that I myself, above forty years afterwards, saw some Dutch books, in which children were taught to read, where this affair was recapitulated, in order to inspire the rising generations with an hatred to the French.

In the mean time the king cut out work for the cabinets of all Europe, by ¹⁶⁷³ his negociations. He gained over the duke of Hanover. The elector of Brandenburg, in entering into the war, had made a treaty which he soon broke. There was not a court in Germany where Lewis had not some pensioners. By his emissaries in Hungary he fomented the troubles of that province, which had been severely treated by the emperor's council. He lavished great sums on Charles II. of England, to engage him to declare war once more against the Dutch, notwithstanding the outcries and murmurs of all his subjects, who were filled with indignation at being made tools to raise the French king's greatness, which it was their interest and desire to humble. In a word, Lewis disturbed all Europe by his arms and negociations; but after all, he could not prevent the emperor, the empire, and Spain, from joining the Dutch, and publicly declaring war against him. He had so far changed the course of things, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become friends to Spain. The emperor Leopold sent his succours slowly; but he shewed great animosity against the French. It is reported, that as he was going to Egra to see the troops, which were there assembled, he took the sacrament upon the road, and that after

ter having communicated, he took a crucifix in his hand, and called God to witness to the justice of his cause. This action would have done very well in the time of the crusades; however, the emperor's invocation did not in the least stop the progress of the French king's arms.

It soon appeared how greatly his marine was improved. Instead of thirty ships, which had been sent the year before to join the English fleet, he now sent forty, without reckoning fire-ships. The sea-officers had learnt from the English the judicious manner of working their ships in their engagements with the Dutch. The duke of York, afterwards king James II. was the person who first invented the method of giving orders in a naval fight, by the different dispositions and motions of flags. Till that time the French did not know how to draw up a fleet in line of battle. All their experience consisted in fighting ship to ship, without knowing how to make a number move in concert, or to imitate at sea the evolutions of armies on shore, whose several different corps mutually sustain and assist each other. In this they resembled the Romans, who in one year's time learnt the art of fighting at sea from the Carthaginians, and soon became equal with their masters.

The vice-admiral D'Etrée, and his second in command, Martel, did honour to the industry of the French nation, in three successive sea-engagements, which were fought in the month of June, between the Dutch fleet and the combined squadrons of France and
1673 England. Admiral de Ruyter was more
ad-

admired than ever in these three engagements. D'Etrée, in a letter to Colbert, expressed himself in these terms; "I would willingly have died to purchase the glory which de Ruyter has acquired." D'Etrée deserved that Ruyter should have said the same by him. In short, the valour and conduct were so equal on both sides, that it remained doubtful which had the victory.

Lewis having thus made seamen of his French subjects, through the diligence of Colbert, improved the art of war at land by the industry of Vauban. He went in person to lay siege to Maestricht, at the time that these three naval battles were fought. Maestricht was the key of the Low Countries and the United Provinces. The place was prodigiously strong, and defended by an intrepid governor, named Farjaux, a Frenchman by birth, who had gone into the Spanish service, and afterwards into the Dutch. The garrison consisted of five hundred men. Vauban, who had the direction of the siege, made use for the first time of the parallel lines, which were invented by the Italian engineers in the service of the Turks at the siege of Candia. To these he added the *places d'armes*, or parade of arms, which is made in the trenches, for ranging the troops in order of battle, and better rallying them in case of sallies from the besieged. Lewis, in this siege, shewed himself more strict and assiduous than he had ever yet done. By his example he accustomed his subjects to endure labour patiently, who had hitherto been accused as a nation which had only an impetuous courage, that is soon exhausted by fatigues. Maestricht surrendered after a week's siege.

June 29,
1673

The

The desire of establishing strict military discipline among his troops, carried him rather to an excess of severity. The prince of Orange at first had only a few officers without emulation, and soldiers without courage, to oppose the rapid conquests of the French arms, and therefore was obliged to employ the utmost rigour in training them, and to hang every one who quitted his post. The king likewise made use of punishments. The first place he lost, a very brave officer named Du Pas, gave up Naerden to the prince of Orange. It is true, he held out the place only four days; but he did not give it up till after an obstinate engagement of five hours upon bad works, and to prevent a general assault, which it would have been impossible for him to have sustained with a weak and dispirited garrison. The king, incensed at this first affront which his arms had received, ordered Du Pas to be led through Utrecht by the common hangman, with a shovel in his hand, and to have his sword broke before his face. This ignominious treatment was perhaps not altogether necessary, as the French officers have too nice a sense of honour to need being governed by the fear of disgrace. It is to be observed, that according to the tenor of his commission, the governor of a fortress is obliged to stand three assaults; but this is one of those laws which are hardly ever put in force.

But not all the king's diligence, Vauban's genius, Louvois's strict vigilance, the knowledge and great military experience of Turenne, nor the active intrepidity of the prince of Condé, were sufficient to repair the fault which had been committed in keeping such a number of places,

places, weakening the army, and missing the opportunity of taking Amsterdam.

The prince of Condé in vain attempted to penetrate into the heart of Holland, which was all under water. Turenne could neither prevent the junction of Montecuculi with the prince of Orange, nor hinder the latter from making himself master of the town of Bonn. The bishop of Munster, who had sworn the destruction of the states-general, was
Nov. 1673
himself attacked by them.

The English parliament obliged its king to enter seriously into a treaty of peace, and to cease being the mercenary instrument of aggrandizing France. And now the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not till they had made them pay dearly for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raised in the single province of Utrecht in one year, no less than sixteen hundred and sixty-eight thousand florins. So great was their hurry to evacuate the country which they had over-run with such rapidity, that twenty-eight thousand Dutch prisoners were restored at a crown per man. The triumphal arch of St. Denis's gate, and the other monuments of Lewis's conquests, were hardly finished, when those conquests were already abandoned. During the course of this invasion, the Dutch had the honour of disputing the empire of the sea, and the dexterity to remove the theatre of the war out of their own country. Lewis XIV. was considered throughout Europe as one who had enjoyed the glory of a transient triumph with too much precipitation and pride.

pride. The fruits of this expedition were, that he had a bloody war to support against the united forces of the Empire, Spain, and Holland; saw himself abandoned by England, and at length by the bishop of Munster, and even the elector of Cologne; and left the countries he had invaded, and was compelled to quit, more hated than admired.

The king maintained his ground alone against all the enemies he had drawn upon him. The foresight of his administration, and the strength of his kingdom, appeared to a much greater advantage, when he had so many combined powers and great generals to defend himself against, than even when he took French Flanders in a party of pleasure, and Franche Comté, and one half of Holland, from a defenceless enemy.

It now appeared how great an advantage an absolute sovereign, whose finances are well managed, has over all other kings. He at one and the same time furnished Turenne with an army of twenty-three thousand men, against the Imperialists; Condé, with one of forty thousand, against the prince of Orange; and a body of troops were stationed on the borders of Roussillon. A fleet of transports, full of soldiers, was sent to carry the war among the Spaniards, even to the gates of Messina; while he himself marched in person to subdue the Franche Comté a second time. In a word, he at once defended himself, and attacked his enemies on every side.

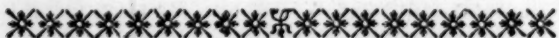
As soon as he began his expedition against the Franche Comté, the superiority of his administration shewed itself in the fullest manner.

It

It was necessary to bring over, or at least to amuse, the Swiss nation, who are as formidable as poor, are always in arms, jealous to an excess of their liberty, invincible on their own frontiers, and who already began to murmur and take umbrage at seeing Lewis a second time in their neighbourhood. The emperor and the court of Spain warmly solicited the thirteen cantons to grant a free passage to their troops, who were going to the assistance of the Franche Comté, which had been left defenceless by the negligence of the Spanish ministry; but the emperor and the Spaniard were only lavish in arguments and entreaties. The French king, on the contrary, by a million of livres in ready money, and the assurance of six hundred thousand more, prevailed on those people to do as he pleased. They refused to grant a passage to the Spanish troops. Lewis, accompanied by his brother and the great Condé's son, laid siege to Besançon. He was fond of this part of war, which he understood perfectly well, and left the care of the campaign to Condé and Turenne. Besides, he never laid siege to a town without being morally sure of taking it. Louvois made such excellent preparations, the troops were so well found in every thing; Vauban, who had almost always the direction of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of reducing places, that the king was secure of his reputation. Vauban directed the attacks against Besançon, which was taken in nine days; and, at the end of six weeks, all Franche Comté submitted to the king. It has ever since remained in the hands of France,

and

and seems to be for ever annexed to it, a monument of the weakness of the Austro-Spanish ministry, and of the vigour of that of Lewis XIV.



CHAP. CLXXVI.

The glorious Campaign and Death of MARSHAL TURENNE.

WHILE the king was proceeding in the conquest of the Franche Comté, with that rapidity, ease, and glory, which seemed inseparably annexed to his arms, Turenne, who was only defending the frontiers towards the Rhine, displayed all that was great and consummate in the art of war. Our esteem for men is generally measured by the difficulties they surmount; and this it was that gained Turenne such great reputation in this campaign.

In the first place, he made a long and hasty march, passed the Rhine at Philipsbourg, marched all night to Sintzheim, which he took by storm, and at the same time attacked and routed the emperor's general, Caprara, and the old duke of Lorraine, Charles IV. a prince who had spent his life in losing his dominions and raising troops; and who had lately joined his little army to a part of the emperor's. Turenne, after having defeated him, pursued him, and routed his cavalry at Ladimbourg; from thence he, by hasty marches,

marches came up with the prince of Bourbonville, another of the imperial generals, who was only waiting for fresh troops, to open himself a way into Alsace. Turenne prevented him from being joined by these troops, attacked him, and obliged him to quit the field of battle.

The empire now assembled all its forces against him: seventy thousand Germans occupied Alsace, and blocked up the towns of Brisfack and Philipsburg. Turenne's army did not consist at most of above twenty thousand effective men; but having received a small reinforcement of cavalry from the prince of Condé, who was then in Flanders, he crosses the mountains covered with snow, marches through Turenne, and Bedford, enters Upper Alsace, and appears in the midst of the enemy's quarters, who thought him lying inactive in Lorraine, and looked upon the campaign as already finished. He beat up the quarters at Mulhausen that resisted, and made two thousand of them prisoners. He then marched to Colmar, where the elector of Brandenburg, who was called the great elector, and was at that time general of the armies of the empire, had his head quarters, and came upon him just as he and the rest of the princes and general officers were going to sit down to dinner. They had hardly time to escape, and in one instant the country was covered with the flying.

Turenne, who thought he had done nothing, while there was any thing left to be done, lay in wait near Turkheim, for a party of the enemy's foot, who were to march that way. He had chosen so advantageous a pass, that he was

Jan. 5 certain of success : accordingly he en-
1675 tirely defeated this body. In short,
this army of seventy thousand men
was beaten and dispersed almost without any
great battle. Alsace fell into the king's hand,
and the generals of the empire were obliged to
repass the Rhine.

All these actions, following so fast upon
one another, conducted with so much art,
managed with such patience, and executed
with as much promptitude, were equally ad-
mired by France and her enemies. But Tu-
renne's reputation received a considerable ad-
dition, when it was known that all he had
done in this campaign had been done with-
out the consent of the court, and even against
the repeated orders sent to him by Louvois, in
the king's name. It was not the least instance
of Turenne's courage, nor the least memorable
exploit of this campaign, thus to oppose the
powerful Louvois, and take upon himself the con-
sequences, in defiance of the outcries of the court,
his master's orders, and the hatred of the ministry.

It is certain, that those who had more hu-
manity than esteem for military exploits, were
greatly displeased at this glorious campaign ;
which was as much distinguished by the mi-
series of the private people, as by the great
deeds of Turenne. After the battle of Sintz-
heim he laid waste with fire and sword the Pa-
latinate, a level and fertile country, full of rich
cities and villages : and the elector-palatine,
from his castle of Manheim, beheld two cities
and twenty-five villages burnt before his eyes.
This unhappy prince, in the first emotions of
his rage, wrote a letter to Turenne, filled with
the bitterest reproaches, and defying him to

single combat. Turenne having sent this letter to the king, who forbade him to accept the challenge, he made no other return to the elector's reproaches and defiance than an empty compliment, which signified nothing. This was agreeable to the general behaviour and stile of Turenne, who always expressed himself in a cool and ambiguous manner.

He, in the same cold blood, destroyed the ovens, and burnt all the corn fields in Alsace, to prevent the enemy from finding subsistence. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine, where they committed such disorders, that the intendant, who, on his side, laid waste that province with his pen, wrote to desire the marshal to put a stop to the excesses of the soldiery; who always replied coolly, "I shall take notice of it in the orders." Turenne was better pleased to be esteemed the father of the men who were entrusted to his care, than of the people who, according to the rules of war, are always the victims. All the evil he did seemed necessary: his reputation covered every thing; and, besides, the seventy thousand Germans, whom he prevented from entering France, would have done more mischief there than he did in Alsace, Lorrain, and the Palatinate.

The prince of Condé, on his side, fought a battle in Flanders, which was much more bloody than all the victories of the viscount Turenne, though it proved neither so fortunate nor decisive; or rather because he had abler generals and better troops to encounter. This was the battle of Senef. The marquis of Feuquieres insists that it should be called only a fight; because it was not an action between two armies

drawn up in battle-array, and that the corps were not all engaged; but it seems generally agreed to give the title of battle to this hot and bloody day. It is always the importance of an affair which determines its appellation. Had three thousand men, ranged in battle-array, been engaged with each other, and even all their different corps been in action, it would have been only called a fight.

The prince of Condé, who was to keep the field with only forty-five thousand men, against the prince of Orange with upwards of sixty thousand, waited for the enemy's army to pass a defile at Senef, near Mons, and fell upon a part of the rear guard, composed of Spaniards, over whom he gained a considerable advantage. The prince of Orange was blamed for not having taken sufficient precaution in passing through this defile; but every one admired the dexterous manner in which he repaired this accident; and Condé himself was censured for attempting to renew the fight against an enemy so strongly entrenched. The combat was renewed three different times. The two generals, in this medley of errors and great deeds, equally distinguished themselves by their presence of mind and courage. Of all the battles in which the great Condé had been engaged, there was no one in which he hazarded his own life and that of his soldiers so much as in this. After having sustained three bloody attacks, he was for attempting the fourth. "The prince of Condé, said one of the officers who was there present, seemed to be the only person who had an inclination for fighting". What was most remarkable in this action was, that both armies,
after

after having stood the most obstinate and bloody engagement, were seized with a sudden panic in the night time, and took to flight. The next day they retreated, without either side having kept the field of battle, or claimed the victory; both being equally weakened and defeated. There were about seven thousand killed, and five thousand made prisoners, on the side of the French; and the enemy's loss was nearly equal. This useless carnage prevented either army from undertaking any thing of moment against the other: but the appearance of advantage was at that time so necessary, that the prince of Orange, in order to make the world believe that he had gained the victory, laid siege to Oudenarde; however, the prince of Condé soon shewed that he had not lost the battle, by obliging him to raise the siege, and pursuing him in his retreat.

It was equally the practice with the French and the allies, to observe the idle ceremony of giving public thanks for a victory they had not gained: a custom established to keep up the spirit of the populace, who must always be deceived.

Turenne, with his little army, continued to make some progress in Germany, by the mere efforts of his military genius. The council of Vienna not daring to trust any longer the fate of the empire to princes who had made so bad a defence, once more delivered the command of its armies to general Montecuculi, the same who had defeated the Turks in the battle of St. Gothard, and who, in spite of the endeavours of Turenne and Condé, had effected a junction with the prince of Orange, and checked the

career of Lewis's conquests, after he had reduced three of the seven United Provinces.

It has been elsewhere remarked, that the empire has been frequently indebted to Italy for its greatest generals. This country, though in a state of declension and slavery, still produces men who put us in mind of what it has once been. Montecuculi was the only person fit to be opposed to Turenne. They had both brought war to an art. They spent four months in following and observing each other in their marches and encampments, which were held in greater esteem by the French and German officers, than even victories. Each of them judged what his adversary had in view, by the very steps which he himself would have taken on the same occasion, and they were seldom deceived. They opposed each other with perseverance, cunning, and activity. At last they were on the point of coming to an engagement, and staking their reputations on

the fate of a battle near the village of
 July 27 Saltzbach, when Turenne was killed
 1675 by a cannon ball, as he was going to
 fix upon a place for erecting a battery. Every
 one is acquainted with the particulars of this
 great man's death ; but we cannot refrain from
 repeating some of the principal circumstances
 of an event which continues to be spoken of
 to this day. There is one indeed which it is
 hardly possible to repeat too often. The same
 ball which deprived Turenne of his life carried
 off the arm of St. Hilaire, lieutenant general
 of the artillery, whose son throwing himself
 down by his side in a flood of tears, " Weep
 not for me, said that brave officer, but for that
 great

great man," pointing to Turenne. These words are equal to any thing that history has consecrated as most heroic, and form the worthiest elogium of the great Turenne. It is very seldom that in a despotic government, where every one is wholly taken up with his own private concerns, those who have served their country die regretted: nevertheless, Turenne was lamented both by his own soldiers and the people. Louvois was the only one who rejoiced at his death. Every one knows that the king caused the greatest honours to be paid to his memory; and that he was interred at St. Denis, as the constable du Guesclin had been, to whom the public voice declares him as much superior, as the age he lived in was superior to that of the constable's.

Turenne had not always been successful in the field. He had been beaten at Mariendal, Retel, and Cambrai; he had likewise been guilty of some faults, and was so much the great man as to own them. He had never gained very striking victories, nor fought any of those pitched battles which decide the fate of one or the other nation; but by always repairing his defeats, and doing a great deal with a little, he passed for the ablest general in Europe, in an age when the art of war was better understood than ever it had been. In like manner, though he had been accused of having deserted his party in the civil wars, and that, when almost sixty years of age, he had suffered love to make him reveal a secret of state, and that he exercised some unnecessary barbarities in the Palatinate, yet he still preserved the character of an upright, prudent, and honest man; because his virtues

and great talents, which were peculiar to himself, made the world forget those weaknesses and failings which were common to him with the rest of mankind. If we were to compare him to any one, we might venture to say, that of all the generals of past ages, Gonfalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, was the person whom he came the nearest in resemblance to.

He was born a protestant; but in 1688 he embraced the Roman-catholic religion. It was not supposed by either protestant or philosopher, that this change was the effect of mere persuasion only, in a warrior and a statesman, of fifty years old, who still kept mistresses. It was well known that Lewis XIV. when he created him marshal-general of his armies, spoke to him in these very words, which we find related by Pellisson in his letters, and others: "I wish you would lay me under an obligation of doing more for you." These words (according to these writers) might, together with time, have been the means of bringing about this conversion. The place of constable might perhaps have entered into an ambitious mind; it is also possible that this conversion might be sincere. The human heart frequently unites politics, ambition, religious sentiments, and amorous weaknesses; but the catholics, who triumphed in this change, would never be persuaded that the great soul of Turenne was capable of double dealing.

The turn which affairs took in Alsace immediately after the death of Turenne, made his loss more sensibly felt. Montecuculi, who had for three months been kept on the other side

side of the Rhine by the abilities of the French general, passed that river the instant he knew he had no longer Turenne to fear; he then fell upon a part of the army, which remained thunderstruck with its loss, under the command of the two lieutenant-generals, de Lorges and Vauban. Though the French defended themselves with great valour, they could not hinder the Imperialists from penetrating into Alsace, from whence Turenne had always kept them at a distance.

The army not only stood in need of a leader to conduct it, but also to retrieve the late defeat which had happened to marshal de Crequi, a man of an enterprising genius, capable at once of the noblest and rashest actions, and equally dangerous to his country and its enemies. He had lately, through his own fault, been beaten at Conzarbruck, and his little army routed and cut to pieces

Aug. 11.

1675

by a body of twenty thousand Germans, who were laying siege to Triers. Hardly a fourth part of his troops escaped. After this accident, he marched with the utmost precipitation thro' a thousand dangers, and threw himself into Triers, which he defended with the greatest valour; whereas he should have succoured it by a prudent management. He resolved to bury himself in the ruins of the place, before he would give it up; and even when a breach was made practicable, he still continued to hold out. The garrison began to murmur at this obstinacy; and one captain Bois-Jourdan, who was at the head of the mutineers, repaired to the breach, and proposed a capitulation. Never was cowardice carried on with so much bold-

ness; he threatened to kill the marshal, unless he would sign the capitulation; Crequi upon this retires, with some officers who remained faithful to him, to a neighbouring church, and chose rather to be a prisoner at discretion than to capitulate.

To recruit the great loss of men which the kingdom had sustained by so many sieges and battles, Lewis XIV. was advised not to confine himself to the usual levies from among the militia, but to issue his orders for assembling the ban and arriere-ban. By an ancient custom, which is now laid aside, all those that held lands in fee, were obliged to serve their lords paramount in the wars, at their own expence, and to continue in arms for a certain number of days. This service was one of the principal laws of our barbarous nations. Things are at present on a very different footing in Europe; every kingdom now raises soldiers, who are kept in constant pay, and form a regular and disciplined body.

Lewis XIII. had once, during his reign, assembled the nobility of his kingdom; Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The body of nobility took the field under the command of the marquis, afterwards marshal of Rochefort, and marched to the frontiers of Flanders, and from thence to the borders of Germany; but this body was neither considerable in its numbers, nor useful in its operations, nor indeed could be rendered so. The gentlemen who had a military turn, and were fit for service, had all commissions in the army; those whom age or discontent had kept at home, remained there; and the rest, who were employed in improving their
estates,

estates, came with repugnance, to the number of about four thousand. In short, they were far from having the appearance of military troops. They were all differently mounted and accoutred, void of experience, ignorant of discipline, and either incapable or averse to regular service; so that they caused only confusion, and were for ever laid aside. This was the last trace of ancient chivalry which appeared in our regular armies, of which those armies were formerly composed, and which, though possessed of all the courage natural to their nation, never fought well.

Turenne dead, Crequi beaten and a prisoner, Triers taken, and Montecuculi laying all Alsace under contributions, the king thought that the prince of Condé alone was able to revive the drooping spirits of the army, discouraged by the death of Turenne. Condé left marshal Luxembourg to support the French arms in Flanders, and hastened to check the progress of Montecuculi. On this occasion, he shewed as much coldness as he had done impetuosity at Senef; and, with a genius which conformed itself to every thing, he displayed the same art as Turenne had done. By two encampments only, he Aug. and Sept. stopped the progress of the German army, and obliged Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Haguenau and Saverne. After this campaign, which was indeed less brilliant, but more esteemed, than that of Senef, this prince no longer appeared in the character of a warrior. He was desirous of having his son appointed to the command in his stead, and offered to assist him with his advice: but the king

1675.

did not chuse to have either young men or princes for generals ; it was even not without reluctance that he had employed the prince of Condé, who owed his being at the head of the army to Louvois's jealousy of Turenne, as much as to his own great reputation.

The prince retired to Chantilly, and rarely came to Versailles, to see his glory eclipsed in a place where the courtier regards only favour. During the remainder of his life he was greatly tormented with the gout ; but he consoled himself in the midst of his anguish and disgrace, by the conversation of men of genius of all kinds, with which France then abounded. He was truly worthy of their acquaintance, being himself acquainted with most of the arts and sciences in which they excelled. He still continued the object of admiration, even in his retirement ; till at length that devouring fire, which had in his youth made him the impetuous hero, and subject to a number of passions, having by degrees consumed the vigour of a body, which was by nature formed rather active than robust, he experienced a total decay before his time ; and his mind growing as weak as his body, nothing of the great Condé remained during the two last years of his life. He died in the year 1680. Montecuculi retired from the emperor's service much about the time that the great Condé resigned the command of the armies of France.

CHAP. CLXXVI.

From the Death of TURENNE to the Peace of
NIMEGUEN, in 1678.

NOtwithstanding Turenne was dead, and the prince of Condé withdrawn from the army, the king still continued the war against the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, with as much success as before. He had a number of officers who had been trained up under these great men; he had Louvois, who was as good as a general to him, because, by his ready foresight, he furnished the generals with means of undertaking every thing they desired; and the troops, by a long series of victories, retained that ardour, which the presence of a monarch, ever fortunate in his undertakings, had inspired them with.

During the course of this war, he in person took Condé *, Bouchain †, Valenciennes ‡, and Cambray §. He was accused by some, of having been afraid to engage the prince of Orange, who, at the siege of Bouchain, presented himself with an army of fifty thousand men, in order to relieve the place. The prince of Orange was likewise reproached with not having given battle to Lewis, when he might have done it; for such is the fate of kings and generals, that they are always blamed for what they do, and for what they do not do; but neither the king nor the prince of Orange were in

* April 26, 1676. † May 11, 1679. ‡ March 17, 1677. § April 5, 1677.

the least to blame: the former did not give battle, though he was desirous of it, because Monterey, who was governor of the Netherlands, and who was then in his army, did not chuse to expose his province to the chance of a decisive action; and the honour of the campaign was undoubtedly on the king's side, since he did what he pleased, and took a town in sight of his enemy.

With regard to the town of Valenciennes, it was taken by assault, by one of those singular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the French nation.

The king carried on this siege, assisted by his brother and five marshals of France, namely, d'Humieres, Schomberg, La Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The marshals had each their day of command in turn, and Vauban had the direction of all the operations.

They had not yet made themselves masters of any of the outworks of the place. The first thing to be done was to attack two half-moons; behind which was a large crown-work, guarded with pallisades and fraises, and surrounded by a ditch, intersected with several traverses. Within this crown-work was another work, surrounded by another ditch. When all these entrenchments were carried, there was still a branch of the Scheld to be passed. Even after this, there remained another work, called *paté*; behind this *paté* ran the main stream of the Scheld, which was very deep and rapid, and which serves as a ditch to the town-wall, which was defended by strong ramparts. All these works were covered with
artillery,

artillery, and a garrison of three thousand men promised a long resistance.

The king held a council of war about attacking the out-works. It had always been a custom to make these attacks in the night-time, in order to steal upon the enemy unperceived, and save the lives of the men. Vauban proposed to make the attack in the day-time. This proposal was strongly opposed by the marshals, and Louvois joined in condemning it; Vauban however maintained his opinion, with the confidence of a man who is sure of what he advances: "You are desirous (said he) of saving your men as much as possible; you will certainly do this much better by day-light, when they will be able to fight without confusion and tumult, or being apprehensive of one party firing upon another, as too often happens in attacks by night. We want to surprise the enemy, who are always upon their guard against an attack by night; we shall therefore effectually surprise them, if we oblige them to stand the attack of our fresh troops, after they have been wearied out by the fatigue of the over-night's watch. Add to this, that if there are any of our men who want courage, the night favours their backwardness; but that, in day-time, the eye of the master inspires them with courage, and makes them surpass themselves."

The king was convinced by Vauban's arguments, and agreed to his proposal, notwithstanding the objections of the five marshals of France.

At

March 17, At nine o'clock in the morning,
1677 the two companies of musketeers,
an hundred grenadiers, a battalion
of the guards, and another of the regiment of
Picardy, mounted the great crown-work on all
sides. Their orders were only to make a lodge-
ment there, and this was a great deal; but some
of the black musketeers having found entrance
by a private passage into the inner entrench-
ments which were in this work, presently made
themselves masters of it; at the same time the
grey musketeers made way through another
passage; these were followed by the battalion
of guards, who fell upon the besieged, killed
some of them, and put the rest to flight. By
this time the musketeers had let down the draw-
bridge which joined this work to the rest: they
followed the enemy from one entrenchment to
another, both on the greater and lesser branch
of the Scheld. The guards pressed on in crouds,
and the musketeers were in possession of the
town before the king knew that the first work,
which he had ordered to be attacked, was car-
ried.

But this was the least considerable part of the
action. It is likely enough that a number of
young musketeers, inflamed with the ardour of
success, might fall upon the troops or burghers
whom they met in the streets, and lose
their lives, or else plunder the town; but
what is most extraordinary in this affair is, that
these young men, under the conduct of a cor-
net called Moissac, drew up in a rank behind
some waggons, and while the rest of the troops
who came in were forming with deliberation,
other musketeers took possession of the neigh-
bouring

bouring houses, and covered with their fire those who were in the street. Hostages were now exchanged on each side; the town-council assembled and dispatched a deputation to the king, and all this was transacted without pillage, confusion, or the least outrage of any kind. The king made the garrison prisoners of war, and entered Valenciennes with astonishment. The singularity of this action engaged us to enter into this minute detail.

The king likewise gained
 some honour by the taking of
 Ghent in eight days time, and
 Ypres in seven. His generals
 met with still greater success.

March 9, 1678

March 25, 1678

In Germany, indeed, the marshal duke of Luxembourg, at the beginning of the war, suffered Philipsburg to be taken in his sight, after a fruitless attempt to relieve it with an army of fifty thousand men. The general who took Philipsburg was Charles V. the new duke of Lorraine, who succeeded his uncle Charles IV. and was, like him, stript of his dominions. He had all the good qualifications of his unhappy uncle, without any of his faults. He commanded the armies of the empire with great reputation; but, notwithstanding he had reduced Philipsburg, and was at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, he could never get possession of his dominions; and it was to no purpose that he carried these words in his colours: *Aut nunc aut nunquam*, Now or never. Marshal Crequi, now ransomed from his confinement, and become more prudent by his defeat at Confarbruck, always kept the entrance into Lorraine shut

September,
 1676

Octob. 7, 1677 shut from him. He beat him
in a small skirmish at Kokerf-
berk, in Alsace, and continually harrassed him
in his marches. He took Fri-
Nov. 14, 1677 burg in his fight, and beat a
detachment of his army at
July, 1678 Rheinfeld. He passed the river

Keres in his view, pursued him to Offenbourg, fell upon him in his retreat, and having immediately afterwards carried the fort of Retel sword in hand, he proceeded to Sharbourg, where he burnt the bridge by which that city, which was still free, had so many times afforded a passage for the imperial troops into Alsace. Thus did marshal Crequi make amends for the imprudence of one day, by a series of successes which were wholly owing to his prudence; and, had he lived some time longer, it is probable he would have acquired an equal reputation with Turenne.

The prince of Orange was not more successful in Flanders than the duke of Lorraine had been in Germany; he was not only obliged to raise the siege of Maestricht and Charleroi, but, after having suffered Condé, Bouchain, and Valenciennes to fall into the hands of Lewis XIV. he lost the battle of Montcafé, against Monsieur the king's brother, in attempting to relieve St. Omer. The marshals Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded this army under Monsieur. It is said that the gaining of the battle was owing to an error committed by the prince of Orange, and a dextrous movement made by Luxembourg. Monsieur fought with a courage and presence of mind that was never expected from so effeminate a prince. There could

could not be a stronger instance that valour is not incompatible with delicacy. This prince, who frequently used to go dressed like a woman, and who had the same inclinations, behaved on this occasion like a general and a soldier. It is said that the king his brother was jealous of the reputation he acquired. He took very little notice to him of the victory he had gained, and did not so much as go to see the field of battle, tho' he was just by. Some March 11, of the duke of Orleans attend- 1677
ants, who were more discerning than the rest, prophesied to him then that he would never again have the command of an army, and their predictions were verified.

The taking of so many towns, and the gaining so many battles, were not the only successes which attended the arms of Lewis XIV. during this war. The count of Schomberg and marshal Navaille beat the Spaniards in the Lam-pourdan, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and attacked them even in Sicily.

This island, since the time of the tyrants of Syracuse, under whom it was of some note in the world, has always fallen a prey to foreigners: it has been successively enslaved by the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabians, the Norman princes vassals to the popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; still hating its masters and rebelling against them, without making any noble efforts to gain their liberty, and continually engaged in fresh seditions only to change its chains.

The magistrates of Messina had lately stirred up a civil war against their governors, and called in the French to their assistance. Their
harbour.

harbour was blocked up by a Spanish fleet, and they were reduced to the last extremities of famine.

The chevalier de Valbille was immediately sent with a few frigates to their assistance, who passed through the Spanish fleet, and threw a supply of provisions, arms, and men, into the city. Soon after the duke of Vivonne arrived, with seven men of war of sixty guns, two of
 Feb. 9. eighty, and a number of fire-ships,
 1675 engaged the enemy's fleet, which he
 defeated, and entered the harbour of
 Messina in triumph.

The Spaniards were obliged to have recourse to the Dutch, their ancient enemies, who were still looked upon as masters of the sea, to help them to defend Sicily. De Ruyter sails from the Zuyder Zee, passes the verge of Messina, and reinforces the Spanish fleet of twenty ships with three and twenty large men of war.

Jan. 8, And now the French, who, when
 1676 joined with the English, had not been
 able to beat the Dutch fleets, gained
 a victory alone over the combined squadrons
 of Spain and Holland. The duke of Vivonne, who was obliged to remain in Messina to restrain the populace, who already began to be displeased with their defenders, left the care of this engagement to du Quesne, his lieutenant-general, who was a man as extraordinary in his way as de Ruyter; he had, like him, rose to the command entirely by merit, but had never before had the management of a naval armament, having hitherto signalized himself rather in the character of a captain of a privateer, than
 the

the commander of a regular fleet. But whosoever possesses a genius for his art, and for carrying command, passes with great ease and quickness from the little to the great. Du Quesne shewed himself a very able sea-officer in this action against de Ruyter, was it only for having gained a small advantage over this experienced Hollander. He gave battle a second time to the enemy's fleets off Aosta *. In this engagement de Ruyter received the wound which put an end to his March 12, glorious life. He was one of those 1676 men whose memories are still had in the greatest veneration by the people of Holland. On his first entrance into a sea-life he was only a cabin-boy, or captain's servant, which makes him so much the more respectable. His name is equal with those of the princes of Nassau. The Spanish council gave him the title and patent of duke, an odd and ridiculous dignity to confer on a republican; the patent however did not arrive till after he was dead, when his children, proving themselves worthy of such a father, refused a title which is so earnestly sought after in our monarchies, but which is by no means to be preferred to the name of a good citizen.

Lewis XIV. had too noble a soul not to be concerned at his death; and, when some of his courtiers represented to him that he was now rid of a troublesome and dangerous enemy, "Nevertheless, replied he, I cannot help being afflicted with the loss of a great man."

* Aosta, Agost, or Avosta, a dutchy in the principality of Piedmont, belonging to the king of Sardinia, and lying near the sea-side.

Du Quesne, the de Ruyter of the French, attacked the combined fleets a third time, immediately upon the death of the Dutch admiral, and sunk, burnt, and took several of their largest ships. The marshal duke of Vivonne commanded in chief in this action; but it was nevertheless du Quesne who gained the victory. Europe stood amazed to see France, in so short a space of time, become as formidable by sea as at land. It is certain, that these armaments and victories only served to spread the alarm thro' every state. The king of England, having entered upon the war to support the interest of France, was now desirous of joining the prince of Orange, who had lately married his niece.

Besides, the great reputation gained in April 8, Sicily cost too much money, and
1678 lastly, the French evacuated Messina at the very time when they were thought on the point of making themselves masters of the island. Lewis XIV. was greatly blamed for having, during the course of this war, undertaken many things which he could not go thro' with, and for quitting Messina, as he had done Holland, after a fruitless conquest.

However, it must be allowed, that prince is very formidable who is no otherwise unsuccessful than in not being able to keep all his conquests. He pressed his enemies in every part of Europe. The war in Sicily had not cost him near so much money as it did the Spaniard, who was distressed and beaten in every place. He likewise raised up new enemies against the house of Austria; he fomented the troubles in Hungary, and his ambassadors at the Ottoman porte pressed the sultan to carry the war into Germany, though

at the same time common decency would have obliged him to send succours against those very people whom his politics had called in : for, at that time, the Swedes, his old allies, were engaged in an unsuccessful war, against the elector of Brandenburg. This elector, who was father to the first king of Prussia, had begun to exalt his country to that degree of reputation which has since received so considerable an addition. He had just then taken Pomerania from the Swedes.

It is remarkable, that during the course of this war, there were almost continual conferences held for peace ; first at Cologne, upon the fruitless mediation of the Swedes, and afterwards at Nimeguen, by the equally useless interposition of the English, whose mediation was become almost as idle a piece of ceremony as the arbitration of the pope. At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Lewis XIV. was actually the only real arbiter : he made proposals for a peace, the ninth of April 1678, in the midst of his victories, and gave the enemy to the tenth of May to accept of them. He afterwards allowed, the states general six weeks longer, upon their asking it in the most submissive manner.

He now entirely laid aside all ambitious views upon Holland : that republic had been so lucky, or skilful, to appear only as an auxiliary in a war which was begun for its destruction ; while the empire and Spain, who were at first only auxiliaries, were at length become the principal parties.

The king greatly favoured the trade of the
Dutch

Dutch by the conditions which he imposed upon them; he restored to them the city of Maastricht, and gave the Spaniards some towns to serve as barriers to the United Provinces; as Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg: but he reserved Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, Saint Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which made a great part of Flanders. To these he added the Franche-Comté, which had been already twice conquered: and these two provinces were no despicable fruits of this war.

He demanded nothing more of the empire but Friburg or Philipsburg, which he left to the emperor's choice. He reinstated the two brothers, Furstemburg, in the bishopric of Strasbourg, and their family estate, of which they had been stript by the emperor, who still detained one of them in prison.

He protected with an high hand his allies the Swedes, unhappily joined with him against the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg. He insisted that Denmark should give up all it had taken from Sweden, lower the toll-duties in the Baltick Sea; that the duke of Holstein should be restored to his dominions; that the elector of Brandenburg should give up Pomerania, which he had lately conquered; and that every article of the treaty of Westphalia should be again renewed. His will was a law throughout Europe; the elector of Brandenburg in vain wrote a letter to him, in the most submissive terms, in which he styles him, "His Lord and Master," humbly entreating he might

might be permitted to keep what he had conquered, with many assurances of his zeal and future service; but his submissions proved as inefficacious as his resistance, and the conqueror of the Swedes was obliged to restore all he had taken from them.

And now the ambassador of France insisted upon taking the upper hand of the electors. Brandenburg proposed every kind of modification, in order to settle a conference with the count, afterwards marshal d'Estades, who was ambassador to the states-general; but the king would never suffer a person who represented him to yield to an elector, and the count d'Estades could not treat.

Charles V. had put the grandees of Spain upon the same rank with the electors, consequently the peers of France had pretensions to the same equality. At present we see that things are changed in every point, since in the imperial diets the ambassadors of electors are now held in the same manner as those of crowned heads. As to Lorrain, Lewis offered to restore the new duke, Charles V. but insisted upon remaining master of Nanci, and all the great roads.

These conditions were imposed with the haughtiness of a conqueror; but yet they were not so unreasonable as to drive his enemies to despair, or oblige them to join together against him, as the only thing left. He at once dictated to Europe as a master, and acted as a politician.

At the conferences at Nimeguen he found means to sow jealousy among his allies. The Dutch were in haste to sign, in despite of the

VOL. VII. E prince

prince of Orange, who resolved at all events to carry on war, alledging that the Spaniards were too weak to assist them, should they refuse to sign.

The Spaniards, seeing that the Dutch had accepted of terms of peace, followed their example; alledging that the empire did not seem hearty in the common cause.

In the last place, the Germans, abandoned by Spain and Holland, signed after all the others, ceding Friburg to the king, and confirming the treaties of Westphalia.

There was no alteration made in the conditions prescribed by Lewis XIV. The enemy in vain affected to make some extravagant proposals, in order to disguise their own weakness. He gave laws and peace to all Europe. The duke of Lorraine was the only one who refused to accede to a treaty which appeared to him in so oppressive a light. He chose rather to be a prince, and wander through the empire, than to be a sovereign without power or honours in his own dominions; and waited in expectation, when time and his own courage should bring about a favourable reverse of fortune.

During the conferences at Nimeguen, and four days after that the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had signed the treaty of peace, the prince of Orange shewed how dangerous an enemy Lewis XIV. had in him. Marshal Luxembourg, who was then besieging Mons, had lately received an account of the conclusion of the peace; upon which he lay lulled in full security in the village of St. Denis, and dined that day with the intendant of the army. The prince of Orange, with his whole
army,

army, attacks the marshal's quarters, and forces them; a long and bloody engagement ensues, from which the prince had the greatest reason to expect the most signal victory; for he not only gave the attack, which is a great advantage, but he attacked an army which depended upon the faith of treaties, and grew remiss in their military rigour. Marshal Luxembourg could with great difficulty resist the fury of this attack; and if the advantage lay on any side, it was with the prince of Orange, whose foot remained master of the field of battle where they had fought.

Did ambitious men pay any regard to the lives of their fellow creatures, the prince of Orange would not have fought this battle. He certainly knew that the peace was already signed, or on the point of being so: he knew that this peace would prove advantageous to his country, and yet he hazarded his own life, and that of thousands of men besides, as the first fruits of a general peace, which was then so far advanced, that had he even beat the French army, it would have made no alteration in the congress. This act, as inhuman as it was glorious, and which at that time was more esteemed than blamed, did not produce one single additional article in the treaty; and the lives of two thousand French, and as many of the enemy, were thrown away to no end. By this peace we may see how much projects are contradicted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war was undertaken, and whose destruction seemed inevitable, lost nothing at all; on the contrary, she gained a barrier, while every other crowned

head who had preserved it from destruction, lost by it.

The king was now at the height of his greatness. He had been victorious ever since he came to the crown; never had besieged any place without taking it; was superior in all things to those in league against him; the terror of Europe for six years together; and at length its arbiter and peace-maker: he added to his estates the Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and one half of Flanders; and, what he still ought to look upon as one of the greatest blessings, he was king over a happy kingdom, now become the model to all other nations.

Some time afterwards, (in 1680) the town-house of Paris solemnly bestowed upon him the epithet of Great, and ordered this title alone to be placed upon all public monuments. Several medals had been struck as early as the year 1673, with this surname on them; and Europe, though jealous of his glory, did not cry out against these honours. Nevertheless, the name of Lewis XIV. has prevailed among the public more than that of Great. Custom governs all things. Henry, who had the surname of Great conferred on him after his death with so much justice, is commonly called Henry IV. and that name alone is sufficiently expressive. The prince of Condé is always called the Great Condé, not only on account of his heroic deeds, but from a lucky facility of distinguishing him by that means from the other princes of Condé. Had he been called Condé the Great, that title would never have remained with him. We say the Great Corneille, to di-

distinguish him from his brother. We do not say the Great Virgil, the Great Horace, or the Great Tasso. Alexander the Great in now only known by the simple name of Alexander. Charles V. whose successes were more dazzling than those of Lewis XIV. had never the surname of Great. It continues to be given to Charlemagne, only as a proper name*. Titles are of no use to posterity; the name of a man who has done great things, impresses more respect than the most sounding epithet.

CHAP.

* This is a strange medley of comparisons, without any propriety of distinction; and one of the remarks is, we apprehend, not founded upon reality: that, for example, which relates to Alexander, who is universally known by the name of Alexander the Great: the same epithet is constantly bestowed upon Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæsar. But whatever Mr. de Voltaire may think of the importance of his own nation in general, and of those characters in particular, which his nation has honoured with the appellation of Great, the consent of the French nation alone is not sufficient to establish this epithet. Alexander deserved the name of Great, in the opinion of all the enlightened nations then in being. Pompey was surnamed Great, by the undoubted metropolis of the world. Both the one and the other had performed such exploits as entitled them to that glorious addition. They had subdued the most formidable powers of Asia, and filled all the world with astonishment at the brilliancy of their victories. Henry IV. of France had never extended his success beyond his own dominions. His grand-son, Lewis XIV. had over-run Franche-Comté and Flanders, when they were both defenceless: but he was not able to complete the conquest of Holland, even though he was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the Dutch had not an army to oppose his career. In the sequel, though his generals obtained some victories over the prince of Orange, they never struck such a decisive stroke, but that he was always able to keep them at bay, and to

C H A P. CLXXVII.

The taking of STRASBURG; the bombarding of ALGIERS; the submission of the GENOISE; the embassy from the emperor of SIAM; the pope braved in ROME; and the succession to the Electorate of COLOGNE disputed.

THE general peace proved no restraint upon Lewis's ambition. The empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their extraordinary troops, but he still kept his in pay.
1680 Peace was to him a time of conquests*.

give them battle in six weeks after every defeat. Nor could they, with all their efforts, ever make another conquest on the territories of the states general. In the war that succeeded the death of king William, Lewis had the mortification to see his surname of Great melted down as it were, in a series of defeats and disasters, until he was at length obliged to sue for peace of those very states which he had treated with such insolence in his prosperity. How was it possible that a prince could retain the epithet of Great, in the midst of subjects who found themselves reduced to misery by his ambition? who saw that ambition blasted, and that idolized monarch sinking under distemper, and overwhelmed with disgrace? Besides, the personal character of Lewis, was evidently deficient in that enterprising courage and intrepidity, which are reckoned by all the world essential ingredients in the constitution of a hero.

* While this sheet was at press, there fell into the hands of the editors, a compilation entitled, *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*. In the third volume of which work, at the twenty-third page, are the following words: "The union of the courts of Metz and Besancon," which made us at first think that there was a court at Besancon united to that of Metz. Upon this we consulted several authors, but found that there never had been any court at Besancon appointed for

He was even so secure of his power at that time, that he established courts of jurisdiction in Mentz and Brisac, for annexing to the crown all the territories which were formerly dependent upon Alsace or the three bishoprics; but which had from time immemorial been in the hands of other masters. Several sovereign princes of the empire, the elector palatine, the king of Spain himself, who had several bailiwicks in these countries, and the king of Sweden as duke of Deux Ponts, were summoned before these courts, to do homage to the king of France, under pain of having their possessions forfeited. He was the only prince since the time of Charlemagne who had acted thus like the lord and judge of crowned heads, and conquered countries by judicial decrees.

The elector palatine, and the elector of Triers, were dispossessed of the lordships of Falkenburg, Germartheim, Veldentz, &c. They carried their complaints before the diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, but in vain; for that assembly contented itself with entering protests against these proceedings.

The king did not think it sufficient to be thus master of ten free cities of Alsace, by the same titles which the emperors formerly had: no one even dared to mention liberty in any of those cities. Strasburg yet remained a great and opulent city, and mistress of the Rhine, by

for deciding the territories properly belonging to France; and that in the year 1610, there were only the council of Brisac and Metz, whose business it was to annex to the crown of France the territories which had been dismembered from Alsace and the three bishoprics.

means of the bridge which it had upon that river; of itself a powerful republic, and famous for its arsenal, which contained nine hundred pieces of cannon.

Louvois had for a long time formed a design of putting this city into his master's hands. He had already prepared the way by bribery, intrigues, and menaces. The magistrates were seduced, and the people were struck with consternation, at seeing their ramparts on a sudden surrounded by twenty thousand French; their forts, by which they were guarded on the side of the Rhine, attacked and taken in an instant; Louvois at their gates, and their burgomasters talking of surrendering, which Louvois Sept. 30, accepted, and took possession of the 1681 town. Vauban has since fortified it in such a manner, that it has become the strongest barrier of France.

The king kept no better measures with Spain: he claimed the town of Alost, in the Netherlands, together with its whole bailiwick, which, as was pretended, his ministers had forgot to insert in the articles of peace; and upon the Spanish court making some hesitation in 1682 complying with his demand, he ordered the city of Luxemburgh to be blockaded.

At the same time he purchased the city of Casal, of the petty duke of Mantua, who would have sold all his dominions to supply his pleasures.

Europe began to be alarmed a-fresh, at seeing a power which thus extended itself on all sides, and had acquired in the midst of peace more than ten preceding monarchs of France had gained

gained by all their wars. The emperor, the Dutch, and even the Swedes themselves, finding great reason to be displeased with Lewis's proceedings, entered into a treaty of association. The English threw out some threats, the Spaniards resolved upon a war, and the prince of Orange left no stone unturned to blow up the flame; but no power as yet dared to strike the first blow*.

The king, who was feared every where, fought only how to make himself more formidable. He encreased the power of his marine beyond the most sanguine hopes of his subjects, or the liveliest apprehensions of his enemies. He had sixty thousand sailors in pay; and this rude body of men were kept to their duty, by laws as severe as those observed with respect to the military forces. The English and Dutch, on the contrary, though such powerful maritime nations, had neither so many seamen, nor such

* Some pretend that it was on this occasion that the prince of Orange publicly expressed himself in these terms: "If I cannot have his friendship, I will at least deserve his esteem." This saying has been preserved by several persons; and the abbé Choisi places it about the year 1672. It is worthy of some attention, as it seems a distant hint of the confederacies which William afterwards formed against Lewis XIV. But it is a mistake to say that it was at the peace of Nimeguen, that the prince of Orange spoke these words; and it is a still grosser error to suppose that Lewis XIV. wrote to that prince in these terms: "You ask me for my friendship, I will grant it you when you are deserving of it." This is the language of a lord to his vassal, and such insulting expressions are never made use of by one prince in treaty with another. This letter is found no where but in Maintenon's memoirs; and we are informed that this compilation is greatly censured for the number of falsities it contains.

good regulations. Several companies of cadets and marine guards were formed, and stationed in the frontier-towns and the sea-ports, who were trained up in all the arts requisite to their profession, under the care of masters payed out of the public treasury.

The harbour of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was formed at an immense expence, capable of containing an hundred ships of war, with an arsenal and magnificent store-houses. The port of Brest was likewise formed in the western ocean, at an equal expence. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with shipping, and nature herself was forced at Rochfort.

At length Lewis had above an hundred ships of the line, of which several mounted an hundred guns, and others more. These were not suffered to lie idle in port. His squadrons under the command of Du Quesne cleared the seas of the Algerine and Tripoline pirates which infected them, and punished Algiers by the help of a new art; the discovery of which was owing to the care he took to encourage all kinds of genius in his reign. This fatal but admirable art is that of bomb-vessels, with which sea-port towns may be reduced to ashes. There was a young man named Bernard Renaud, better known by the name of Little Renaud, who by mere strength of genius, became an excellent mariner, without ever having served on board a ship. Colbert, who found out merit wherever it was hidden, had frequently sent for this man to the council of marine, even when the king was present: it was in pursuance of his diligent observations and instructions, that they afterwards fell upon a more uniform

and easy method of building ships. Renaud had the boldness to propose in council to bombard Algiers with a fleet of ships. Every one present started at the proposal, not having the least conception that a mortar could be fired any where but on a solid ground: in short, he underwent all the raillery and contradiction which every one must expect who offers a new invention; but his firmness, and that eloquence which naturally accompanies those who are forcibly struck with their own invention, prevailed upon the king to permit a trial of this new project.

Renaud then caused five vessels to be built of a lesser size than common, but much stronger, without any upper decks, and only a platform or false deck on the keel, in which hollow spaces were formed for receiving the mortars as in beds. Thus equipped, he set sail under the command of old Du Quesne, who had the charge of this expedition, from which he expected little success: but the effect of the bombs filled both the admiral and the Algerines with surprize, one half of the town being presently beaten down and laid in ashes. Oct. 28, However, this art being soon communicated to other nations, served only 1681 to multiply the calamities of human kind, and proved more than once fatal to France, where it was invented.

This improvement in the marine within a few years, was wholly owing to the care and vigilance of Colbert. Louvois was continually employed in fortifying upwards of one hundred citadels; besides building the new ones of Hunningen, Sar-Lewis, the fortresses of Sharbourg,

Mont-royal, &c. and while the kingdom was acquiring this exterior strength, the arts flourished within, and pleasure and abundance reigned every where. Strangers came in crouds to admire the court of Lewis XIV. whose name was carried to the most distant nations of the earth.

His glory and success received a farther addition, from the weakness of most of the other crowned heads in Europe, and the miserable state of their people. The emperor Leopold was at that time in fear of the rebellious Hungarians, and especially of the Turks, whom they had called in to their assistance, and were preparing to invade Germany. Lewis thought it politic to persecute the protestants of his own kingdom, in order to prevent them from being able to give him any disturbance; but he underhand protected the protestants and rebels in Hungary, because they might be of service to him. His ambassadors at the Turkish court had importuned the sultan to fit out an armament before the peace of Nimeguen. The divan by an unaccountable singularity has almost always waited till the emperor was at peace to break with him. The war in Hungary was not begun till the year 1682, and the ensuing year, the Turkish army of two hundred thousand men; reinforced by several bodies of Hungarian troops, meeting with no fortified towns, such as there are in France, nor any regular army to oppose its progress, advanced to the very gates of Vienna, after laying all waste in its march.

The emperor Leopold, at the approach of the Turks, quitted Vienna with the utmost precipitation.

capitation, and retired to Lentz ; and when he heard that they had invested his capital, he only retired at a still greater distance, to Passau, leaving the duke of Lorraine at the head of an inconsiderable army, which had already been attacked by the Turks in their march, to defend the empire as well as he could.

No one made the least doubt but that the grand vizir, Cara Mustapha, who commanded the Ottoman army, would soon be master of Vienna, a badly fortified city, abandoned by its sovereign, and defended only by a garrison of ten thousand effective men, though called sixteen thousand. In short, a dreadful revolution was every moment expected.

Lewis XIV. had the greatest reason to expect that Germany, thus distressed by the Turks, and having no resource but in a chief, whose flight had increased the general terror, would soon be reduced to fly to the protection of France. He had an army on the borders of the empire ready to defend it against those very Turks which he had brought thither by his former negotiations. By this means he hoped to become protector of the empire, and to make his son king of the Romans.

At first, when the Turks threatened Austria with an invasion, he added generosity to his political views ; not that he sent succours a second time to the emperor, but he declared that he would not attack the Low Countries ; but would leave the Austrian-Spanish branch at liberty to assist that of Germany, which was on the point of being overwhelmed. All that he asked in return for lying quiet was, to be satisfied with respect to some disputable points
in

in the treaty of Nimeguen, and chiefly relating to the bailiwick of Aloft, which had by mistake been omitted in the treaty. He actually ordered the blockade of Luxemburg to be raised in 1682, without waiting to be satisfied, and abstained from all hostilities for one whole year. But he did not observe the same generosity afterwards, during the siege of Vienna. The Spanish council, instead of soothing, incensed him; and he renewed hostilities in the Netherlands, at the very time that Vienna was on the point of falling into the hands of the Turks: this was in the beginning of September; but, contrary to all expectation, Vienna was relieved. The presumption, effeminacy, ignorance, and slothfulness of the grand vizir, together with his brutal contempt for the Christians, proved his ruin. Nothing less than such a combination of faults could have preserved the capital of the empire. John Sobieski, king of Poland, had time to march to its relief; and having joined the duke of Lorraine, he presented himself before the Ottoman army, who fled at Sept. 12 his first appearance. The emperor
1683 returned to his capital, grieved and astonished at having quitted it. He entered just as his deliverer was coming out of the high church, where they had been singing Te Deum, and the preacher had taken these words for his text: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John." You may have already observed that the same words were applied by pope Pius V. to Don John of Austria after the victory of Lepanto. You know that what at first appears new is frequently no other than a repetition. The emperor Leopold was

was at once triumphant and humbled. The French king having no longer any measures to keep, bombarded Luxemburg, and seized upon Courtrai and Dixmude, in Flanders: he then made himself master of Triers, and demolished its fortifications; and all this, as he said, to fulfil the spirit of the treaties of Nimeguen. The Imperialists and Spaniards entered into a negotiation with him at Ratisbon, while he was taking their towns; and the treaty of Nimeguen, which had been infringed, was changed into a truce for twenty years, by which the king was left in possession of the city of Luxemburg, and its principality, which he had lately conquered.

Lewis was still more formidable on the coast of Barbary, where, till his time, the French had been known only by some of their nation, which fell into the hands of the barbarians, and were made slaves.

The inhabitants of Algiers, after their city had been twice bombarded, sent deputies to make their submission, and demand peace. They delivered up all the Christian captives in their possession, besides paying a considerable sum of money, which is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on a corsair.

Tunis and Tripoli made the like submissions; and here it may not be impertinent to relate the following anecdote. One Damfreville, a captain of a French ship of war, being come to Algiers to release all the Christian captives there, in the French king's name, found several Englishmen among them, who, after they were on board, insisted to Damfreville that it was on the king of England's account that they had been

been set at liberty; upon which the French captain sent for the Algerine officers, and putting the English into their hands again, "These people, said he, pretend that they are released wholly in their own king's name; mine therefore will not take the liberty of offering them his protection: I therefore deliver them up to you again; it now remains with you to shew what you owe the king of England." The English were carried back to their former slavery: this anecdote may serve to shew the pride of the English, the weakness of Charles II'd's administration, and the respect which all nations had for Lewis XIV.

This respect was so general, that new honours were granted to his ambassador at the Ottoman porte, the same as to the sophas, at the very time that he was humbling the people of Barbary, who are immediately under the protection of the grand signor.

The republic of Genoa humbled itself before him still more than that of Algiers. The Genoese had sold powder and bombs to the Algerines; they were likewise building four galleys for the service of the king of Spain. The king sent St. Olon, one of his gentlemen in ordinary, in character of envoy, to forbid their launching those galleys, threatening them with instant punishment if they did not comply with his will. The Genoese, incensed at this attempt upon their liberties, and reckoning too much upon the assistance of Spain, refused to give the king any satisfaction. Immediately fourteen large ships, twelve galleys, six bomb vessels, and several frigates, set sail from the port of Toulon, having on board the new secretary

secretary of the marine, Seignelai, son to the famous Colbert *, who had procured him this employ

* John Baptist Colbert, marquis de Seignelai and Chateaufort sur-cher, baron de Sceaux, de Lenieres, d'Ormos, minister and secretary of state, commander and high treasurer of the king's orders, comptroller general of the finances, superintendent of the buildings, arts, and manufactures of France, may be justly stiled the ablest and best minister that any kingdom in Europe ever produced. He was born at Paris, the son of Nicholas Colbert, lord of Vandieres, and counsellor of state: but he descended from the Scotch family of Cuthbert, a branch of which settled in Champagne in the thirteenth century, as appears by the tomb of Richard Colbert, at the Cordeliers in Rheims, having this inscription engraved in Gothic Letters: *Cy git le preux chevalier Richard Colbert, dit ly Ecoffois, kif... 1300... priens pour l'ame de ly.* In the middle of the stone is a scutcheon with the knight's arms, being a wreathed snake in pale; and under it the following distich:

*En Ecoffe j'eus le Berceau,
Et Rheims m'a donné le Tombeau.*

Colbert the minister attached himself to cardinal Mazarin, who favoured him with his confidence, and recommended him to the king as a man of unshaken fidelity, indefatigable application, and extensive capacity. After the cardinal's death, Lewis appointed Colbert comptroller-general of the finances, which were in terrible disorder; and he had all the reason in the world to be pleased with this disposition. To Colbert alone, all the glory which Lewis acquired by his external wars, and internal administration, may be justly attributed. Colbert improved and established the finances in such a manner, as enabled the king to maintain armies that all Europe could not oppose. Colbert introduced and supported manufactures, extended and protected commerce, and raised the marine of France to a most formidable pitch of power. He advanced the liberal arts, by instituting academies, industriously searching after and rewarding merit; inviting artists from all parts of Europe, and gratifying them with pensions adequate to their desert. He opened a communication between the two seas, by

com-

employ before his death. This young man was full of ambition, courage, wit, and vivacity, and wanted to be at once the soldier and the minister; he was greedy of honour, ardent in all his undertakings, and knew how to blend pleasures with business, without impeding either. Old Du Quesne had the command of the large ships, and the duke of Mortemar of the galleys; but they were both dependents on the secretary of state. The fleet arrives before Genoa, and the ten bomb vessels throw fourteen thousand shells into the town, by which a part of those noble marble buildings, from whence Genoa had its name of Superb, were reduced to ashes. Four thousand men were then landed from the fleet, who advanced to the gates of the city, and burnt the suburb of St. Pietro d'Arena. The inhabitants now found it necessary to submit, in order to avoid total ruin. The king insisted that the doge and four of the principal senators of Genoa, should repair to his palace of Versailles, there to implore his clemency; and lest the Genoese should elude the required satisfaction, and diminish any thing from his glory on this occasion, he farther insisted that the doge should be continued in his office, notwithstanding a perpetual law in Genoa, by which any doge who is absent but a moment from the city is deprived of his dignity.

compleating the canal of Languedoc. He formed and fortified harbours; built docks and arsenals: in a word, there was not a remarkable work, either of magnificence or utility in France, that did not owe its origin to Colbert, whom we would propose as the perfect model of a minister.

Im-

Imperialo Lescaro, doge of Genoa, Feb. 22, 1685, accompanied by the senators Lomelino, Garebardi, Durazzo, and Salvago, repaired to Versailles to perform all that the king demanded of them. The doge drest in his robes of state, with a red velvet cap on his head, which he frequently took off while he spoke, made his submission; the words and gestures he used on this occasion were all dictated by Seignelai. The king gave him audience sitting, and covered; but, as in every action of his life he always joined politeness with dignity, he behaved towards Lescaro and the senators with as much goodness as pomp. His ministers, Louvois, Croissi, and Seignelai, treated them more haughtily, which made the doge say, "The king deprives our hearts of liberty, by the manner in which he receives us; but his ministers restore it to us again." This doge was a man of great wit and understanding. Every one knows the answer he made to the marquis of Seignelai, when he asked him what he thought most remarkable at Versailles; "To see myself there," replied he.

The great fondness which Lewis XIV. had for pomp and shew, was still more gratified by an embassy which he received from Siam, a country which, till that time, had never heard of such a kingdom as France. It happened by one of those extraordinary events which prove the superiority of the Europeans over all other nations, that a Greek, named Phalk Constance, the son of a tavern-keeper at Cephalonia, was made barcalon, that is prime-minister, or grand-vizir of the kingdom of Siam. This man, desirous of strengthening and encreasing his authority,

thority, wanted for that purpose to call in some foreign assistance, but did not dare to trust either the Dutch or the English, who are dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had lately settled some factories on the coast of Coromandel, and had brought the fame of their monarch with them into that extreme part of Asia. Constance thought Lewis XIV. a proper person to be flattered by a homage which came from so distant a place, and so little expected. Religion, which is the master-spring of worldly politics from Siam to Paris, proved subservient to his design; accordingly he sent a
1684 solemn embassy, and magnificent presents, in the name of the king of Siam, his master, to Lewis XIV. to acquaint him, that the Indian monarch, charmed with his fame, was resolved to enter into a treaty of commerce with no other nation than the French, and that he had even some thoughts of becoming a Christian. The king thus flattered in his greatness, and deceived on the side of religion, engaged to send the king of Siam two ambassadors and six Jesuits, to whom he afterwards added some officers and eight hundred soldiers. But the pomp of this embassy was all the fruit it produced. Constance, four years afterwards, fell the victim of his own ambition. The few French who remained with him were partly massacred, and the rest obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was, by the king of Siam's successor, condemned to serve in his kitchen as a cook, an employment which suited with her birth.

That

That thirst of glory which led Lewis XIV. to distinguish himself in every thing from other kings, shewed itself again in the haughty manner with which he affected to treat the court of Rome. Odescalchi, the son of a banker of Milan, was at that time in the papal chair, by the name of Innocent XI. He was a virtuous man, a prudent pontiff, a middling divine, and a courageous, resolute, and magnificent prince. He assisted the empire and the Poles against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his galleys. He blamed the conduct of Lewis XIV. in the severest terms, who had joined with the Turks against the Christians. It was surprising to see a pope thus warmly espousing the cause of the emperors, who stile themselves king of the Romans, and would, if they could, establish the seat of their empire in Rome; but Odescalchi was born under the Austrian dominion, and had even made two campaigns in the army of Milan. All men are governed by habit and humour: his pride was hurt by the haughtiness of Lewis, who on his side did every thing to mortify him that a king of France can do to a pope, without absolutely separating from his communion. An abuse had prevailed for a long time in Rome, which was the more difficult to be eradicated, as it was founded on a point of honour upon which the catholics piqued themselves. Their ambassadors at Rome extended the right of franchise and asylum belonging to their palaces to a great distance, under the general name of quarters. These privileges, which were strictly maintained, made one half of Rome an asylum for all kinds of villainy. By another abuse, whatever was brought into Rome
under

under the ambassador's name, was free from all duty. By this means trade suffered, and the state was impoverished.

At length pope Innocent XI. prevailed on the emperor, the kings of Spain and Poland, and on the new king of England, James II. who was a catholic, to give up these odious privileges. The nuncio Ranucci proposed to Lewis to concur with these princes in restoring the peace and good order of Rome; but Lewis, who in his heart hated the pope, returned for answer, "That he never regulated his conduct by the example of others, who rather ought himself to serve as an example for them." He then sent the marquis of Lavardin on an embassy to Rome, purposely to insult the pope.

November, Lavardin accordingly makes his en-
1687 try into that city in spite of the pope's prohibition, and escorted by

four hundred of the marine guards, the same number of volunteer officers, and two hundred men in livery, all armed. He immediately went, and took possession of his palace, the quarters thereunto belonging, and the church of St. Lewis, round which he ordered centinels to be placed, and to go the rounds as in a garrison. The pope is the only sovereign to whom such an embassy can be sent; for the superiority which he always affects over crowned heads, makes them always desirous of humbling him, and the weakness of his dominions permit them to insult him with impunity. All that Innocent XI. could do, was to attack the marquis of Lavardin with the worn out weapons of excommunication, weapons which are now as little regarded in Rome as elsewhere, but which
never-

nevertheless are employed as an antient ceremonial, in the same manner as the pope's soldiers carry arms, merely for form's sake.

Cardinal d'Estree, a man of sense, but generally unfortunate in his negociations, was at that time resident from the court of France at Rome. D'Estree being obliged to make frequent visits to the marquis of Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the pope without receiving absolution; he in vain endeavoured to evade this ceremony: Innocent persisted in giving it to him, in order to keep up an imaginary power, by the customs on which it was founded.

Lewis, through the same motives of pride, though secretly supported by politics, endeavoured to make an elector of Cologne. Full of the scheme of dividing or making war with the empire, he thought to confer this electorate on cardinal Furstemberg, bishop of Strasburg, his creature and the victim of his interests, and an irreconcilable enemy to the emperor, who had ordered him to be imprisoned in the preceding war, as a German who had sold himself to France.

The chapter of Cologne, like all the other chapters of Germany, has a right to nominate its bishop, who by that becomes elector. The person who then filled this see was Ferdinand of Bavaria, formerly the ally, and afterwards the enemy, of Lewis, as many other princes had been. He now lay at the point of death. The king, by money, intrigues, and promises, prevailed on the canons to chuse Furstemberg coadjutor; and after the death of Ferdinand he was chosen a second time by a majority of votes.

By

By the Germanic concordat the pope has a right of conferring the bishopric on the bishop elect, and the emperor that of confirming him in the electorate. The emperor and pope Innocent persuaded, that to leave Furstemberg in possession of the electoral dignity, was the same as if they had given it to Lewis XIV. joined together to bestow this principality upon young Bavaria, brother to the deceased prince.

October, The king revenged himself on the
1688 pope by taking Avignon from him,
and made preparations for a war against

the emperor. At the same time he disturbed the elector-palatine, on account of the rights of the princess-palatine Adame, second wife to the duke of Orleans, rights which she had renounced by her marriage-articles. The war began in Spain, in the year 1667, on account of the claims of Maria Theresa, notwithstanding a like renunciation made, plainly proves that contracts can only bind private persons.

In this manner did the king, in the height of his greatness, perplex, strip, or humble almost all the princes of Europe, but they in return almost all joined in league against him*.

* Notwithstanding the great encomiums lavished upon Lewis, by the writers of the French nation, we will venture to say, that whatever proofs he exhibited of magnificence and opulence, of oppression and power, he shewed very few of real wisdom and policy; for, by his rapacity, insolence, and cruelty, he provoked all the states of Europe to form a confederacy against him, which stripped him of all his glory, and reduced his people to indigence and misery.

C H A P. CLXXVIII.

King JAMES of ENGLAND dethroned by his Son-in-law WILLIAM III. and protected by Lewis XIV.

THE prince of Orange, still more ambitious than even Lewis XIV. had conceived vast designs, which might appear chimerical in a stadtholder of Holland, but which he justified by his great abilities and courage. He wanted to humble the king of France and dethrone the king of England. He found no great difficulty in getting the powers of Europe by little and little to join with him against France; the emperor, some princes of the empire, the Dutch, and the duke of Lorraine, had at first entered into a private league at 1681 Augsburg, and were soon after joined by Spain and the duke of Savoy. The pope, without being actually one of the confederates, set them all at work by his intrigues. The Venetians, without openly declaring themselves, favoured their designs in secret, and all the princes of Italy were in their interest. In the North, Sweden at that time sided with the Imperialists, and Denmark was an useless ally to France. Upwards of five hundred thousand protestants, who had been driven out of France by the persecution of Lewis, and had carried with them their industry, and an irreconcilable hatred to the French king, were as a new body of enemies, who dispersed themselves through all the courts of Europe, and animated the confederate powers, already inclined to war. (We

VOL. VII. F shall

shall speak of the flight of these people in the chapter of religion.) The king was furrounded by enemies on all sides, and had no friend but king James of England.

James, who succeeded his brother Charles II. was a catholic as well as him; but Charles did not consent to become a catholic, till towards the latter end of his life, and then only out of compliance with his mistresses and his brother. In fact, he acknowledged no other religion but that of pure deism. His perfect indifference in those points which divide mankind in their disputations, had contributed not a little to render his reign peaceable among the English. James, on the contrary, attached by strong persuasion to the Roman-catholic religion from his youth, joined to his belief the spirit of party and zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or of the religion of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign; but he formed a design to establish the Roman-catholic religion in his kingdom*, which is looked upon with the

* In Vol. III. of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of England*, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of falsities. It is there said, that the following question was proposed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel against the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverse; the English opposed the king's intention of tolerating the Roman-catholic religion. The point in dispute was, "Whether the king had a power to dispense with the test-oath in those whom he admitted to employments?"

The same writer says, that pope Innocent XI. made the prince of Orange a present of two hundred thousand ducats, to go and root out the Roman-catholic religion in England.

the utmost horror by these republican royalists, as a religion of slavery. It is sometimes a very easy matter to establish a religion in a country; Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and queen Elizabeth, did, without any danger, introduce a new religion into their kingdoms by different methods, and got it received by the people; but to bring about changes of this kind, there are two things absolutely necessary, a depth of po-

He likewise affirms in the same rash manner, that Innocent IX. ordered several thousand masses to be said for the prince of Orange's success. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augsbourg, but he never acted in a manner so ridiculous and contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spanish envoy at the Hague indeed ordered prayers to be publicly said in his chapel for the success of the Dutch fleet, of which monsieur d'Avaux sent advice to his master Lewis.

This writer also gives us to understand, that the count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the state; but he is mistaken here again, it was the count d'Estrade. He is likewise wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Estrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The same author has the assurance to quote bishop Burnet, whom he makes to say, in expressing a particular vice in the prince of Orange, that "He was fond only of back-doors *;" now there is not a single word in all Burnet's history which bears the least resemblance to so low an expression, and so unworthy the pen of an historian; and though some compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that bishop Burnet suffered so indecent an expression to escape him in conversation, such an obscure testimony ought not surely to prevail against an authentic history.

* Though Burnet did not use the gross expression mentioned above, yet certain it is, he insinuated something almost equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a scandalous report that the king was addicted to a secret vice. But, this expression is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's history.

litics, and a lucky concurrence of circumstances, both of which were wanting to James.

He could not without indignation reflect, that so many kings of Europe were despotic ; that those of Sweden and Denmark were lately become so ; and, in a word, that Poland and England were the only kingdoms in the world where the liberty of the people subsisted at the same time with royalty. He was encouraged by Lewis XIV. to render himself absolute at home, and the Jesuits persuaded him to restore their religion, and with it their credit ; but he took such unfortunate measures to compass this, that at his first setting out he turned all hearts against him. He began as if he had already obtained the end he aimed at : he entertained a nuncio from the pope publicly at his court, with a train of Jesuits and Capuchin friars ; he threw seven English bishops into prison, whom he ought rather to have won over by gentle means ; deprived the city of London of its privileges, instead of indulging it with new ones ; and overturned the laws with an high hand, which he should have secretly undermined ; in a word, he acted with so little discretion, that the cardinals at Rome used to say of him by way of jest, “ That he ought to be excommunicated, as a person who was going about to destroy the little catholic religion that remained in England.”

Pope Innocent XI. conceived such indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat which that prince solicited for his confessor father Peters. This Jesuit was a hot-headed intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and primate

primate of England, pushed his master on to the precipice. The principal persons of the kingdom combined together in secret to prevent the king's designs, and sent a deputation to the prince of Orange. They conducted their plot with such prudence and secrecy, that the court was lulled in full security.

The prince of Orange fitted out a fleet of ships*, on board of which were to be embarked between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. This prince, who was only an illustrious private person, and had hardly five hundred thousand livres a-year of his own estate, was nevertheless so happy in his politics, that he saw himself master of money, a fleet, and the hearts of the states-general. He was truly a king in Holland by his skilful conduct, while James lost all regal power in England by his precipitate rashness.

It was at first given out that this armament was designed against France. The true destination was kept a profound secret, though entrusted with more than two hundred persons. Ba-

* The author of Maintenon's memoirs asserts, that the prince of Orange finding the states-general refused to grant him a supply, entered the assembly, and addressed them in this manner: "Gentlemen, there will be a war next spring, and I desire that this prediction may be registered." In proof of this he quotes the count d'Avaux, and says, that this minister saw through the whole design of the prince of Orange. It is hardly possible to jumble together falsities in a worse manner. Nine thousand sailors were ready assembled in the year 1687. The count d'Avaux does not mention a syllable of this pretended speech of the prince of Orange. Nor had he the least suspicion of that prince's real design, till the 20th May, 1688. See his letter to the king of that date.

rillon, the French ambassador at London, a man of pleasure, and more conversant in the intrigues of James's mistresses, than those of Europe, was the first imposed upon. Lewis XIV. however was not to be thus deceived; he saw what was going forward, and offered his assistance to his friend and ally, who, thinking himself secure, rejected that aid which he afterwards solicited when it was too late, October, 1688 and his son-in-law the prince of Orange's fleet was under sail. He had been wanting to himself, and he now found every thing fail him at once. He in vain wrote to the emperor Leopold: that prince returned for answer, "Nothing has befallen you but what we had foretold." He depended upon his fleet, but his ships suffered those of the enemy to pass them. He might however have defended himself by land: he had an army of twenty thousand men, and if he had led them on without giving them time for reflection, it is probable they would have done their duty; 1688 but instead of that, he gave them leisure to fix their determination. Several of his general officers abandoned him, and among the rest the famous Churchill, who afterwards proved as fatal to Lewis as he had done to James, and became so illustrious under the name of the duke of Marlborough. He was the favourite of James, his creature, brother to his mistress, and a lieutenant-general in his army; notwithstanding which he left him, and went over to the prince of Orange at his camp. James likewise saw himself abandoned by his son-in-law the prince of Denmark, and even by his own daughter, the princess Anne.

And

And now finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deserted by his own daughters and bosom-friends, and hated even by those of his subjects who were of his own party, he looked upon his fortune as desperate; and, without waiting for the issue of a battle, resolved upon flight, the last resource of a vanquished prince. At length, after being stopt in his flight by the populace, ill-treated by them, and carried back to London, receiving submissively the orders of the prince of Orange in his own palace, seeing his guard relieved by that prince's, without the least resistance, driven from his house, and made a prisoner at Rochester, he took advantage of the liberty purposely given him, to quit his kingdom, and seek an asylum in France.

This was the epocha of the true English liberty. The nation, represented by its parliament, fixed the long contested limits of the royal prerogative, and the privileges of the people; and having prescribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their king jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of king James. From that time this prince was acknowledged by the greatest part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the deliverer of that nation; but in France they considered him only as the prince of Orange, the usurper of the dominions of his father-in-law.

The fugitive king came with his wife, the daughter of the duke of January, Modena, and their son the prince of 1689
Wales, as yet an infant, to implore the protec-

tion of Lewis XIV. The queen of England, who arrived a little time before her husband, was astonished at the splendour with which the French monarch was surrounded, and that profusion of magnificence which she beheld at Versailles; and still more so at the reception she met with from the king, who went as far as Chatou to meet her*. "I now do you a melancholy service, madam, (said he.) I hope, before it is long, to render you one more considerable and fortunate." This was his very expression. He then conducted her to the palace of St. Germain, where she met with the same attendance as the queen of France herself would have had, and was furnished with every thing that ministers to convenience or luxury; presents of all kinds, in gold, silver, plate, jewels, and rich stuffs.

Among other presents she found a purse of ten thousand louis d'ors laid on her toilet. The same attention was paid to the king her husband, who arrived just one day after her; he had six hundred thousand franks a-year settled upon him for the expences of his household, besides an infinite number of presents which were made him. He had the king's own officers and guards. But this noble reception was little, in comparison of the preparations which were made for restoring him to his throne. Never did monarch appear so grand as Lewis on this occasion, and James seemed as mean. Those of the court and city, by whose opinions the reputations of men are decided, conceived very

* See Madame de Seigne's letters, and the memoirs of Madame de la Fayette,

little esteem for him. He saw nobody but Jesuits. He alighted at their college in St. Anthony's street in Paris; he told them that he was a Jesuit as well as themselves; and, what is still more extraordinary, he said the truth. He had got himself admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four English Jesuits, when he was only duke of York. This weakness of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so despicable, that the courtiers diverted themselves every day with making songs upon him. He was driven from England, and ridiculed in France, where no one gave him any credit for being a catholic. The archbishop of Rheims, brother of Louvois the minister, said openly in his antichamber at St. Germain, "There's a good man, who has given up three kingdoms for a mass." From Rome he received only indulgences and pasquinades. In a word, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of so little service to him, that when the prince of Orange, who was the head of the Calvinists, set sail to go and dethrone his father-in-law, the catholic king's minister at the Hague ordered masses to be said for the success of his expedition.

In the midst of the humiliations which befel this fugitive prince, and the immense liberality of Lewis XIV. towards him, it was a spectacle worthy of attention, to see James touching for the king's evil in the little convent of the English nuns; whether that the kings of England have arrogated this singular privilege to themselves, as pretenders to the crown of France,

or that this ceremony has been established among them since the time of the first Edward.

The king soon sent him over to Ireland, where the Roman-catholics still formed a very considerable party; a squadron of thirteen ships of the first rate lay in Brest-road, ready to carry him over. All the officers, courtiers, and even the priests, who had repaired to James at St. Germain, had their passage to Brest defrayed at the French king's expence. An ambassador (Monsieur d'Avaux) was nominated to attend the dethroned king, and followed him in great state. Arms and ammunition of all kinds were put on board the fleet, and every sort of utensil, from the meanest to the most valuable. The king went to St. Germain to take his leave of him; where, for the last present, he gave him his own suit of armour, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can with you, (said he) is never to see you here again." James had scarcely landed in Ireland with this great preparation, when he was followed by twenty-three large ships more, and a prodigious number of transports, under the command of Chatteau Renaud. This fleet having engaged and
 May 12, dispersed the English squadron, which
 1689 attempted to oppose its passage, and landed the troops in safety, on its return fell in with and took seven Dutch merchantmen, and came back to Brest victorious over the English *, and laden with the spoils of the Dutch.

In

* Who would not imagine from this expression that the French fleet had subdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: the French squadron falling in with the English fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them

In a very short time afterwards a March,
third supply set sail from the harbours of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. 1690

The ports of Ireland and the English channel were covered with French ships. At length Tourville, vice-admiral of France, with seventy-two sail of large ships, fell in with the English and Dutch fleet of sixty sail, and a fight ensued which lasted ten hours; on this occasion Tourville, Chatteau Renaud, d'Estrée, and Nemond, signalized themselves by their courage and skill, and reflected an honour on the French navy to which it had till then been a stranger. The English and Dutch, who till then had been masters of the ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learnt the art of fighting their ships in line of battle, were totally defeated. Seventeen of their ships dismasted, or rendered useless, were run ashore and burnt by themselves*, the rest took refuge in the Thames, or on the banks of Holland. In this whole engagement the French lost but one small vessel. And now, what

them in number, an engagement ensued, in which there was not one vessel lost on either side; and the two squadrons seemed to part by consent. Herbert put to sea, and Chatteau Renaud retired into Bantry-bay, in Ireland.

* The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two and twenty fire-ships; whereas the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed fifty-six, so that the enemy had a superiority of twenty-two. In this engagement, the Dutch lost six ships of the line; and the loss of the English amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then lord Torrington, was deprived of his command; and sent prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of the complaints of the states-general, who affirmed that he had sacrificed the Dutch squadron in the engagement.

Lewis had been wishing for upwards of twenty years, and which seemed so little probable, came to pass; he had the empire of the sea, an empire which indeed was but of short duration. The enemy's ships of war fled before his fleets; Seignelai, who dared to attempt the greatest things, brought the galleys of Marseilles upon the main ocean; and the sea-coast of England beheld this kind of vessel for the first time: by the help of these galleys a descent was made at Tinmouth, and upwards of thirty merchant-ships burnt in that bay. The privateers of St. Malo and the new harbour of Dunkirk enriched themselves and the state, by continual prizes. In a word, for the space of two years, there was not a ship to be seen on the sea but those of France.

King James did not second in Ireland these great efforts made by Lewis in his favour. He had with him near six thousand French, and fifteen thousand Irish soldiers. The river Boyne ran between his army and king William's: this river was fordable, the water not being higher than the men's shoulders; but after it was passed, there was a deep marsh to cross before they could attack the Irish army, after which a steep ground presented itself, which formed a kind of natural entrenchment. William made July, his army pass the river in three places, 1690 and began the battle. The Irish, who are known to be such good soldiers in France and Spain, have always behaved ill in their own country. There are certain nations which seem made to be subject to another; the English have always been superior to the Irish in genius, riches, and arms. Ireland has never been

been able to throw off the English yoke since first subdued by an English nobleman. The French stood their ground at the battle of the Boyne; the Irish gave way and fled. King James, who had not once made his appearance during the engagement, either at the head of the French or Irish, was the first to retreat, and yet he had given proofs of great courage on other occasions; but there are times when valour is lost in dispiritedness. K. William having had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, it was reported and believed in France that he was killed. This false report was received at Paris with a scandalous and indecent joy. The citizens and populace, encouraged by some of the under magistrates, made illuminations, rung the bells, and, in several quarters of the town, they burnt figures made of osier, to represent the prince of Orange, in the same manner as they burn the pope in London. The cannon of the Bastile were likewise fired, not by the king's order, but through the indiscreet zeal of the commandant. It might be supposed from these great marks of satisfaction, and what is said by a number of writers, that this mad joy at the supposed death of an enemy, was the effect of the great dread they had of him. Almost every writer, French and English, have observed that these rejoicings were the greatest panegyric that could be made on William III. Nevertheless, if we only consider the circumstances of the times, and the spirit which then reigned, we shall presently discover that these transports of joy were not produced by fear. The lower kind of citizens, and the populace, know not what it is to fear
an

an enemy, unless when he threatens their city. Far from dreading the name of William III. the common people in France were so unjust as to despise him. He had almost always been beaten by French generals. The vulgar were ignorant how much real glory that prince had acquired even in his defeats. William, the victor of James in Ireland, did not yet appear, in the eyes of the French, an enemy worthy of Lewis XIV. The people of Paris, who idolized their monarch, thought him absolutely invincible. The rejoicings then were not the effect of fear, but hatred; most of the Parisians, who were born under the reign of Lewis, and moulded to despotic sway, looked upon a king at that time as a demigod, and an usurper as a sacrilegious monster. The common people, who had seen James going every day to mass, detested William as an heretic. The idea of a son-in-law and a daughter, protestants, driving their father, a catholic, from his throne, and reigning in his stead, together with that of an enemy to their king, transported the Parisians to a degree of fury; but prudent people were of a more moderate way of thinking.

James returned to France, leaving his rival to gain new battles in Ireland, and settle himself on the throne. The French fleets were then employed in bringing back their countrymen, who had fought to no purpose, and the Irish Roman Catholics, who being extremely poor in their own country, chose to go over to France and subsist upon the king's liberality.

Fortune had apparently very little share in any part of this revolution, from the beginning to the end. The characters of William and James.

James did every thing. Those who delight to trace the causes of events in the conduct of men will remark, that king William, after his victory, caused a general amnesty to be published; and that king James, on the contrary, in his way through a little town called Galloway, hanged some of the inhabitants, who had advised shutting the gates against him. Of two men behaving in this manner, we may easily perceive who would be most likely to prevail.

There were still some towns in Ireland that remained in James's interest, and among the rest Limerick, in which there were above twelve thousand soldiers. The French king, who still persevered in supporting James's desperate fortunes, ordered three thousand regular troops to be transported over to Limerick; and by an additional generosity he sent all provisions necessary for the maintenance of a numerous garrison. Forty transport vessels, under the convoy of twelve ships of war, carried over every needful supply of workmen's tools, carriages, engineers, gunners, bombardeers, with two hundred masons, a number of saddles, bridles, and harnesses for upwards of twenty thousand horse; cannon, with their carriages, muskets, pistols, and swords for twenty-six thousand men; besides provisions and cloathing, even to shoes. Limerick, though besieged, being thus abundantly furnished with supplies of every kind, hoped to see its king fight in its defence; but James not appearing, Limerick surrendered, and the French ships returned once more to the coast of Ireland, and brought back to France about twenty thousand soldiers and inhabitants.

What

What is perhaps more extraordinary than all the rest is, that Lewis was not discouraged by these continued disappointments; and though he had a difficult war to support against the greatest part of Europe, he nevertheless endeavoured once more to change the fortune of the unhappy king of England, by a decisive stroke, by making a descent in England with twenty thousand men, which were assembled between Cherburg and La Hogue. Upwards of three hundred sail of transport vessels lay ready to receive them at Brest. Tourville, with forty-four capital ships, cruised off the coast of Normandy to wait for them. D'Estrée
 July 29, arrived in the port of Toulon with
 1692 thirty ships more. As there are some misfortunes which arise from bad conduct, so there are others that can only be imputed to fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to D'Estrée's squadron, changed, and made it impossible for him to join Tourville, who with his forty-four ships was attacked by the combined fleets of England and Holland, consisting of near an hundred sail: the French were obliged to yield to superior numbers; but not till after an obstinate fight of ten hours. Russel, the English admiral, pursued him for two days. Fourteen large ships, of which there were two that carried one hundred and four guns, ran ashore, and the captains set fire to them*, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy.

* The English historians say the French fleet amounted to sixty-three ships of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the English were engaged. Certain it is, Russel's own ship disabled the *Rising Sun*, a ship of
 one

enemy. King James, who was a spectator of this disaster, from the neighbouring shore, saw all his hopes at once swallowed up.

This was the first check which had been given to the power of Lewis XIV. at sea. Seignelai, who after the death of Colbert, his father, had continued to improve the French navy, died himself in 1690. Pontchartain, who had been raised, from the place of first president of Brittany, to that of secretary for the marine department, did not suffer it to decay under his jurisdiction. The same spirit still continued in the administration. France had as many ships at sea after the fatal blow at La Hogue as she had before; for Tourville commanded a fleet of sixty ships of the line, and D'Etrée one of thirty, exclusive of those which were in harbour; and not above four years afterwards (in 1696,) the king fitted out another armament, still more considerable than any of the former ones, to transport James over to England, at the head of twenty thousand French; but this fleet only made its appearance on the coast; for the measures of James's party in London were as ill concerted as those of his protector were well laid in France.

one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in person. She was burned by sir Ralph Delaval, near Cherbourg, together with the Admirable, another first rate, and the Conquerant, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ships of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp.

The

The dethroned king's party had now no hopes left but in hatching plots against the life of his rival ; and almost all those who were concerned in these attempts suffered by the hands of the executioner : besides, it is more than probable, that had they succeeded, he would never have recovered his kingdom. He passed the remainder of his days at St. Germain, where he lived on Lewis's bounty, and a pension of seventy thousand Francs *, which he was mean-spirited enough to receive privately from his daughter Mary, who had been accessory in dethroning him. He died at St. Germain in the year 1700. Some Irish jesuits pretended to assert that miracles were performed at his tomb †. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death a prince whom they had abandoned when living.

Few princes were more unhappy than James ; nor have we an example in history of a family for so long a time unfortunate. The first of the kings of Scotland, his ancestors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a prisoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen ‡, by his own subjects. James II. the son of this prince, was killed in battle, against the English, at nineteen years of age ||. James III. after being imprisoned by his subjects, was slain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after

* About three thousand sterling, per ann.

† They even carried the farce so far as to pretend that his reliëfs cured the bishop of Autun of a fistula.

‡ His wife was wounded, but recovered.

|| James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

being.

being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where she languished eighteen years in prison, was at length condemned to die by English judges, and lost her head on a scaffold: Charles I. grand-son to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was sold by the Scots, sentenced to death by the English, and executed publicly as a traitor. His son James, the subject of this chapter, was driven from three kingdoms, and, to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his son was disputed. This son, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; and of late days we have seen prince Charles Edward, in whom the virtues of his ancestors, and the valour of king John Sobieski, his grandfather, by the mother's side, were in vain united, performing exploits, and suffering calamities almost beyond the reach of credit. If any thing can justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it must be the continued series of misfortunes which have beset the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years.

C H A P. CLXXIX.

Of what passed on the Continent, while WILLIAM III. was invading ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, till the year 1697. The burning of the PALATINATE. Victories of the marshals CATINAT and LUXEMBOURG.

NOT having been willing to break in upon the chain of affairs in England in the preceding chapter, I now return to what passed on the continent.

While Lewis was thus forming such a maritime force as had never been exceeded by any state, he had to make head against the emperor and princes of the empire, Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, become both more formidable under one chief, Savoy, and almost all Italy. One such an enemy as England and Spain, would have been sufficient in former times to have ruined France; and yet all of them united could not now make any impression upon her. The king had almost constantly five different armies on foot during the course of this war; sometimes six, but never less than four. The armies in Germany and Flanders frequently amounted to one hundred thousand effective men. The frontier places were at the same time provided with garri-sons. Lewis had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including the marine troops. The Turkish empire, so powerful in Europe, never had so great a number; and even the Roman empire had not more; nor were there
ever

ever so many wars carried on at a time. Those who blame Lewis XIV. for having made himself so many enemies cannot but admire the measures which he took to defend himself; and even to be beforehand with his enemies.

These had not as yet entirely declared themselves, nor were they all united. The prince of Orange had not yet sailed from the Texel, upon his expedition against his father-in-law, when France had armies upon the frontiers of Holland, and on the borders of the Rhine. The king had sent his son, the dauphin, who was called Monseigneur, into Germany, with an army of twenty thousand men. This prince was gentle in his manners, modest in his deportment, and seemed greatly to resemble his mother. He was then twenty-seven years old, and this was the first time he had been intrusted with a command, after his behaviour had given sufficient proofs that he would not make an ill use of his power. The king spoke to him in public thus, at his departure. "My son, in sending you to command my armies, I give you an opportunity of making your merit known: go and display it to all Europe, that when I depart this life it may not be perceived that the king is dead."

The prince had a special commission for this command, as if he had been only a private general, whom the king had made choice of. The king's letters were directed, "To our son the Dauphin, our lieutenant-general, commanding our armies in Germany."

Every thing had been so ordered and disposed before hand, that the son of Lewis XIV. who assisted in this expedition with his name and presence,

presence, might not be liable to meet with an affront. The marshal de Duras had in fact the command of the army. Boufflers had a body of troops on this side the Rhine, and marshal d'Humieres another near Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy. Heidelberg and Mentz were taken: the siege of Philipsburg, which is always the first step to be taken, when the French make war in Germany, was already begun, under the inspection of Vauban. Such matters as were not in his department fell to the share of Catinat, then lieutenant-general, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all exploits. Monseigneur arrived six days after the trenches had been opened. He exactly observed his father's conduct, exposing his person as much as was necessary, but never rashly; treating every one with affability, and extending his liberality even to the private soldier. The king felt a sincere joy in having a son who thus imitated, without exceeding him, and who made himself beloved by every one, without giving his father any occasion to fear him.

Philipsburg was taken in nineteen Nov. 11, days, and Mannheim in three, France 1688
 kendal surrendered in two; and Spires, Triers, Worms, and Oppenheim, threw open their gates at the first approach of the French.

The king had resolved to make a desert of the Palatinate as soon as those towns were taken. His design in this was rather to cut off all means of subsistence from the enemy, than to take vengeance on the elector, whose only crime was that of having done his duty, in joining with the rest of Germany against

France. An order came to the army from the king, signed Louvois, to reduce the whole country to ashes. The French generals were then obliged to obey; and though it was in the very midst of winter, caused notice to be sent to the inhabitants of all these flourishing towns, and the villages round about, and to the masters of above fifty castles, to quit their dwellings; and that they were going to destroy every thing with fire and sword. Upon this dreadful summons, men, women, old people, and children, hurried out in the utmost haste: some of whom wandered up and down the fields, and the rest took refuge in neighbouring countries, while the soldiery, who always exceed commands of rigour, and seldom or never execute those of clemency, burnt and pillaged their country. They began with Manheim, the residence of the electors, whose palaces they levelled with the ground, as well as the private houses of the citizens; broke open their very tombs, thinking to satisfy their avarice with the immense treasures they expected to find there, and scattered their ashes abroad. This was the second time that this beautiful country had been laid waste by Lewis's orders; but the burning of two cities and twenty villages by Turenne was but a spark in comparison of this conflagration. All Europe was struck with horror at this action. The very officers who executed it were ashamed of being the instruments of such cruelty. The blame was thrown upon the marquis of Louvois, who had contracted that insensibility of heart which arises from a long administration. He was certainly the person who advised this proceeding; but

but Lewis had it in his power to reject or follow his counsel. Had the king been a witness to this spectacle, he would have ran in person to extinguish the flames. From his palace in Versailles, where he was surrounded by pleasures, he signed the destruction of a whole country, because he there beheld only his own glory and the fatal right of conquest in the order he gave; but had he been nearer to the spot, he would have seen all the horror of it. The nations, who till then had only blamed his ambition, and admired his other qualifications, now cried out against his cruelty, and even condemned his politics: for had his enemies penetrated into his dominions, as he did into theirs, they would have set all the cities in his kingdom on fire.

Nor was this a very remote danger: Lewis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thousand soldiers, taught Germany to make the same efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, may be able to raise larger armies. They have more difficulty indeed in raising, getting together, and paying them, and they are longer before they take the field; but their strict discipline and patience under fatigues, make them at the end of a campaign as formidable as the French are at the beginning. The army of the empire was commanded by the duke of Lorraine, Charles V. This prince, who was still kept out of his dominions by Lewis XIV. had preserved the empire for Leopold, and given him the victory over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came with the elector of Brandenburg, to put a check to the success of the French king's arms. He retook

Bonn and Mentz, two towns which were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was esteemed a model for the future defence of places. Bonn did not surrender till after a siege of near four months, and that the baron d'Asfeld who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general assault.

The marquis d'Uxelles, afterwards marshal of France, a most prudent and wary general, had made such excellent dispositions for the defence of Mentz, that his garrison suffered hardly any fatigue in the great service it performed: besides the care he took to provide for the safety of the place, he made one and twenty sallies upon the enemy, and killed upwards of five thousand of their men. He sometimes made one or two sallies in open day-light: in short, he maintained the place for seven weeks, and surrendered at length only for want of powder. This vigorous defence deserves a place in history, both on account of its own merit, and the approbation it met with from the world. Paris, that immense city, whose indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have so many ears and tongues, with so few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous man, and deficient in judgment. When this great commander, on whom every good officer will bestow a just praise, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-house, the populace hooted him, and cried out Mentz! Upon which he was obliged to retire, not without heartily contemning, as every wise man must do, a people who are such bad judges of merit, and whose praise, nevertheless, is so greedily sought after.

June, 1689 About the same time, marshal d'Humieres was beat at Walcourt*, on the Sambre, in the Netherlands, by the prince of Waldeck; but this check, though it hurt his reputation, very little affected the French arms. Louvois, whose creature and friend he was, found himself under the necessity of taking from him the command of this army, which was conferred on marshal Luxembourg, whom neither the king nor Louvois liked; but their regard for the state got the better of their aversion to the man, and they made use of his services, though with some repugnance. He was therefore appointed commander in the Netherlands. Louvois was remarkable for correcting a too hasty choice, or for making a good one. Catinat was sent with a command into Italy. Marshal de Lorges defended himself every where in Germany. The duke of Noailles had some little success in Catalonia†; but under Luxembourg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual succession of victories.

* The prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thousand English, under the earl of Marlborough. Marechal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walcourt, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, was obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. Mean while, a little army of observation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions in the territories of France.

† His success in that country was but small. He had indeed reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation.

These

These two generals were at that time esteemed the greatest in Europe.

The marshal duke of Luxembourg, in some parts of his character, resembled the great Condé, whose pupil he was in the art of war. He had a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, a mind greedy of knowledge; but too extensive and irregular: he was continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and frequently beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured, and had more of the qualifications of a hero than a wise man.

* Catinat had an application and activity in his disposition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himself upon any one particular qualification. He would have been equally as good a minister and chancellor as he was a general. In the earlier part of his life he followed the law; but quitted that profession at the age of twenty-three, because he lost a cause in which he had justice on his side. He then took up arms, and was at first an ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterscarp of Lille, he performed an action in the presence of the king, which required both understanding and courage. The king took notice of him, and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He rose by degrees, without making any in-

• We may perceive, by madame de Maintenon's letters, that she was no friend to marshal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modesty pride. It would seem, that the little knowledge which this lady had of men and business, and the bad choices she made, contributed not a little to the misfortunes which afterwards beset France.

terest: he was a philosopher in the midst of war and grandeur, those two fatal rocks to moderation; exempt from all kind of prejudice, without the affectation of appearing to despise them too much; and an utter stranger to gallantry, and the arts of courts, but a sincere friend, and an honest man. He lived a professed foe both to interest and vain glory, and was equally the philosopher in all respects at the hour of his death, as through the course of his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was opposed by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; who was then a wise, politic, and still more unfortunate prince: a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and exposed his person like a common man: no one better understood that deceitful kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, such as his was: he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He is said to have committed an essential one in the bad manner in which he drew up his army in presence of that of Catinat. The French general took advantage of his mistake, and gained a complete victory over him, in sight of Saluces, near the abbey of Stafarola, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one side, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it must necessarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the duke of Savoy, upwards of four thousand.

After

After this battle, all Savoy, except Monmelian, submitted to the king. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments near Susa; took 1691 that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Veillano, and Carmagnole, and returned afterwards to Monmelian, of which he made himself master after an obstinate siege.

After all these successes the ministry lessened the army which he commanded, and the duke of Savoy augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the defensive; but at length having received a reinforcement, he descended the Alps, near Marseilles, and there gained a second pitched battle, which 1693 was the more glorious, as prince Eugene of Savoy was then one of the enemy's generals*.

At the other extremity of France, towards the Netherlands, marshal Luxembourg gained the battle of Fleurus, and by the confession of all the officers, this victory was entirely owing to the superiority of genius in the French ge-

* In this battle the duke of Schomberg, son to him who fell at the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriously at the head of a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great Britain. In the preceding campaign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the south of France with consternation. Had he prosecuted his success, he might have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood: but he was seized with the small pox, and supposed to be soothed into forbearance by the intrigues of the French ministry.

neral over prince Waldeck, who then commanded the allied army. Eight thousand men taken prisoners, six thousand killed, two hundred stand of colours, almost all the cannon and baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were sufficient proofs of the victory †.

King William was just returned back from his victory over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in resources, made more advantage of the defeat of his party than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourse to intrigues and negociations, to procure men and money sufficient to oppose to a king who had only to say, "I will." Nevertheless, after the Sept. 19, defeat at Fleurus, he came to meet
1691 marshal Luxembourg with an army as strong as that of the French.

They each consisted of about eighty thousand men; but the marshal had already invested Mons, when William thought
1691 the French had hardly left their winter-quarters. Lewis himself came to be present at the siege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in sight of the enemy's army. After that he returned to Versailles, and left Luxembourg to dispute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Leige, a very extraordinary action,

† This victory, got by a great superiority of number, was dearly purchased. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution. The duke of Luxembourg owned with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck, (said he,) ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry."

in which twenty-eight squadrons of the king's household troops and the gendarmerie, defeated seventy-five squadrons of the enemy's army. Sept. 19,
1691

The king next repaired to the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maese, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the castles in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxembourg prevented king William from passing the Meuse, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest Lewis returned again to Versailles, and Luxembourg still continued to make head against the enemy's force. Now it was that the battle of Steinkirk was fought, so famous for the art and courage displayed therein. A spy, which the French king had sent to watch the motions of king William, was discovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a false information to marshal Luxembourg, who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, made such dispositions as must necessarily bring on a battle. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was asleep in their tents, and one entire brigade cut in pieces before the general knew any thing of the matter. Without the extreme diligence and bravery, all would have been lost.

It was not enough to be a great general to prevent a total defeat; it likewise required well disciplined troops, capable of rallying in an instant, general officers sufficiently skilful to recover these troops from the disorder into which

they were thrown, and willing to do their duty; for a single officer of rank who had a mind to take advantage of the general confusion to cause his general's defeat, might easily have done it without exposing himself to a detection.

The marshal was then ill, a fatal circumstance, at a time when uncommon activity was required; but the greatness of
Aug. 3, the danger restored him to his strength:
1692

it was necessary to perform prodigies not to be overcome, and he performed them; he changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in confusion, rallied his men three times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops, and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, afterwards regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no service in striking a decisive blow; but it contributed not a little to animate the soldiers, when they saw a grandson of France charging at the head of the king's household troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

A grandson and grand-nephew of the great Condé both served in this army as lieutenant-generals; one of these was Lewis of Bourbon, called Monsieur the duke, and the other Armand prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. Monsieur was of a more austere disposition, and had perhaps more solid qualifications, and the prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public

public voice to the command of armies, they earnestly longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; because Lewis, who was as well acquainted with their ambition as their merit, always remembered that the prince of Condé had made war against him.

The prince of Conti was the first who recovered the army from its confusion, by rallying some of the brigades, and making the rest advance. Monsieur did just the same, without standing in need of emulation. The duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was likewise a lieutenant-general in this army; he had served ever since he was twelve years of age, and though he was then upwards of forty, he had never yet commanded in chief. His brother the grand prior was by his side.

It was necessary that all these princes should put themselves at the head of the king's household troops, in order to drive a body of English from an advantageous post, on which the success of the battle depended. The French household troops and the English were the best troops in the world. The slaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of princes and young noblemen who fought about the general's person, at length carried the post; and when the English were defeated*, the rest were obliged to yield.

Boufflers,

* The prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the side of the allies, with a body of British, Danish, and Dutch troops, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, sent an aid de camp twice to demand succours of count Solmes, who headed the center: but that officer derided his distress, saying, "Let us see

Boufflers, who was afterwards marshal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from a place where he was, at some distance from the field of battle, and his arrival completed the victory. King William, after having lost about seven thousand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he still kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young princes and the flower of the nobility of the kingdom, produced an effect at court, in the city, and in the provinces, that no former victory had ever done.

Monsieur the duke, the prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whose acclamations and expressions of joy were carried even to a degree of madness. The women all strove to attract their regards. The men at that time wore lace cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The princes having dressed themselves in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called Steinkirks. Every new toy was a Steinkirk. Any young man who happened to have been present at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the princes every where in crouds, and they were the more beloved, because the court did not shew them favour equal to their reputation and merit.

what sport these English bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the earl of Angus, general Mackay, sir John Lamer, sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant British officers, lost their lives,

The

The ensuing campaign the same general, the same princes, with the same troops, who had been surprised and yet victorious at Steinkirk, made a forced march of seven leagues, and came unawares upon William at Nérvinde, and beat him. Nérvinde is a village near the Laying, a few leagues distance from Brussels. William had time to put his army in order of battle. Luxembourg and the princes carried the village sword in hand two different times, and the instant the marshal turned another way, the enemy retook it again; at length the general and the princes carried it a third time, and the battle was won. Few actions proved more bloody. July 29, There were about twenty thousand killed on both sides; the allies lost ¹⁶⁹³ twelve thousand, and the French eight. On this occasion, it was said there was more room to sing *De profundis**, than *Te Deum*.

These numerous victories were productive of much glory, but few great advantages. The allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nérvinde, had never been completely beaten; king William always made fine retreats; and, in a fortnight's time after one battle, it was necessary to fight another with him to be master of the campaign. The cathedral of Paris was filled with colours taken from the enemy. The

* A hymn sung in the funeral-service in the Roman-catholic churches.

* This action the English distinguish by the name of the battle of Landen. King William made great efforts of courage and perseverance; but his original disposition was so erroneous, that as soon as Luxembourg saw it, he cried, "Now I believe Waldeck is really dead."

prince of Conti called marshal Luxembourg "the Upholsterer of Notre Dame." Nothing was talked of but victories, and yet Lewis XIV. had formerly conquered one half of Holland and Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté, without fighting a single battle; whereas now, after the greatest efforts and the most bloody victories, they could hardly force an entrance into the United Provinces; they could not even lay siege to Brussels.

Sept. 1 and 2, 1692 Marshal de Lorges had likewise on his side gained a considerable advantage over the allies

near Spirebach, and had even taken the old duke of Wirtemberg prisoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having invaded it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monseigneur took and plundered the city of Heidelberg a second time, which the enemy had retaken, and after all was obliged to act upon the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his great victory at Stafarde, and having conquered Savoy, could not prevent the duke of that country from making an irruption into Dauphiné, nor, after his victory at Marseilles, could he save the important city of Casal.

In Spain the marshal de Noailles gained a battle on the banks of the Ter; he May 27, took Girone and some small places; 1694 but his army was weak, and he was obliged, after his victory, to retire from before Barcelona. The French, every where victorious, and weakened by their successes, had an hydra to engage in the allies, that was continually rising up afresh. France began to find it

it difficult to raise recruits, and still more so to procure money. The rigour of the 1691
 season, by which the fruits of the earth
 were at that time wholly destroyed, brought on
 a famine. Numbers perished for want, while
 the whole kingdom resounded with *Te Deums*
 and rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and
 superiority, which had been the soul of the
 French troops, began visibly to diminish. Lewis
 XIV. no longer appeared at their head, 1691
 Louvois was dead, and Barbesieux, his
 son, was generally disliked by them. To crown
 all, the death of marshal Luxem-
 bourg, under whom they thought January,
 themselves invincible, seemed to put 1695
 an end to the rapid victories of the French.

The art of bombarding towns with ships
 now turned upon its inventors; not that the
 engine called *Infernal*, with which the English
 attempted to burn St. Malo, and that failed
 of success, was of French invention; machines
 of this kind had been for a long time of use in
 Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs
 with as much certainty from a moving vessel as
 from the solid ground, that the French invented;
 and it was by this art, that the English had from
 their ships bombarded the towns of Dieppe,
 Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Ca-
 lais; Dieppe, as being the most July 1694,
 easy of access, was the place which and 1695.
 suffered the most real damage. This
 town, which is now so delightful on account
 of the regularity of its buildings, and that seems
 to owe its beauty to its misfortunes, was almost
 reduced to ashes. There were not above twenty
 houses beaten down and burnt in Havre de
 Grace;

Grace ; but the fortifications of the place were entirely destroyed. In this sense it is that the medal struck by the Dutch is true, notwithstanding that so many French writers have inveighed against its falsity. In the exergue we find these words in Latin: *The harbour of Havre burnt and destroyed*, &c. this inscription does not tell us that the town was burnt ; that would have been false ; it only says that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French lost Namur, which they had taken. The nation had lavished encomiums on Lewis XIV. for having conquered this place ; and the most indecent sallies had been thrown out against king William for not having succoured it with an army of eighty thousand men. William at length became master of it, by the same manner in which it had been lost. He attacked it in the face of an army much stronger than his own was at the time that Lewis XIV. laid siege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raising. The French garrison which defended this town was an army of itself ; for while they were preparing matters to invest it, marshal Boufflers found means to throw himself into it with seven regiments of dragoons ; so that Namur was not only defended by sixteen thousand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thousand.

Marshal Boufflers had a great share of merit, was an active and diligent general, and a good citizen, who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the service, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The
marquis

marquis de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, accuses him of several faults in the defence of the town and citadel, and even blames his conduct in the defence of Lisle, by which he gained so much honour. Those who have written the history of Lewis XIV. have servilely copied the Marquis de Feuquieres in military matters, and the abbé de Choisi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent officer, and perfectly well versed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a disposition as morose as discerning, and sometimes the Aristarchus, sometimes the Zoilus of generals. He alters facts, to have the pleasure of censuring; he complains of every one, and every one of him; he was esteemed the bravest man in Europe, because he slept quietly in the midst of an hundred thousand of his enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the staff of marshal of France, he employed his great parts too much against the servants of the state, which would have been extremely useful, had he been as mild and charitable as he was discerning, diligent, and bold.

He charged the marshal de Villeroi with a greater number of faults, and those more essential than even Boufflers. Villeroi, at the head of twenty thousand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the two marshals, Villeroi and Boufflers, done every thing, generally speaking, that they might have done, (which is very seldom the case) the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not be relieved, and must be taken sooner or later. An army of observation posted along the banks of the Meuse had prevented king William from bringing

bringing up his succours; the same thing now necessarily happened to marshal Villeroi.

Tho' marshal Boufflers, the count de Guiscard, governor of the town, the count de Lau-
mont du Châtelet, commandant of the infantry,
and all the officers and soldiers in the place,
defended it with remarkable obstinacy and bra-
very, it retarded the capitulation only two days.
When a town is besieged by a superior army,
when the works are well carried on, and the
season favourable, they can judge nearly within
what time it will be taken, be the defence ever
so vigorous. King William made him-
Sept. self master of the town and citadel at
1695 length, though not in so short a time as
Lewis XIV.

The king, while he was thus losing Namur,
bombarded Brussels; a poor revenge, which he
took of the emperor for his towns which had
been bombarded by the English; all this occa-
sioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both
parties.

One of the effects of human industry and
fury, for these two centuries past, has been
that of not confining the havock of war to our
own continent of Europe. We drain ourselves
of men and money, to carry destruction against
each other in the farther parts of Asia and
America. The Indians, whom we have com-
pelled by force or artifice to admit our settle-
ments amongst them, and the Americans, from
whom we have wrested their continent, after
having dyed it with their blood, look upon us
as the foes of human kind, who came from the
farthest part of the globe to butcher them, and
afterwards to destroy one another.

The

The French had no other colony in the East Indies but that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immense expence, and from whence no considerable advantage could be drawn for several years; the Dutch easily made themselves masters of it, and thus destroyed the trade of the French in the East-Indies, almost in its infancy.

Our plantations in St. Domingo were destroyed by the English, and one of the 1695
Brest privateers laid waste theirs at Gambia, on the coast of Africa. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and sword into the eastern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in possession; and our squadrons insulted their island of Jamaica, took and burnt their shipping there, and ravaged the coast.

Pointis, commander of a squadron of 1695
ships of war and some privateers off America, sailed as far as the line, and surprised the town of Carthagena, the magazine May,
and staple for the Spanish treasures, 1697
which come from Mexico; the damage he did there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that sum. There is always some deduction to be made from such calculations, but little or none from the grievous calamities occasioned by these glorious expeditions.

The French privateers, and especially Dugué-trouin, were every day making prizes of the English and Dutch merchant-ships. This man was very extraordinary in his way, and wanted only a numerous fleet to have acquired as great reputation as Dragut or Barbarossa. The enemy made less rich prizes from the French, because

cause they had less to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general misery then was the result of these expeditions by sea and land. Those who delight more in humanity than politics, will readily observe, that in this war Lewis XIV. took up arms against his brother-in-law the king of Spain, against the elector of Bavaria, to whose sister he had married his son the dauphin, and against the elector-palatine, whose country he burnt, though his brother was married to the princess-palatine. King James likewise was driven from his throne by his son-in-law and his own daughter; and since that time we have seen the duke of Savoy in league against France, where he had one daughter a dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was queen. Most of the wars between Christian princes are, in some sort, civil wars.

The most criminal enterprise in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one; William was perfectly successful in England and Ireland; in other places the successes were more equal. When I call this a criminal undertaking, I do not examine whether the nation, after having shed the blood of the father, were right or wrong in banishing the son, and maintaining its religion and privileges; I only say, that if there is any justice on earth, the daughter and son-in-law of king James ought not to have driven him from his throne and kingdom.

CHAP. CLXXX.

Treaty with SAVOY. Marriage of the Duke of BURGUNDY. Peace of RYSWICK. State of FRANCE and EUROPE. Death and last will of CHARLES II. King of SPAIN.

FRANCE still maintained her superiority over all her enemies; some she had crushed, as the duke of Savoy and the elector-palatine, and she carried the war to the frontiers of the others, like a powerful and robust body, fatigued with a long resistance, and exhausted by its victories; a well directed blow would have made her stagger. Whoever has a number of enemies at once can at last find his safety only in their division, or in a peace. Lewis XIV. obtained both the one and the other.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the most easily persuaded to break his engagements, when his interest was concerned; to him the court of France addressed itself. The count de Tessé, afterwards marshal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleasing, which is the first qualification of a negociator, had began a private treaty at Turin; and marshal Catinat, who was equally capable of making peace and war, put the finishing hand to the affair. There did not want two such able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage; they restored him his country, gave him a sum of money, and proposed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, son to Monseigneur, the heir to the crown of France,
and

and his daughter. Matters were soon agreed upon: the duke and Catinat concluded July, the treaty at Our Lady of Loretto, whither 1696 they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion, which however imposed upon no one. The pope (who was then Innocent XIV.) entered heartily into this negociation. His view was to deliver Italy at once from the invasions of the French, and the taxes which the emperor was continually levying to pay his troops. It was thought necessary that the Imperialists should evacuate Italy, and leave it neuter; this the duke of Savoy engaged himself by the treaty to observe. The emperor gave a flat denial at first; for the court of Vienna rarely came to a determination, but at the last extremity. Upon the emperor's refusal, the duke joined his troops to the French army; and, from generalissimo to the emperor, became, in less than a month, generalissimo to Lewis XIV. His daughter, who was only eleven 1627 years of age, was carried into France to be married to the duke of Burgundy, who was thirteen. After the falling off of the duke of Savoy, it happened, as at the peace of Nimeguen, that each of the allies thought proper to treat. The emperor agreed to leave Italy neuter. The Dutch proposed the castle of Ryf-
wick, near the Hague, as the place for holding the conferences for a general peace. Four armies, which the king had on foot, contributed not a little to bring matters to a speedy conclusion. There were eighty thousand men in Flanders under Villeroy; the marshal de Choiseul had forty thousand men on the banks of the Rhine; Catinat had another army in Pied-

Piedmont ; and the duke of Vendome, who had at length attained the rank of general, after having passed through all the degrees, from that of the king's guard, like a private soldier of fortune, commanded a body of troops in Catalonia, where he gained a battle, and took Barcelona. These new efforts and successes proved the most effectual mediation. The court of Rome offered its arbitration, which was refused, as at Nimeguen. Charles XI. king of Sweden was the mediator. At length the peace was concluded ; no longer with that haughty superiority and advantageous conditions, which had distinguished the greatness of Lewis XIV. but with a condescension and concession of rights on his side, that equally amazed the French and the allies. It was a long time believed that this peace had been concerted with the deepest policy.

Sept.

Oct.

1697

It was pretended that the French king's grand design was, what it certainly ought to have been, to prevent the entire succession of the vast Spanish monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the house of Austria. It is said he entertained hopes that the house of Bourbon might at least come in for a share in the dismemberment, and perhaps one day succeed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother seemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to new conjunctures. In this view, to aggrandize the house of France, it was necessary to shew some moderation towards Europe ; not to incense so many powers, who were still full of suspicions. The peace gave him time to form

new

new alliances, settle the finances, gain over those whom he had occasion for, and to form new bodies of militia in the kingdom. It was necessary to give up something, in hopes of obtaining much more.

These were thought to be the private motives of the peace of Ryswick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandson of Lewis XIV. This notion, probable as it may appear, is not however true; neither Lewis XIV. nor his council had those views that they ought to have had in this affair. It is a strong example of the connection of the revolutions in this world, which govern men, by whom they seem to be conducted. The obvious interest of quickly possessing Spain, or at least a part of that monarchy, had not the least influence in the peace of Ryswick; this is acknowledged by the marquis de Torci, in his manuscript memoirs. They made peace merely because they were weary of the war, and this war itself had been carried on without any particular object; at least on the side of the allies: it was only from the idle desire of humbling the greatness of Lewis; and in that monarch it was merely the consequence of that same greatness which would not hearken to concessions. King William had drawn over to his cause the emperor, the empire, Spain, the United Provinces, and Savoy; Lewis XIV. found himself too far engaged to recede. The finest part of Europe had been laid waste, because the French king made use of the advantages he gained by the peace of Nimeguen in too haughty a manner. The league was formed rather against his person than the kingdom of France; the king thought

thought himself secure of the reputation he had gained by arms, and was now desirous of adding that of moderation: the weakness which began to be sensibly felt in the finances made him more ready to adopt such a conduct.

The political affairs were debated in the king's council, and the resolutions taken there: the marquis de Torci, then young, was only charged with the execution of them. The whole council was for peace, especially the duke of Beauvilliers, who set forth the miseries of the people with such energy, that madame de Maintenon was affected by it, and the king himself appeared not insensible; and it made the more impression, as they had fallen from that flourishing state to which the minister Colbert had raised the kingdom. The great establishments of all kinds had cost immense sums, and no oeconomy had been used to retrieve the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary expences. This inward calamity astonished every one, because it had never been felt since Lewis XIV. had governed alone: these were the true causes of the peace of Ryswick, though doubtless some virtuous sentiments had an influence in it. Those who think that kings and ministers incessantly, and without bounds, sacrifice every thing to their ambition, are no less mistaken, than he who thinks they continually sacrifice to worldly happiness.

The king then restored to the Spaniards all those places near the Pyrenees that he had taken from them, and likewise the conquests he had made in Flanders during the last war, as Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai.

He

He acknowledged William III: lawful king of England, whom he had till then treated as prince of Orange, a tyrant, and an usurper. He promised not to assist his enemies for the future; and king James, whose name was left out in the treaty, remained at St. Germain with the empty title of king, and a pension from Lewis XIV. Thus sacrificed by his protector to the necessity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceased to publish any new manifestos.

The sentences which the courts of Brisac and Metz had awarded against so many sovereigns, and the reunions made at Alsace, those monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were abolished, and the bailiwicks that had been seized upon by form of law were restored to their right masters.

Besides these concessions, Friburg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsburg, were restored to the empire; the king even submitted to destroy the fortress of Strasburg on the Rhine, Fort-Lewis, Traerbach, and Mount-Royal, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasury. Europe was surprised, and the French displeased, to see Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who signed this peace, durst not shew themselves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken a single step they had not been ordered by the ministry; they were reproached by the court with having betrayed the honour of the French nation, and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepared the way for the succession

to

to the Spanish monarchy: but in truth, they deserved neither censure nor praise.

It was by this peace, that France at length restored Lorraine to the family which had been in possession of it for above seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead; his son Leopold, at the peace of Ryswick, took possession of his sovereignty, with the loss indeed of his real privileges, it not being allowed him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his subjects; a privilege which no prince ever made a better use of than himself.

It were to be wished, that latest posterity may be informed, that one of the least powerful sovereigns in Europe, was him who did the most good to his people. He found Lorraine a desert waste; he repopled and enriched it, and preserved it in peace, while the rest of Europe was desolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himself beloved in the empire; happily preserving that just medium, which hardly any prince, without power, has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates. He procured his people plenty, to which they had been long strangers; his noblesse, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness, were raised to a state of opulence, solely by his benefactions. If he saw the family-seat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence; he paid their debts, portioned out their daughters, and lavished presents with that art of giving, which raises them even above benefactions; bestowing
VOL. VII. H his

He acknowledged William III. lawful king of England, whom he had till then treated as prince of Orange, a tyrant, and an usurper. He promised not to assist his enemies for the future; and king James, whose name was left out in the treaty, remained at St. Germain with the empty title of king, and a pension from Lewis XIV. Thus sacrificed by his protector to the necessity of the times, and already forgotten in Europe, he ceased to publish any new manifestos.

The sentences which the courts of Brisac and Metz had awarded against so many sovereigns, and the reunions made at Alsace, those monuments of a dangerous power and pride, were abolished, and the bailiwicks that had been seized upon by form of law were restored to their right masters.

Besides these concessions, Friburg, Brisac, Kheil, and Philipsburg, were restored to the empire; the king even submitted to destroy the fortresses of Strasburg on the Rhine, Fort-Lewis, Traerbach, and Mount-Royal, works on which the great Vauban had exhausted his art, and the king his treasury. Europe was surprised, and the French displeased, to see Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Creci, and Callieres, who signed this peace, durst not shew themselves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and derision, as if they had taken a single step they had not been ordered by the ministry; they were reproached by the court with having betrayed the honour of the French nation, and afterwards they were applauded for having, by this treaty, prepared the way for the succession

to the Spanish monarchy: but in truth, they deserved neither censure nor praise.

It was by this peace, that France at length restored Lorraine to the family which had been in possession of it for above seven hundred years. Duke Charles V. the prop of the empire, and conqueror of the Turks, was dead; his son Leopold, at the peace of Ryswick, took possession of his sovereignty, with the loss indeed of his real privileges, it not being allowed him to have ramparts to his capital; but they could not deprive him of a much more noble privilege, that of doing good to his subjects; a privilege which no prince ever made a better use of than himself.

It were to be wished, that latest posterity may be informed, that one of the least powerful sovereigns in Europe, was him who did the most good to his people. He found Lorraine a desert waste; he repopled and enriched it, and preserved it in peace, while the rest of Europe was desolated by war. He had always the prudence to keep well with France, and to make himself beloved in the empire; happily preserving that just medium, which hardly any prince, without power, has ever been able to maintain between two great potentates. He procured his people plenty, to which they had been long strangers; his noblesse, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness, were raised to a state of opulence, solely by his benefactions. If he saw the family-seat of a gentleman in ruins, he rebuilt it at his own expence; he paid their debts, portioned out their daughters, and lavished presents with that art of giving, which raises them even above benefactions; bestowing

his gifts with the magnificence of a prince, and the politeness of a friend. The arts, which were held in the highest honour throughout his little province, produced a new circulation, which makes the riches of a state. His court was formed after the model of that of France, and the traveller hardly perceived a change of place in going to Luneville from Versailles. After the example of Lewis XIV. he advanced the belles lettres; he established a kind of university, without pedantry, at Luneville, where the young German nobility went to be formed. The true sciences were there taught in schools, where the theory of natural philosophy was demonstrated to the eye by the most curious apparatus. He sought out men of talents even in the shops and in the woods, brought them to light, and was himself their patron and rewarder. In a word, the whole business of his reign was to procure his nation tranquillity, riches, knowledge, and pleasure; "I would quit my sovereignty to-morrow, (said he) if I could no longer do good." Accordingly he tasted the satisfaction of being believed, and I myself saw, long after his death, his subjects shed tears in mentioning his name. When he died he left an example to be followed by the greatest kings; but he could not, during his life, be instrumental in preparing the way for his son to the throne of the empire.

At the time that Lewis XIV. was managing the affair of the peace of Ryswick, which was to give him the Spanish succession, the throne of Poland became vacant. This was the only regal crown, then elective, in the world; natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend

pretend to it, but to retain it required either a merit sufficiently striking, and properly supported by intrigues, to engage the suffrages, (as was the case with John Sobieski the late king) or else, money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almost always put up at auction.

The abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, had at first the art to engage the suffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the valiant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nervinde. He had never the command in chief, nor was he admitted into the king's councils. The duke of Bourbon had an equal reputation as a warrior, the duke of Vendôme a still greater, and yet his fame surpassed that of all others, by the great art of pleasing, and making himself of consequence, which no one possessed in a more eminent degree than himself. Polignac, whose talent lay in persuasion, determined the minds of the people in his favour; and, by dint of eloquence and promises, counterbalanced the money which Augustus elector of Saxony, lavished among them. Lewis-Francis, prince of Conti, June 17, was elected king by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed by the 1697
primate of the kingdom. Augustus was elected two hours afterwards by another party, inferior in numbers; but he was a sovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti was absent, destitute of money, men, and power, and had nothing on his side but his name, and cardinal de Polignac. It remained that Lewis XIV. should either prevent his accepting the crown, or furnish him with proper

assistance to get the better of his competitor. It was thought that the French ministry did too much in sending the prince of Conti over, and too little in furnishing him with only a small squadron of ships and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzick: this was acting with that lukewarm policy, which begins an affair only to quit it again. They would not even receive the prince at Dantzick, and his bills of exchange were protested. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already secured the crown on his rival's head; he returned then with the glory of having been chosen king, and France had the mortification of having made it appear, that she was not sufficiently powerful to make a king of Poland.

This disgrace, which befel the prince of Conti, did not interrupt the peace which subsisted between the Christian powers in the North. The South of Europe was soon afterwards restored to its tranquillity by the peace of Ryf-wick.

There was no longer any war but that which the Turks carried on against Germany, Poland, Venice, and Russia; and here the Christians, though under a bad administration, and divided among themselves, had the superiority. The battle of Zanta, in which prince Eugene beat the grand seignior in person, and remarkable by the deaths of the grand vizir, seventeen bashaws, and upwards of twenty thousand Turks who fell there, humbled the Ottoman pride, and brought about the peace of Car-

Carlowitz, in which the Turks submitted to the laws imposed by the conquerors. 1699
 The Venetians had the Morea, the Muscovites Asoph, the Poles Kaminiek, and the emperor Transilvania. All Christendom was then happy and tranquil, the sound of war was no longer heard, either in Asia or Africa, and the whole world was at peace during the two last years of the seventeenth century, an epocha, alas! of too short a duration.

The public calamities were soon awakened again. The peace of the North was disturbed in the year 1700, by two men the most extraordinary the world ever produced: one was czar Peter Alexowitz, emperor of Russia, the other young Charles XII. king of Sweden. Czar Peter, though born a barbarian, became a great man, and by his genius and surprising labours, was the reformer, or rather founder of his empire. Charles XII. more courageous than the czar, and yet less serviceable to his subjects, formed to command soldiers but not nations, was the first hero of his age, but died with the character of an imprudent king. The desolation the North underwent during a war of eighteen years, owed its rise to the ambitious politics of the czar and the kings of Denmark and Poland, who wanted to take advantage of the youth of Charles XII. to strip him of a part of his dominions; but Charles, at the age of sixteen, conquered all three. He 1700
 was the terror of the world, and was already esteemed a hero, at an age in which other men have hardly finished their studies. He was for nine years the most formidable monarch in

the world, and for nine years the most miserable.

The troubles of the South of Europe arose from another cause. The king of Spain lay at the point of death, and it was in dispute who should share the spoils he was to leave behind him. The powers, who already devoured in imagination this immense succession, did, on this occasion, what we frequently see practised during the illness of a rich old man who has no children; the wife, the relations, the priests of the sick king, and even the officers appointed to receive the last commands of those who are dying, beset him on all sides to get a favourable word from him. Some of the inheritors agree to divide the spoils, and others prepare to dispute them.

Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the same degree of consanguinity; they were both grandsons to Philip III. and both had married daughters of Philip IV. therefore Monseigneur the dauphin, the king's son, and Joseph king of the Romans, son to the emperor, were doubly in the same degree. The right of eldership was in the house of France, the king and Monseigneur being sons of the elder daughters: but the Imperial house reckoned as rights, first the formal renunciation to the crown of Spain, made and ratified by Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with the name of Austria; the blood of Maximilian, from whence Leopold and Charles II. were descended; the almost perpetual union which had subsisted between the two branches of the house of Austria; the still more constant hatred of those two branches against the Bourbons;

bons; the aversion which the Spanish nation had at that time to the French; and lastly, the secret springs of the policy which governed the Spanish council.

Nothing at that time seemed more natural than to perpetuate the throne of Spain in the house of Austria; all Europe expected this before the peace of Ryswick, but the weakness of Charles II. had disturbed this order of succession in the year 1696, and the Austrian house had been already sacrificed in secret. The king of Spain had a grand-nephew, son to Maximilian Mary, elector of Bavaria; the king's mother, who was still living, was great-grandmother to this young prince of Bavaria, who was then about four years old; and this princess, notwithstanding that she herself was of the house of Austria, being daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III. prevailed on her son to disinherit the Imperial family, in consequence of a pique she had entertained against the court of Vienna. She therefore cast her eyes on the prince of Bavaria, though hardly out of his cradle, and destined him to the Spanish monarchy, and that of the new world. Charles II. who was then entirely governed by her*, made a private will in the year 1696, in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but having afterwards lost his mother, he was governed by his wife Mariana, of Bavaria Newbourg. This Bavarian princess, who was sister-in-law to the emperor Leopold, had as great an attachment to the house of Austria, as the Austrian queen-mother had to that

* See de Torcy's memoirs, Vol. I. page 15.

of Bavaria. Thus the natural course of things was all along inverted in this affair, which concerned the most extensive monarchy in the world. Mariana of Bavaria procured that will to be destroyed, by which the young prince of Bavaria was called to the succession, and obtained a promise from the king, that he would never have any other heir than a son of the emperor Leopold, and would not name the house of Austria. Matters were on this footing at the peace of Ryfwick. The kings of France and Austria were equally fearful and suspicious of each other, and had likewise Europe to fear. England and Holland, two powerful states, whose interest it was to maintain the balance of power between crowned heads, would never suffer, that the same head which wore the crown of Spain, should likewise wear that of France or the empire*.

It is not positively known who it was that first conceived the notion of making the premature, and unheard of partition of the Spanish monarchy, during the life-time of Charles II. Most probably it was the minister Torci, for it was him who first opened it to Bentinck earl of Portland, ambassador from William III. to Lewis XIV.

1698 King William entered with great alacrity into this new project; and, in concert with the count de Tallard at the Hague, disposed of the Spanish succession. To the young prince of Bavaria they gave Spain and the East-Indies, without knowing that

* The reigning emperor is the son of this Leopold.

Charle

Charles II. had before that bequeathed to him all his dominions. The dauphin, son of Lewis XIV. was to have Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuscoa, together with some few towns. The archduke Charles, second son to the emperor Leopold, had only the dutchy of Milan given him, and nothing was allotted for the archduke Joseph, Leopold's eldest son, and heir to the empire.

The destiny of a part of Europe, and the half of America, thus settled, Lewis promised by this treaty of partition, to renounce the entire succession to the Spanish dominions; the dauphin promised and signed the same thing. France thought to make an addition to its territories; England and Holland had in view to settle the peace of a part of Europe; but all these politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner they were tearing his monarchy in pieces during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected, that upon hearing this news, he would declare either the emperor or one of his sons his successor, as a reward for his not having intermeddled in this shameful partition; and that he would make such a will as the house of Austria should dictate to him. He did indeed make a will, but he, a second time, declared the prince of Bavaria sole heir to his dominions.

The Spanish nation, who dreaded nothing so much as the dismembering of its monarchy, applauded the disposition the king had made, which seemed calculated to bring about a peace. This hope likewise proved as vain as the treaty of partition. The

prince of Bavaria, the intended king, died at Brussels*.

The house of Austria was unjustly charged with the sudden death of this prince, merely from the probability that those will be guilty of crimes, to whom crimes are useful; and new intrigues began to be revived again at the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London, the Hague, and Rome.

Lewis XIV. king William, and the states-general, disposed once more of the Spanish monarchy in idea, and assigned to arch-March, duke Charles, the emperor's youngest son, that part which they had before given to the infant, lately dead.

They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine, and Lorraine, so often invaded, and so often restored again by France, was to be annexed to it for ever. This treaty, which set the politics of all the princes at work, to thwart or support it, proved as useless as the first.

* The author of the history of Lewis XIV. had mentioned the most of these particulars, then new and very interesting, a long time before the memoirs of the marquis de Torcy made their appearance; and these memoirs have at length confirmed all the facts alledged in this history.

The scandalous reports which were propagated on the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, are no longer repeated by writers of any authority. In the pretended memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, Tom V. pag. 6, we meet with these words; "The court of Vienna, which had always been tainted with Machiavelian maxims, and was suspected of employing poisoners to retrieve the mistakes of its ministers." It would seem by this expression, that the court of Vienna had always kept poisoners in a kind of office, the same as their hussars and dragoons. We think it our duty to take notice of such indecent expressions, and contradict such calumnies.

Europe

Europe was again deceived in its attempt, as almost always happens.

When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to sign, he refused, because he was in hopes of having the intire succession. The French king, who had strongly pressed the signing it, waited in uncertainty for the event.

The king of Spain, who saw himself at the point of death, in the flower of his age, was for bestowing all his dominions on the archduke Charles, his queen's nephew, and second son to the emperor Leopold: he did not dare to leave them to the eldest son, so prevalent was the system of a balance of power in all minds, and so certain was it, that the apprehension of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, in the same hands, was about to arm all Europe. Charles II. wanted the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but neither France, England, the states-general, nor Italy, would have permitted such a step to be taken at that time; every one was for the partition. The emperor would not send his son alone, to be at the mercy of the Spanish council, and he could not transport ten thousand men thither: he only wanted to march troops into Italy, to secure that part of the Austrian-Spanish monarchy. There now happened in the most important of concerns between two great princes, what happens every day between private persons in the most trifling affairs: they disputed, they grew warm; the Castilian haughtiness was offended by the German pride. The countess of Perlitz, who governed the wife of the dying
H 6
king,

king, alienated the minds of those in Madrid, whom she ought to have won over, and the court of Vienna disgusted them still more by its haughtiness.

The young archduke, who was afterwards the emperor Charles VI. used never to mention the Spaniards but with some opprobrious appellation. He then experienced how incumbent it is on princes to weigh all their words. The bishop of Lerida, who was ambassador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on some occasion of dislike against the Germans, collected these expressions, and transmitted them with exaggerations to his court in his dispatches, and even treated the Austrian council more injuriously in his letters, than the archduke had done the Spaniards by his speeches. "Leopold's ministers, said he, have understandings like the horns of the goats in my country, small, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public. The bishop of Lerida was recalled, and at his return to Madrid he doubly encreased the aversion which his countrymen had to the Germans.

While the Austrian party made itself thus hated by the court of Madrid, the marquis, after marshal duke of Harcourt, the French ambassador, gained all hearts by his prodigious magnificence, his dexterity, and perfect knowledge in the art of pleasing. He was the first who changed into benevolence that antipathy which the Spanish nation had nourished against the French, ever since the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, and by his prudent conduct laid the foundation for that period, when France and Spain renewed the ancient bonds by which they

they were united before the time of that Ferdinand. "Crown with crown, nation with nation, and man with man." He brought the Spanish court to have an affection for the house of France, its ministers to be no longer startled at the renunciations made by Maria Theresa, and Anne of Austria, and the king himself to waver between his own house and that of Bourbon. He was therefore the *primum mobile* of the greatest change in the administration, and the minds of the people in general. But this change was as yet at a considerable distance. The emperor employed entreaties and threats. The king of France represented his rights, but without venturing to ask the entire succession for his grandson.

The council of Madrid were as yet undetermined which side to take, and Charles II. who was every day drawing nearer to his grave, was in equal uncertainty. Leopold in a pique recalled his ambassador, the count de Harracah, from Madrid, but soon afterwards he sent him back again, and then the hopes in favour of the house of Austria were revived. The king of Spain wrote to the emperor that he would chuse the archduke for his successor. Then the French king threatned in his turn, assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, and the marquis of Harcourt was recalled from his embassy, to command these forces, leaving only an officer of foot at the court of Madrid, who had served as secretary to the embassy, and now remained in quality of resident, as de Torci tells us. Thus the dying king, threatned alternately by those who pretended to the succession, and plainly perceiving that the hour of his

his death would be that of a bloody war, and that his dominions were on the point of being torn in pieces, drew towards his end comfortless, irresolute, and involved in disquietudes.

In this violent crisis of affairs, cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, the count of Monterey, and others of the Spanish grandees, determined to save their country, and joined together to prevent the dismembring of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Austrian government added a double weight to reasons of state in their breasts, and did the court of France the most essential service without her knowing it. They persuaded Charles II. to prefer the grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince at so great a distance from them, and incapable of defending them. This was not an invalidation of the solemn renunciations of the Spanish crown made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. because these had been made only to prevent the elder sons of their descendants from uniting the two kingdoms under one rule; and here it was an elder son that was chosen. It was at the same time doing justice to the rights of blood, and preserving the Spanish monarchy from a partition. The scrupulous king caused all his divines to be consulted on this head, who were all of opinion with the council; and ill as he was, wrote a letter with his own hand, to pope Innocent XII. proposing the same case to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon the weakening of the house of Austria, wrote back to the king, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Christendom required of him to give the preference to the house of France." This letter
of

of the pope's was dated July 16, 1700. He treated this case of conscience proposed by a sovereign, as an affair of state ; while the king of Spain made a case of conscience of an important affair of state.

Lewis XIV. was informed of these dispositions by cardinal de Janson, who then resided at Rome, and this was all the share that the court of Versailles had in this event. Six months had passed without there being any ambassador at the court of Madrid. This was perhaps a fault ; but perhaps also this very fault secured the Spanish monarchy in the house of France. The king of Spain then made his third will, that was for a long time thought to be the only one, and by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou*.

It was generally thought in Europe that this will of Charles II. had been dictated at Versailles. The dying king consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the wishes and even fears of his people ; for the French king had ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers, in order to secure to himself a part of the inheritance, at the time the dying king determined to leave him the whole. Nothing is more true than that the reputation of Lewis XIV. and the notion of his power, were the

* Some memoirs tell us that cardinal Portocarrero prevailed on the king to sign this will when he was dying, and give us a long speech which the prelate made to this monarch, to engage him to comply with his request. But it is easily perceived that every thing had been prepared and disposed for this in the month of July preceding. Besides, who could know what cardinal Portocarrero said to the king when they were in private together ?

only negotiations that completed this great revolution.

Charles of Austria, after having signed the ruin of his house, and the aggrandizement of that of France, languished about a month longer, when he ended, at the age of thirty-nine, the obscure life he had led while on the throne. It may perhaps not be altogether useless towards giving an insight into the human mind, to mention, that this monarch, a few months before his death, caused the tombs of his mother and his first wife, Maria-Louisa of Orleans, to the poisoning of whom he was suspected to have been privy*, to be opened, and kissed the remains of their dead bodies. In this he either followed the example of some of the ancient kings of Spain, or was willing to accustom himself to the horrors of death, or from a secret superstition thought that opening these tombs would retard the hour in which he was to be carried to his own.

This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakness had spread itself through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their prosperity depend upon the disposition of a single man. Charles II. had been brought up in such profound ignorance, that when the French were besieging Mons, he thought that place had belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what place belonged to him there†. This king left the duke of

* See the Chapter of anecdotes:

† See de Torci's *Memoirs*, Tom. I. page 12.

Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

His will was kept so secret that the count de Harrac, the emperor's ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke would be acknowledged his successor. He waited a long time for the issue of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death; at length seeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms, he made sure in that instant that the archduke was king, when the duke embracing him, accosted him thus: *Vengo ad expedir me de la casa de Austria*. "I am come to take my leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years of war and negociations, for some few frontier towns of the Spanish dominions, the house of France, by the single stroke of a pen, was put in possession of the whole monarchy, without treaties, without intrigues, and even without having entertained hopes of the succession. We thought ourselves obliged to bring to light the simple truth of a fact which has till now been obscured by so many statesmen and historians, led away by their own prejudices, and by appearances, that are almost always fallacious. What we find related in a number of books concerning the sums of money distributed by the marshal d'Harcourt, and the bribing of the Spanish ministers to get this will signed, may be ranked in the number of political lies and popular errors. But the king of Spain, in chusing for his successor the grand-son of a king who had so long been his enemy, had always in view the consequences that naturally follow from a notion of a general equilibrium of power. The duke
of

of Anjou, Lewis XIV's grand-son, was called to the Spanish succession, only because he could never pretend to the crown of France; and in this very will, by which, in default of younger children of the blood of Lewis XIV. the arch-duke Charles, (afterwards the emperor Charles VI.) is called to the succession, it is expressly declared, that the empire and Spain shall never be united under one sovereign.

Lewis XIV. might still have abided by the treaty of partition, which was profitable for France, or he might have accepted the will, which was to the advantage of his family. This matter was actually in debate in an extraordinary council. The chancellor, Pontchartrain, and the duke of Beauvilliers, were of opinion to abide by the treaty, as foreseeing the danger of having a new war to support. Lewis saw nothing like this; but he was accustomed not to fear war. He therefore accepted the will, and as he was coming out of the council, meeting the princess of Conti, with madame the dutchess; "Well, said he to them smiling, on which side are you?" and then without giving them time to reply, "Which soever side I take, added he, I am sure to be blamed *."

The

* Notwithstanding the just contempt in which the pretended memoirs of madame de Maintenon are held throughout France, we think it necessary to acquaint strangers that every thing there said relating to this will, is entirely false. The author pretends, that when the Spanish ambassador presented the will of Charles II. to Lewis, that prince replied, "We shall consider of it." Certainly the king never made so extraordinary a reply, since by the mar-

The actions of kings, though often extravagantly flattered, are likewise liable to the severest strictures, insomuch that the king of England himself underwent the reproaches of his parliament, and his ministers were prosecuted for having been concerned in the treaty of partition. The English, who reason better than any other nation, but who frequently suffer the rage of party spirit to extinguish that reason, exclaimed unanimously both against William, who had made this treaty, and against Lewis, who had broke it.

Europe at first seemed lost in surprise, and unable to bestir itself when it saw the Spanish monarchy become subject to France, whose rival it had been for above three hundred years. Lewis XIV. seemed the most fortunate and powerful monarch in the world. He saw himself, at the age of sixty-two, surrounded with a numerous posterity, and one of his grand-sons going to rule, under his orders, the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low Countries. The emperor as yet could do nothing but complain.

King William, now fifty-two years of age, infirm and feeble, no longer appeared the formidable enemy he had been. He could not make war without the consent of his parlia-

marquis de Torci's confession, the Spanish ambassador had not his audience of Lewis XIV. till after the holding of the council in which the will was accepted.

The minister who then resided in Spain from the French court, was named Blécour, and not Belcour; and the Spanish ambassador's name was Castel dos Rios, and not Rius. The answer made by the king to this ambassador never had existence but in this idle romance.

ment;

ment; and Lewis had taken care to send sums of money over to England, with a view to purchase several votes in that assembly. William, and the Dutch, not being strong enough to declare themselves, wrote to Philip V. as to the lawful king of Spain. Lewis XIV. was sure of the elector of Bavaria, father to the young prince, lately deceased, who had been appointed king. This elector, who governed the Netherlands in the name of the deceased king, Charles II. immediately secured the possession of Flanders to Philip V. and left a passage open for the French army through his electorate to the capital of Germany, in case the emperor should venture to declare war. The elector of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, was as intimately connected with France as his brother, and these two princes seemed to act with reason on their side. The party of the house of Bourbon was at that time without comparison the strongest. The duke of Savoy, already father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was going to be the same to the king of Spain, and was to have the command of the French forces in Italy. It was hardly imagined then that the father of the dutchess of Burgundy and the queen of Spain, would ever make war upon his two sons-in-law.

The duke of Mantua, who had been sold to France by his minister, now sold himself, and received a French garrison into Mantua. The dutchy of Milan acknowledged Lewis's grandson without hesitation; and even Portugal, who was naturally the enemy of Spain, immediately joined with it. In a word, from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Na-

Naples, all seemed to be at the devotion of the Bourbons. The king was so elated with his prosperity, that talking with the duke of Rochefoucault one day, on the subject of the proposals which the emperor made him at that time, he expressed himself thus: "You will find them still more insolent than you have been told*."

King William, who to the hour of his death continued an enemy to Lewis XIV. promised the emperor to arm England and Holland in his cause: he likewise engaged the court of Denmark in his interest: at length he signed at the Hague that league which had been already set on foot against the house of France. The king however was not much surprised at this, and depending upon the divisions he hoped to cause in the English parliament, by the money he had sent over, and still more on the united forces of France and Spain, seemed to despise his enemies. Sept. 1701

At this time, king James died at St. Germain. Lewis might on this occasion have paid what appeared due to decency and good politics, in not too hastily acknowledging the prince of Wales for king of England, after having already acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryswick. He was at first determined, from an emotion of pure generosity, to give the son of king James the consolation of a title and dignity which his unfortunate

* At least this is what we find related by Mr. Dangeau, in his manuscript memoirs, though they are not always strictly true.

had bore till the hour of his death, and which the treaty of Ryswick did not take from him. The principal ministers of the council however were all of a different opinion. The duke of Beauvilliers especially, set forth, in the most eloquent manner, the many scourges of war which were likely to be the consequence of so dangerous a magnanimity. This nobleman was governor to the duke of Burgundy, and in every thing thought like that prince's preceptor, the famous archbishop of Cambrai, so well known by his humane maxims of government, and the preference he gave to the interests of the people, over the grandeur of the monarch. The marquis de Torci enforced as a politician what the duke de Beauvilliers had advanced as a citizen. He represented how impolitic it was to incense the English nation by so rash a step. Lewis yielded to the opinion of his council, and resolved not to acknowledge the son of James II. as king. The same day Mary of Modena, widow to the deceased James, went to madame de Maintenon's apartments to speak with Lewis XIV. She found him there, and with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her son, herself, and the memory of a king he had protected, with so much indignity as to refuse a title, the only remains of all their former greatness. She observed, that as her son had always received the honours of a prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himself could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy his usurpation. To these arguments she added others, which concerned the interest and glory of Lewis XIV. She represented

sent to him that whether he acknowledged the son of James II. or not, the English would nevertheless declare against France; and that he would only feel the vexation of having sacrificed the most noble sentiments to a fruitless precaution. These representations and tears were powerfully seconded by madame de Maintenon. The king resumed his former sentiments, and the noble resolution of protecting distressed kings to the utmost of his power. In a word, James III. was acknowledged the same day that it had been determined in council not to acknowledge him.

The marquis de Torci has frequently owned this remarkable anecdote; he has not indeed inserted it in his memoirs, because (as he himself observes) he thought it was not to the honour of his master, to be prevailed upon by two women, to alter a resolution which had been taken in his council. Some English gentlemen* have told me, that had it not been for this step, their parliament might not perhaps have taken part against the houses of Bourbon and Austria; but that this acknowledging as

* Among others, my lord Bolingbroke, who in his memoirs has since justified all that the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. advances. See his letters, Vol. II. page 56. Mr. de Torci is of the same opinion in his memoirs: he says, Vol. I. page 164, "The king's resolution to acknowledge the prince of Wales for king of England, wrought a change in the dispositions which a great part of the nation shewed towards preserving the peace, &c." Lord Bolingbroke says, in his letters, that Lewis XIV. acknowledged the pretender "through female importunities." These are sufficient proofs how industriously the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. has sought after the truth, and with what candour he has related it.

their

their king a person whom they had banished, appeared an insult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exercising an absolute authority over Europe. The spirit of freedom which then prevailed among the English, and that was not a little increased by the hatred they bore to Lewis, on account of his great power, made the nation contribute with cheerfulness to all the supplies which William demanded.

It appears more probable that the English would have declared war against Lewis XIV. even though he had refused the empty title of king to the son of James II. His grandson being in possession of the Spanish monarchy seemed alone sufficient to arm all the maritime powers against him. A few members of the house of commons bribed to favour his cause, could never have opposed the torrent of the nation. It remains to be decided, whether madam de Maintenon judged better than the French council, and whether Lewis XIV. was in the right to indulge the pride and sensibility of his soul?

The emperor Leopold first began this war in Italy, in the spring of the year 1701. Italy has always been the favourite object in all the concerns of the emperors. He knew his arms could more easily penetrate here through the Tirolese and the Venetian state; for Venice, though neuter in appearance, still inclined more to the house of Austria than to that of France, and being moreover obliged by treaties to allow a passage to the German troops, she found no great difficulty to accomplish these treaties.

The emperor, before he ventured to attack Lewis XIV. on the side of Germany, waited till the Germanic body began to stir in his favour.

vour. He had good intelligence in the Spanish court, and even a party there; but neither of these could prove of service without the presence of one of his sons, and he could not be transported thither but with the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets. King William hastened the necessary preparations; his soul more active than ever, in a feeble and almost lifeless body, set every thing in motion; not so much with a view to serve the house of Austria as to humble Lewis XIV.

He was to have headed the armies himself, at the beginning of the year 1702; but death prevented his design. A fall from his horse completed the disorder of his enfeebled organs, and a slight fever carried him off. He died without making any reply to what the English clergymen * who attended at his bed-side said to him in relation to their religion, and shewed no concern but for the affairs of Europe.

He left behind him the character of a great politician though he was never popular, and a formidable general though he had lost so many battles; always circumspect in his conduct, and spirited only in the day of battle; he reigned peaceably in England merely because he did not

* Our author is in this place mistaken. Instead of shewing any solicitude about the affairs of Europe, he paid little or no attention to the Earl of Albemarle, just arrived from Holland, when he explained to him in private the posture of affairs upon the continent: all the answer he made was, *Je tire vers ma fin*, "My life draws near a close." He conferred on spiritual matters with archbishop Tennyson and bishop Burnet, and received the sacrament with great devotion.

attempt to be absolute ; he was called the English stadtholder and the Dutch king ; he understood all the European languages, but spoke none of them well, as he had a much greater share of reflection than imagination ; he affected to hate flatterers and flattery, perhaps because Lewis XIV. seemed to take rather too much pleasure in them. His reputation was of a different kind from that of the French monarch ; those who admired most the advantage of having acquired a kingdom without any natural right, and of maintaining the rule over a people without being beloved by them ; of having governed Holland with all the authority of a sovereign, without enslaving it ; of having been the soul and head of one half of Europe, without possessing the talents of a general, or the courage of a soldier ; of never having persecuted any one on the score of religion ; of having a contempt for the superstitious prejudices of mankind ; of having been simple and moderate in his manners ; such I say will doubtless give the title of great to William, rather than to Lewis : while those who are more delighted with the pleasures of a brilliant court, with magnificence, with the protection given to the arts, with a zeal for the public good*, a thirst for glory, and a talent for reigning, who are more struck with

* In what shape Lewis XIV. could be said to be zealous for the public good, we cannot conceive ; he whose criminal ambition impoverished his kingdom, and reduced his subjects to misery. As to his talent for reigning we shall only observe, that, after Richelieu had reduced the power of the nobles, and Colbert had enriched the kingdom with commerce, as well as established the plan of internal government, it was a very easy matter to maintain authority and

with the lofty manner in which ministers and generals added whole provinces to France, only on an order from their king; who are more astonished to see a single state make head against so many powers; who have greater esteem for a king of France that procures the kingdom of Spain for his grandson, than for a son-in-law who dethrones his wife's father; in a word, those who admire more the protector than the persecutor of king James, such will give Lewis the preference.

To William III. succeeded the princess Anne, daughter to king James by the daughter of Lawyer Hyde, afterwards chancellor and one of the principal men of the kingdom. She was married to the prince of Denmark, who ranked only as the first subject in the kingdom. As soon as she came to the crown, she adopted all the measures of her predecessor king William, though she had been at open variance with him during his life. These measures were those of the nation. In other kingdoms, a prince obliges his people to enter blindly into all his views; but at London a king must enter into those of his people*.

The dispositions made by England and Holland for placing, if possible, the archduke Charles, son to the emperor Leopold, on the throne of Spain, or at least to oppose the establishment of the Bourbon family, were such as perhaps may be said to merit the attention of all ages.

and order in a nation of slaves, overawed by a standing army of above four hundred thousand ruffians, inured to blood and rapine.

* Witness this and the last war upon the continent.

The Dutch on their sides were to maintain an army of one hundred and two thousand men in pay, either in garrison or in the field. This was much more than the vast Spanish monarchy could furnish at that time: a province of merchants, who, thirty years before, had been almost totally subdued in the space of two months, could now do more than the masters of Spain, Naples, Flanders, Peru, and Mexico. England promised to furnish forty thousand men. It happens in most alliances, that, in the long run, the parties concerned fall short of their promised quotas; but England, on the contrary, furnished fifty thousand men the second year instead of forty, which she had promised; and, in the latter part of the war, she had in pay, on the frontiers of France, in Spain, Italy, Ireland, America, and on board her fleet, upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, soldiers and sailors, partly her own troops, partly those of her allies; an expence which appears almost incredible to those who reflect, that England, properly so called, is not a third so large as France, and has not one half the quantity of coin; but will appear probable in the eyes of those who know what trade and credit can do. The English always bore the greatest share of the burthen in this alliance, while the Dutch insensibly lessened theirs; for after all, the republic of the states-general is only an illustrious trading company, whereas England is a fruitful country abounding in merchants and soldiers.

The emperor was to furnish eighty thousand men, exclusive of the succours of the empire, and those allies whom he hoped to detach from the
the

the house of Bourbon; and yet the grandson of Lewis XIV. was already seated peaceably on his throne at Madrid, and Lewis, at the beginning of the century, was at the zenith of his power and glory: but those who penetrated into the resources of the several courts of Europe, and especially that of France, began to fear some reverse. Spain, that had been weakened under the last kings of the race of Charles V. was still more feeble during the early part of the reign of the Bourbons. The house of Austria had partisans in several provinces of this monarchy; Catalonia seemed ready to shake off the new yoke, and acknowledge the archduke Charles. It was impossible but that Portugal must sooner or later, side with the house of Austria. It was plainly its interest to encourage a civil war among the Spaniards, its natural enemies, that might turn to the advantage of Lisbon. The duke of Savoy, lately become father-in-law to the new king of Spain, and linked to the Bourbons by the ties of blood as well as treaties, seemed already displeased with his sons-in-law. Fifty thousand crowns per month, afterwards raised to two hundred thousand franks, did not appear a sufficiently valuable consideration to bind him to their interest; he wanted at least Montferrat, Mantua, and a part of the dutchy of Milan. The haughty behaviour he met with from the French generals, and from the ministry at Versailles, made him apprehensive, and not without reason, that he should soon be held for nothing by his two sons-in-law, who kept his dominions surrounded on every side. He had already quitted the emperor for France

without any ceremony; and it seemed more than probable, that, finding himself so little regarded by the latter, he would change sides the first opportunity.

As to the court of Lewis XIV. and his kingdom, nice spirits already perceived a change in them, which is only visible to the grosser ones when the decline is far advanced. The king, now upwards of sixty years of age, was grown more retired, and consequently knew less of mankind; he saw things at too great a distance, and with eyes less discerning, and dazzled with prosperity. Madame de Maintenon, with all the amiable qualities she was mistress of, had neither the strength, greatness, nor courage of mind, requisite for supporting the glory of a state: she was instrumental in procuring the management of the finances in 1698, and the department of war in 1701, for her creature Chamillard, who was more of the honest man than the minister, and had ingratiated himself with the king by his discreet conduct, when employed at St. Cyr; but, notwithstanding an outward appearance of modesty, he had the misfortune to think himself capable of bearing two burthens, which Colbert and Louvois had with difficulty supported separately. The king, depending upon his own experience, thought that he could successfully direct his ministers; and when Louvois died, he said to king James, "I have lost a good minister, but neither your affairs nor mine shall go the worse for it." When he made choice of Barbefieux to succeed Louvois as secretary of war, he said to him, "I formed your father, and will form you." He expressed himself much in the same manner to Chamillard.

millard. A king who had been so long engaged in public affairs, and with such great success, seemed to have a right to talk in this manner.

In regard to the generals whom he employed, they were frequently confined by the strict orders they received from him, like ambassadors who must not depart from their instructions. He and Chamillard directed the operations of the campaign in madame de Maintenon's closet. If a general was desirous of executing any great undertaking, he was frequently obliged to dispatch a courier to court for permission, who at his return found the opportunity lost, or the general beaten.

Military rewards and dignities were profusely lavished under Chamillard's administration; numbers of young persons, hardly out of their leading-strings, were allowed to purchase regiments, which, with the enemy, was the reward of twenty years service. This difference was very sensibly felt on many occasions, in which an experienced officer might have prevented a total rout. The crosses of the knights of St. Lewis, a reward invented by the king in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the officers, were exposed to sale in the beginning of Chamillard's ministry, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a-piece, at any of the war-offices. Military discipline, the soul of service, which had been so strictly kept up by Louvois had degenerated into a fatal remissness; the companies were not complete in their number of men, nor the regiments in their officers. Hence arose a defect, which, supposing an equality in other respects, must infallibly occasion the loss of all their battles; for, to have

an equal extent of front with that of the enemy, they were obliged to oppose weak battalions to strong and numerous ones. The magazines were no longer so well provided, nor at such convenient distances, nor were the arms so well tempered as formerly. Those therefore who perceived these defects in the administration, and knew what generals France had to deal with, trembled for her, even in the midst of those first advantages which seemed to promise her greater success than ever* †.

* The compiler of the memoirs of madam de Maintenon says, that, towards the end of the foregoing war, the marquis de Nangis, colonel of the king's regiment, told him, that he had no way to stop the desertion of his soldiers but by knocking the deserters on the head. It is worth while to remark, that this marquis de Nangis, afterwards a marshal, was not colonel of the king's regiment till the year 1711.

The same author abuses the regiment of guards, whom he calls Pierrots: he seems not to know how they distinguished themselves at Valcour, Steinkirk, Nérvinde, and at almost every siege. History should not be a satire against any body of men, or private persons.

† All these circumstances imply, that the former prosperity of Lewis was not owing to his own personal talents, but entirely to the great abilities of his old ministers and generals, who were now no more.

C H A P. CLXXXI.

The War of 1701. Conduct of Prince Eugene, Marshal VILLEROI, the Duke of VENDOME, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and MARSHAL VILLARS; till the Year 1703.

THE first general who put a check to the superiority of the French arms was a Frenchman, for so we should call prince Eugene, tho' he was the grandson of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy: his father, the count de Soissons, had settled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne; and married Olimpia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarin. From Oct. 1663 this man, so unfortunate in other respects, was born at Paris this prince, who afterwards proved so dangerous an adversary to Lewis XIV. and was so little known to him in his youth. He was known at first in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan; he afterwards took the petit-collet, and was called the Abbot of Savoy. It is said that he asked the king for a regiment, which his majesty refused him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then in disgrace. Not being able to succeed with Lewis XIV. he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary, in 1684, together with the princes of Conti, who had already made a glorious campaign there. The king sent an order to the princes of Conti, and all those who had accompanied them in this expedition,

pedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refused to comply with this mandate : he continued his journey, openly declaring that he renounced France for ever. The king when he was told of this, said to his courtiers *, " Don't you think I have had a great loss ?" and these gentlemen immediately gave it as their opinion, that the abbot of Savoy would always be a mad-headed fellow, and fit for nothing. They founded their judgments on certain fallies of youth, by which we are never to judge of men. This prince, who was held in so much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace ; he had a just and lofty mind, and the necessary courage both in the field and the cabinet ; he was guilty of faults, as all generals have been, but these were lost in

* See Dangeau's memoirs.

There were at that time several young lords of the court, who wrote indecent letters to the princes of Conti, in which they were wanting in the respect they owed the king, and in complaisance to Mad. de Maintenon, who was then only a favourite. These letters were intercepted, and the young people in disgrace for some time.

The compiler of the memoirs of Maintenon is the only one who asserts that the duke de la Rochaguien, said to his brother, the marquis de Liencourt, " Brother, you deserve death if your letters are intercepted." In the first place, no one deserves death for having a faulty letter intercepted, but for having wrote it ; and in the next place, no one deserves death for writing a jest. It is evident that these young lords did not deserve death, because they were all taken into favour again ; all these suppositious speeches, which are so lightly repeated in the world, and afterwards collected and published by obscure and mercenary writers, are undeserving of our believe.

the

the number of his great actions. He shook the greatness of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman power: he governed the empire; and, in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed an equal contempt for vain-glory and riches. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna. At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars in which he served against France. He entered Italy by the country of Trent, in the territories of Venice, with thirty thousand men, and full liberty to make such use of them as he pleased. The court at first forbid marshal Catinat to oppose the passage of prince Eugene, either because they would not commit the first act of hostility, which was bad policy when the enemy had already taken up arms, or else because they would not disoblige the Venetians, who were however less to be feared than the German army. This first mistake in the court occasioned marshal Catinat to commit others. That person rarely succeeds who follows a plan that is not his own; besides, we well know how difficult a matter it is, in a country cut through with rivers and streams of water, to prevent a skilful enemy from passing them. Prince Eugene, to a great depth of scheming, added a lively promptitude of execution. From the nature of the ground likewise on the banks of the Adigi, the enemy's army was more compact, while that of the French was more extended. Catinat was for marching to meet the enemy; but the lieutenants-general

started difficulties, and formed cabals against him. Instead of making them obey him, he gave way; the mildness of his disposition led him to commit this great error. Eugene began

July 9, by forcing the post of Carpi, near the
1701 White Canal, which was defended by

St. Fremont, who neglected the general's orders in some respects, and occasioned his own defeat. After this success, the German army had the command of all the country, between the Adigi and the Adda, and penetrated into the Bressan, while Catinat retreated behind the Oglio. Several good officers approved of this retreat, which, in their opinion, was a very prudent one; to which we may further add, that the failure of the provisions and ammunition promised by the ministry, rendered it absolutely necessary. The courtiers, and especially those who had hopes of succeeding Catinat in the command, represented his behaviour as a scandal to the French name. Marshal Villeroi persuaded them that he could retrieve the honour of the nation; the confidence with which he spoke, and the liking the king had to him, procured him the command in Italy; and marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his former victories of Staffarde and Marfailles, was obliged to serve under him.

The marshal duke de Villeroi was son to the king's governor, had been brought up with his royal master, and always enjoyed a principal share of his favour: he had been with him in all his campaigns, and made one in all his parties of pleasure: he was of an agreeable and engaging figure, extremely brave, a very worthy man, a good friend, sincere in his connections,

tions, and magnificent in all his actions*. But his enemies said he was more taken up, after he came to be general, with the honour and pleasure of commanding, than with the schemes of a great captain, and reproached him with being so much wedded to his own opinion, as to slight the advice of every one else.

He now repaired to Italy, to lord it over Catinat, and disgust the duke of Savoy. His behaviour shewed, that he thought a favourite of Lewis XIV. at the head of so powerful an army was infinitely superior to a prince. He never called the duke by any other name than *Monf. de Savoy*, and treated him like a common general in the pay of France, and not like a sovereign. In a word, the friendship of this prince was not regarded so much as was necessary, considering that he was master of the barriers which nature has placed between France and Italy. The court thought that fear was the surest knot to bind him; and that a French

* The author, who in his younger days had frequently the honour of seeing this nobleman, thinks himself authorised to declare that the above is his real character. *La Baumette*, who abuses both marshal *Villeroi* and marshal *Villars*, and many others, in his notes on the age of Lewis XIV. speaks thus of the late marshal duke of *Villeroi*, page 102, Vol. III. of the memoirs of *Mad. de Maintenon*, "*Villeroi* the vain-glorious, who used to amuse the women with so easy an air, and would ask his servants with so much arrogance, "Is there any money put into my pockets?" How can any person put into the mouth, I will not say of a great nobleman, but even of any well-bred man, words which were said to have been spoken by a financier? How can he pretend to talk of so many great men of the past age, as if he had seen them all? Or, how can any one have the assurance to commit to writing such false and scurrilous reflections?

army, surrounding about six or seven thousand Piedmontese, was a sufficient pledge for his fidelity. Marshal Villeroi behaved to him as his equal in common correspondence, and his superior in the command. The duke of Savoy had the empty title of generalissimo, but marshal Villeroi was so in fact. He immediately gave orders for attacking prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The general officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these essential reasons; that it was of no consequence; that the entrenchments were inaccessible; that nothing could be gained by forcing them, and that, if they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroi however told the duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an aid-de-camp to order marshal Catinat in his name to begin the attack. Catinat made the messenger repeat the order to him three different times; then turning towards the officers who were under his command, "Come on then, gentlemen, we must obey." Sept. 11, They marched directly up to the entrenchments, and the duke of Savoy fought like a person who had no subject of complaint against France. Catinat fought every where for death; he was wounded, but nevertheless, on seeing the king's troops repulsed, he made a retreat; after which he quitted the army, and returned to Versailles, to give an account of his conduct to the king, without complaining of any one.

1701 Prince Eugene always maintained his superiority over marshal Villeroi; at length, in the heart of the winter 1702, one day that the marshal

marshal was sleeping in full security in Cremona, a pretty strong town, and provided with a very numerous garrison, Feb. 2, he found himself awakened with the 1702 noise of a discharge of small arms; upon which he rose in haste, mounted his horse, and the first thing he met with was a squadron of the enemy. The marshal is immediately made prisoner and led out of the town, without knowing any thing that had passed there, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event. Prince Eugene was already in the town of Cremona; a priest called Bozzoli, provost of St. Mary la Nova, had introduced the German troops through a common sewer. Four hundred men having been conveyed through this sewer into the priest's house, immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene enters the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion, or marshal Villeroi was awake. The whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish governor on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead with a musket; all the general officers were either killed or made prisoners, excepting lieutenant-general count de Revel, and the marquis du Prálin. Chance however confounded the prudent measures of prince Eugene.

It happened that the chevalier d'Entragues was that day to review the regiment of marines, of which he was colonel; the soldiers were assembled by four o'clock in the morning, in one of the outparts of the city, exactly at the time

that prince Eugene entered at the other part : d'Entragues began to run through the streets with his soldiers ; he makes head against those of the enemy that come in his way, and by this means gives the rest of the garrison time to repair thither. The streets and squares were now filled with officers and soldiers, confusedly mingled together, some with arms, some without, and others half naked, without any commander at their head. The fight is begun in the utmost confusion, and they entrench themselves from street to street, and from square to square. Two Irish regiments, that made part of the garrison, checked the efforts of the Imperialists. Never was greater prudence shewn in the surprize of a town, nor more valour in defending it. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men ; prince Eugene had as yet introduced only four thousand ; a large detachment of his army was to have joined them by the bridge over the Po ; the measures were well concerted, but another stroke of chance rendered them all fruitless. This bridge, which was guarded only by an hundred French soldiers, was to have been seized upon by the German cuirassiers, who were ordered to go and make themselves masters of it, the instant prince Eugene entered the town. For this purpose, as they came in by the south gate, next to the common sewer, they were to go out into the country of Cremona at the north part of the city, thro' the Po-gate, and then immediately make the best of their way to the bridge. As they were going through the city, the guide who conducted them was killed by a musket-shot from a window ; the cuirassiers mistake one
street

street for another, and wander out of their way. During this small interval of time, the Irish assemble at the Po-gate, attack and repulse the cuirassiers; and the marquis du Prálin, seizing this lucky moment, orders the bridge to be broken down; the succours which the enemy expected cannot arrive, and the town is saved.

Prince Eugene, after having fought the whole day, and constantly keeping possession of the gate by which he entered, at length retired, taking with him marshal Villeroi, and most of the general officers prisoners, but disappointed of taking Cremona, which his activity and prudence, together with the negligence of the generals, had once made him master of; and which chance, and the valour of the French and Irish troops, had snatched from him again.

Marshal Villeroi, who was extremely unhappy on this occasion, was condemned by the courtiers at Versailles, with all the severity and acrimony that his share of the royal favour, and the loftiness of his character, which was taken by them for vanity, could inspire. The king, who blamed but did not condemn him, was not a little displeased to find his choice so highly censured, and in the heat of his resentment suffered these words to escape him, "They take a pleasure in abusing him, because he is my favourite:" (see Dangeau's memoirs) a term that he never before in his life made use of in regard to any one. The duke of Vendôme was immediately appointed to go and take the command in Italy.

The duke of Vendôme was grandson to Henry IV. and, like him, intrepid, mild, beneficent, and humble; a stranger to hatred, envy,
and

and revenge: he shewed pride only among princes, and behaved with equality to every one else: he was the only general under whom the common men were not led to fight merely from principles of military duty, and that mechanical instinct which obeys the orders of an officer. They fought for the duke of Vendôme; and would have laid down their lives to extricate him out of a false step into which his fiery genius sometimes hurried him. He was thought not to equal prince Eugene in the coolness and depth of his designs, and the art of subsisting his troops; he was too apt to neglect little matters, and suffered military discipline to languish in his army; he gave too much time to sleep and the pleasures of the table, as well as his brother. This over-indulgence put him more than once in danger of being carried off: but in the day of battle he made amends for all these faults, by a presence of mind and discernment which seemed to grow from danger; these opportunities he was continually seeking, being not so well qualified for a defensive war as prince Eugene, but fully equal to him in the offensive.

The same disorder and negligence that he introduced into the army were visible to a surprising degree in his household, and even his own person. From his great aversion to shew or ostentation he contracted a cynic slovenliness almost unparalleled; and disinterestedness, the most noble of all virtues, became in him a fault, by making him lose more by carelessness than he would have expended in acts of bounty. He has been often known to want even common necessaries. His brother, the grand prior, who
com-

commanded under him in Italy, had all his faults, which he carried to a still greater excess, and made amends for by the same valour. It is surprising to see two generals never rising from bed till four o'clock in the afternoon, and two princes, grandsons to Henry IV. neglecting their persons in a manner that the meanest soldier would have thought shameful.

What is still more surprising, is, that mixture of activity and indolence, with which Vendôme carried on so smart a war against Eugene; a war of artifice, surprises, marches, crossing of rivers, petty skirmishes, often as fruitless as bloody; and murderous battles, in which both sides claimed the victory; such as that of Luzara, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Paris and Vienna. Vendôme always came off conqueror, when he had not to deal with prince Eugene in person; but as soon as that general appeared at the head of his troops, the French had no longer the advantage.

In the midst of these battles, and the sieges of so many towns and cities, private intelligence was brought to Versailles, that the duke of Savoy, grandson to a sister of Lewis XIV. father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. was going to quit the Bourbon interest, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. Every one was astonished that he should, at once leave two sons-in-law, and give up what appeared to be his true interest: but the Emperor had promised him all that his sons-in-law had refused him Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the

Aug. 15,

1701

June 5,

1703

the Tanero, with more money than he received from France. The money was to be furnished by England, for the emperor had hardly sufficient to pay his troops. England, the richest of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cause. Whether the duke of Savoy shewed any regard to the laws of nature and nations? is a question in morality which has very little to do with the conduct of sovereigns*. The event however proved in the end, that he was not at all wanting to the laws of policy in the treaty he made; but he was wanting in another very essential point of politics, in leaving his troops at the mercy of the French, while he was treating with the emperor. The duke of
 Aug. 10, Vendome ordered them to disarm;
 1703 they were indeed no more than five thousand men, but this was no inconsiderable object to the duke of Savoy.

No sooner had the house of Bourbon lost this ally, when she heard that Portugal had likewise declared against her. Peter, king of Portugal, acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain. The imperial council, in the name of this archduke, dismembered, in favour of Peter II. a monarchy, in which he was not as yet master of a single town; and, by one of those treaties which are never executed, ceded to him Vigo, Bayonne, Alcantara,

* The law of nations will justify any prince in renouncing an alliance, when he finds himself ill-treated by his ally. Our author owns that the duke of Savoy was treated with insolence by the generals of France; and that the advantage of his kingdom was better consulted in his engagements with the emperor.

Badajox, a part of Estramadura, all the countries lying to the west of the river la Plata in America; in a word, he made a partition of what he had not to give, in order to acquire what he might.

The king of Portugal, the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, minister to the archduke, and the admiral of Castile, his creature, implored the assistance of the king of Morocco. They not only entered into a treaty with these barbarians, supplying them with horses and corn, but they likewise asked for a body of troops. The emperor of Morocco, Muley Ismael, the most warlike and politic tyrant at that time in the Mahometan nation, would not send his troops but on such terms as were dangerous to Christendom, and shameful to the king of Portugal; he demanded a son of that king's as an hostage, together with a certain number of towns. The treaty did not take place; and the Christians contented themselves with tearing each other to pieces with their own hands, without calling in those of barbarians. The assistance of Africa would not have done the house of Austria so much service as that of England and Holland did.

Churchill, earl, and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was declared general of the confederate armies of England and Holland, in the year 1702. This man proved as fatal to the French greatness as any that had appeared for many ages. He was not one of those generals to whom a minister delivers the plan of the campaign in writing, and who, after having followed the order he has received from the cabinet, at the head of his army, returns home
to

to solicit the honour of being employed again. He at that time governed the queen of England; both by the occasion she had for his service, and by the authority his wife had over her affections. He had the command of the parliament by his powerful interest, and by that of the treasurer Godolphin, whose son married one of his daughters. Thus having the direction of the court, the parliament, the war, and the treasury, more a king than ever William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater general, he exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the allies. He possessed in a superior degree to any general of his time, that tranquil courage in the midst of tumult, and serenity of soul in danger, which the English call a cool head. It is perhaps to this qualification, the principal gift in nature for a commander, that the English are indebted for their victories over the French in the fields of Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt.

Marlborough, who was indefatigable as a warrior during the campaign, was no less active a negociator in the winter; he went to the Hague, and visited all the courts of Germany; he persuaded the Dutch to drain themselves to humble France; he roused the resentment of the elector-palatine; he flattered the pride of the elector of Brandenburg, who wanted to be king, by holding the napkin to him at table, by which he drew from him a supply of 8000 men. Prince Eugene, on his side, had no sooner finished one campaign, than he went to Vienna to make preparations for another. We may easily judge, whether an army is better supplied, where the general is at the same time the prime minister.

These

These two great men, who had sometimes the command jointly, sometimes separately, always understood each other. They had frequent conferences at the Hague, with the grand pensionary Heinsius and the secretary Fagel, who governed the United-Provinces with equal abilities, and better success than the Barneveldts and de Witts. They, in concert, continually set the springs of one half of Europe in play against the house of Bourbon; and the French ministry was at that time much too weak to oppose for any length of time those combined forces. The plan of operations for the campaign was always kept an inviolable secret. They settled their designs amongst themselves, and did not entrust them even to those who were to second them, but at the instant of execution. Chamillard, on the contrary, being neither a politician, a warrior, nor even acquainted with the management of the revenue, and who yet acted as prime-minister, was unable to plan any designs of his own; and was therefore obliged to be beholden to inferior people for their assistance. His secret was almost always divulged, even before he himself knew exactly what was to be done. Of this the marquis de Feuquieres accuses him with great justice; and Mad. de Maintenon acknowledges, in her letters, that she had made choice of a man who was not fit for the ministry. This was one of the principal causes of the misfortunes which befel France.

Marlborough, as soon as he came to the command of the allied army in Flanders, shewed that he had learnt the art of war of the great Turenne, under whom he had
in

in his younger days made his first campaigns as a volunteer. He was then known in the army only by the name of the handsome Englishman: but Turenne soon perceived that this handsome Englishman would one day be a great man. He began his command by raising several subaltern officers in whom he had discovered merit, and who were till then unknown, without confining himself to the order of military rank, which we in France call the order of the *Tableau*. He was sensible, that when preferment is only the consequence of seniority, all emulation must perish; and that an officer is not always the most serviceable for being the most ancient. He presently formed men. He gained ground upon the French without hazard-ing a battle. Ginkel, earl of Athlone, the Dutch general, disputed the command with him the first month, and, before six weeks were at an end, was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The king of France sent his grandson, the duke of Burgundy against him, a wise and upright prince, born to make a people happy. The marshal de Boufflers, a man of indefatigable courage, commanded the army under the young prince. But the duke of Burgundy, after having seen several places taken before his face, and being obliged to retreat by the skilful marches of the English, returned to Versailles before the campaign was half over, leaving Boufflers to be a witness to Marlborough's successes, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, and continued advancing without losing the superiority one instant.

When Marlborough returned to London at the close of this campaign, he received all the

the honours that could be bestowed in a monarchy and a republic. He was created duke by the queen; and, what was still more flattering, he received the thanks of the two houses of parliament, who sent deputies to compliment him at his own house.

But now there arose a person who seemed likely to restore the drooping fortunes of France. This was the marshal duke de Villars, then lieutenant-general, and whom we have since seen at the age of eighty-two, commander in chief of the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia: this man had a great share of boldness and confidence, and had himself been the architect of his own fortune, by his unwearied perseverance in the discharge of his duty. He sometimes offended Lewis XIV. and what was still more dangerous, his minister Louvois, by speaking to them with the same boldness with which he served. He was accused of not having a modesty becoming his courage. But at length it was seen that he had a genius formed for war, and to command Frenchmen. He had been greatly advanced within a few years, after having been left a long time unnoticed.

Never was there a man whose preferment created more jealousy, and with less reason. He was marshal of France, duke, and peer, and governor of Provence: but then he had saved the state; and others who had ruined it, or had no other claim but that of being courtiers, had met with as great rewards. He was even upbraided with the riches which he acquired by contributions in the enemy's country, a just and reasonable reward for his valour and conduct; while those who had amassed fortunes of

ten times the value, by the most scandalous methods, continued to enjoy them with the approbation of the public. He did not begin to taste the sweets of the reputation he had acquired till he was near eighty; and he must have outlived the whole court to have enjoyed it undisturbed.

It may not be amiss to acquaint the world with the reason of this injustice in mankind. It was owing to the want of art in marshal Villars: he had not enough to make himself friends, with integrity and understanding; nor to set a proper value upon himself, by speaking that of himself which he deserved that others should say of him.

One day that he was taking leave of the king, he said to him before the whole court, "Sire, I am going to fight against your majesty's enemies, and leave you in the midst of mine." He said to the courtiers of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, who were all grown rich by that subversion of the state called system, "For my part I never got any thing but by the enemies of my country." These speeches, which were accompanied with the same courage as his actions, were too humbling to those who were already sufficiently incensed at his good fortune.

At the beginning of the war he was one of the lieutenant-generals who had the command of the detachments in Alsace. His army was at that time in the mountains of Brisgaw, which border upon the Black Forest; and this immense forest separated the elector of Bavaria's army from the French. Catinat, who commanded in Strasburg, had too much circumspection in

his conduct to think of attacking the prince of Baden at such a disadvantage; as in case of a repulse the French army must infallibly be lost, and Alsace laid open. Villars, who had resolved to be marshal of France, or to die in the attempt, hazarded what Catinat did not dare to undertake. He wrote to court for permission; and then marched towards the Imperialists at Friedlengen, with an inferior army, and fought the battle of that name.

The horse engaged in the plain, the foot climbed up to the top of the hill, and attacked the German infantry, which was entrenched in the woods. I have more than once heard marshal Villars him-
 Oct. 14,
 1702
 self say, that after the battle was won, and as he was marching at the head of his infantry, a voice was heard crying out, "We are cut off;" upon which the whole body immediately took flight. He directly ran up to them, crying out, "What is the matter, friends? we have gained the victory, God bless the king." The soldiers, all pale and trembling, repeated, "God bless the king," and began to fly as before. He declared that he never met with more difficulty than in rallying the conquerors, and that if only two of the enemy's regiments had shewed themselves at that instant of general panic, the French would have been beaten: so frequently does the fate of battles depend upon mere chance.

The prince of Baden, though he lost three thousand men, with all his cannon, was driven out of the field of battle, and pursued for two leagues, through woods and defiles, while as a proof of his defeat, the fort of Friedlengen

capitulated. Nevertheless, he wrote to the court of Vienna that he had gained the victory, and ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, which was more shameful to him than even the loss of the battle.

The French, recovered from their panic, proclaimed Villars marshal of France on the field of battle; and the king a fortnight afterwards confirmed the title which the soldiers had conferred on him.

Marshal Villars, having afterwards joined the elector of Bavaria with his victorious army, found him likewise a conqueror, gaining ground of the enemy, and in possession of the imperial city of Ratisbon, where the assembly of the empire had lately vowed his destruction.

Villars was better qualified to serve his country, when acting only according to his own genius, than in concert with another. He carried, or rather dragged, the elector across the Danube; but no sooner had they passed that river, than the elector began to repent of what he had done, perceiving, that upon the least check, he should be obliged to leave his dominions at the enemy's mercy. The count of Styrum, at the head of near twenty thousand men, was in march to join the grand army under the prince of Baden, near Donauwert. The marshal told the elector that this must be prevented, by marching directly and attacking Styrum. The elector willing to temporize, replied, that he must consult his ministers and generals upon that head. "Am not I your minister and general, answered Villars? do you want any other council but me when you are to give battle?" The prince,
fuld

full of the danger which threatened his dominions, still kept back, and even grew angry with the general. "Well then, said Villars, if your electoral highness will not embrace this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will begin the battle with the French;" and immediately gave orders for the attack. The prince was incensed*, and looked upon Villars as a madman, but was obliged to fight against his will. This was in the plains of Hochstet near Donawert.

After the first charge there appeared another instance of the effect of chance in battles. The enemy's army and that of the French were both seized at the same time with a pannic, and fled; and marshal Villars saw himself left alone for some minutes on the field of battle: however, he rallied his troops, led them back to the charge, and gained the victory. Three thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field, and four thousand taken prisoners, with their cannon and baggage. The elector made himself master of Augsberg. The road to Vienna was open, and it was even debated in the emperor's council whether he should quit his capital.

The emperor was excusable for his apprehensions; he was beaten every where. The duke of Burgundy, with the marshals Tallard and Vauban under him, had just taken Old Bri-

* All this may be found in the memoirs of the marshal de Villars in manuscript, where I myself have seen every circumstance. The first volume of these memoirs in print are really his, the two others are by another hand, and somewhat different.

fac; and Tallard had not only taken Landau, but had also defeated the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, near Spires, as he was attempting to relieve the town. If we believe the marquis de Feuquieres, (a most excellent officer and complete judge in the military art, though rather too severe in his decisions,) marshal Tallard won the battle by a fault and a mistake. However, he wrote thus to the king from the field of battle: "Sire, your majesty's army has taken more standards and colours than it has lost private men."

In this action there was more execution done by the bayonet than in any other during the war. The French have a singular advantage in the use of this weapon, on account of their natural impetuosity; but it is now become more menacing than fatal: the quick and close firing has prevailed in its stead. The English and Germans were accustomed to fire in divisions with greater order and readiness than the French. The Prussians were the first who loaded with iron rammers. The second king of Prussia taught his troops such an exercise, that they could fire six times in a minute, with great ease. Three ranks discharging their fire at once, and then advancing briskly up, decide the fate of the battle now-a-days. The field-pieces likewise produce a no less formidable effect. The battalions who are staggered with the fire, do not wait to be attacked with the bayonet, and are completely defeated by the cavalry: so that the bayonet frightens more than it slays, and the sword is become absolutely useless to the infantry. Strength of body, skill, and courage, are no longer of any service to a
com-

combatant. The battalions are great machines, and those which are best formed naturally bear down all that stand in their way. This was the very thing which gave prince Eugene the victory over the Turks in those famous battles of Temiswar and Belgrade; while the latter would in all probability have had the advantage from their superiority of numbers, had these battles been what we called mixed fights. Thus the art of destroying each other is not only entirely different from what it was before the invention of gun-powder, but even from what it was a century ago.

As the French arms maintained their reputation with such success at first in Germany, it was presumed that marshal Villars would carry it still farther by an impetuosity which would disconcert the German phlegm: but the same qualification which made him a formidable chief, rendered it impossible for him to act in concert with the elector of Bavaria. The king would not suffer his generals to shew haughtiness to any but his enemies; and the elector of Bavaria unhappily wrote for another marshal of France.

Villars then, whose presence was so necessary in Germany, where he had gained two battles, and might possibly have crushed the empire, was recalled, and sent into the Cevennes, to make peace with the rebellious peasants. We shall speak of these fanatics in the chapter of religion. Lewis XIV. had at this time enemies that were more terrible, successful, and irreconcilable, than the inhabitants of the Cevennes.

CHAP. CLXXXII.

Loss of the Battle of HOCHSTET, or BEEN-
HEIM.

THE duke of Marlborough was returned from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703, with the same conduct and the same success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Hui and Limburg, and made himself master of all the Lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroi, now returned from his confinement, commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough than he had had against prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general, Opdam; but an advantage which has no consequences is no advantage at all.

And now the house of Austria was undone, without the English general marched to the assistance of the emperor. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of marshal Marsin, who had succeeded Villars, overspread the countries of the other side the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria. Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money from the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, prince Eugene hastens from Italy to take
the

the command of the armies in Germany: he has an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron. The English general, whose hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleased by his queen and her allies the Dutch, marches with succours into the heart of the empire, taking with him for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He makes forced marches, and arrives on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French, and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forces the lines, at the head of three battalions of English, and routs the Bavarians and French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost as many himself. A general concerns himself little about the number of slain, provided he succeeds in his enterprize. He then took Donawert, repassed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution.

July 2,
1704

Marshal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert.

Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men, had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the elector. At the same time prince Eugene arrives, and joins Marlborough.

At length the two armies met within a small distance of Donawert, and nearly in the same plains where marshal Villars had gained a vic-

tory the year before. I know that the marshal, who was then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from Tallard's army, wrote the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which marshal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the president de Maisons, telling him that if marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shewn to Lewis XIV. and afterwards became public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all near sixty thousand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The enemy had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men; for armies are always made more numerous than they really are. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention. The French generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief was, the having brought themselves under a necessity of accepting a battle, instead of letting the enemies army waste itself for want of forage, and giving time to marshal Villeroi, either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate farther into Germany. But it should be considered in reply to this accusation, that the French army being somewhat stronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The marquis de Feuquieres reckons up no less than twelve capital faults committed by the Elector, Marsin, and Tallard, before and after

after the battle. One of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. I have often heard marshal Villars say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the Elector, with Marfin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. It was he who had made the partition treaties. He was allied to glory and fortune by all the ways of a man of genius and courage. The battle of Spire had gained him great honour, notwithstanding the animadversions of Feuquieres; for a victorious general never appears culpable in the eyes of the public, while he who is beaten is always in the wrong, however just or prudent his conduct may have been.

But marshal Tallard laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequences to a general; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces from him. Those who were well acquainted with him have told me moreover, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of the action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind. This defect was owing to a dry and inflammatory state of the blood. It is well known that the qualifications of the mind are chiefly influenced by the constitution of the body.

This was the first time that marshal Marsin had commanded in chief. With a great deal of wit and a good understanding, he is said to have had rather the experience of a good officer than of a general.

As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not less as a great general than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his subjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle began, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough, with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps from the beginning to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the Elector and Marsin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough began upon our right near an hour before Eugene could have come up to the Elector at our left.

As soon as marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately posted thither, where he found a furious action begun; the French cavalry rallied three times, and was as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions, and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army that kept a continual fire on Marlborough, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in this village, he hastens back to the place, where the duke, with
a body

a body of horse and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

Mr. de Feuquieres is certainly mistaken in saying that marshal Tallard was not present at this time, but was taken prisoner as he was returning from Marfin's wing to his own. All accounts agree, and it was but too true for him, that he was actually present. He received a hurt in the action, and his son was mortally wounded by his side. His cavalry was routed before his face. The victorious Marlborough forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side, while on the other his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was also separated from the little army in that village.

In this cruel situation, marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his fight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout that whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that
were

were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last marshal Marfin ordered a retreat. The count du Bourg, afterwards marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry, by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither him, Marfin, nor any one else, thought of this little army, which still remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders, which were never sent them. It consisted of eleven thousand effective men, from the oldest corps. There are many examples of less armies that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the post determines every thing. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and even with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the victors hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the marquis of Clerembaut, son to the marshal of that name: he was hastening to find out marshal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken prisoner; and seeing nothing but people running on all sides, he fled with them, and in flying was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivieres, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke: he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence, to follow him: several officers even of other regiments obeyed the summons, and rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged,

- fell

fell upon the enemy ; but after this fall they were to return back again. One of these officers, named Des-Nonvilles, returned some few moments afterwards on horseback, with the earl of Orkney. As soon as he entered the village, the rest of the officers flocked round him, enquiring if it was an English prisoner that he had brought in ? “ No gentlemen, replied he, I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you, that you have nothing left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms.” At hearing this, all these old bands shuddered with horror : the regiment of Navarre tore its colours, and buried them. But at length they were obliged to yield to necessity ; and this whole army laid down its arms without having struck a blow. My lord Orkney has told me that it was impossible for them to do otherwise in their confined situation. Europe was struck with astonishment, that the best troops in France should have suffered such disgrace. Their misfortune was at first imputed to cowardice ; but a few years afterwards the same thing happening to fourteen thousand Swedes, who surrendered at discretion to the Muscovites, in the open field, fully justified the French.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of Aug. 13,
the battle of Hochstet, and by the 1704
English and Germans was called the battle of Blenheim. The victors had near five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded ; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely

tirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, who had been so long victorious, not above twenty thousand could be gathered together after the battle.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twenty thousand men killed, fourteen thousand made prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note in the hands of the conquerors. The runaways dispersed themselves on all sides; and upwards of an hundred leagues of country were lost in less than a month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The elector in his way to Brussels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who like him was driven out of his dominions: they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and confusion at this reverse. The news of the defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great grand-son of Lewis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with this cruel truth. At length madame de Maintenon took upon her to let him know that he was no longer invincible. It has been affirmed both by word of mouth and in writing, and the same has been repeated in above twenty different histories, that the emperor ordered a monument of this defeat to be erected in the plains of

of Blenheim, with an inscription greatly to the dishonour of the French king; but no such monument ever existed *.

The English alone erected one to the honour of their duke of Marlborough. The queen and the parliament built an immense palace for him on one of his principal estates, to which they gave the name of Blenheim, where this battle is represented in most curious paintings and tapestry. The thanks of the two houses of parliament, and of the cities and boroughs, and the general acclamation of the people, were the first fruits he received from his victory. But the poem written by the famous Addison, a monument more durable than the palace of Blenheim, is reckoned by this warlike and learned nation, among the most honourable rewards bestowed on the duke of Marlborough. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, bestowed on him the principality of Mindelsheim, which was afterwards exchanged for another; but he was never known by that title; the name of Marlborough being now the most noble he could bear.

By the dispersion of the French army an open passage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine. They passed the latter of these rivers, and entered Alsace. Prince Lewis of Baden, a general famous for his encampments and marches, invested Landau. Joseph king

* Reboulet assures us, that the emperor Leopold actually caused such a pyramid to be erected; and it was firmly believed in France, till marshal Villars in 1707 sent fifty masons thither to demolish it, who could find no such thing.

of the Romans, eldest son of the emperor Leopold, came to be present at this
 Nov. 13 and siege; Landau was taken, and af-
 23, 1704 terwards Traerbach.

Notwithstanding the loss of an hundred leagues of country, the French extended their frontiers. Lewis XIV. supported his grandson in Spain, and his arms were victorious in Italy. It required great efforts to make head against the victorious Marlborough in Germany, which however he did; the scattered remains of the army were gathered together, the garrisons were ordered to furnish men, and the militia were ordered to take the field. The ministry borrowed money every where. At length an army was got together; and marshal Villars was recalled from the heart of the Cevennes to take the command upon him. He came and joined the army at Triers, where he found himself in presence of the English general with an inferior army. Both sides were desirous of giving battle; but the prince of Baden not coming up soon enough to join his troops to those of the English, Villars had the honour of obliging Marlborough to decamp. This was
 May, 1705 doing a great deal at that time. The duke of Marlborough, who had a sufficient esteem for marshal Villars to wish to be esteemed by him again, wrote him the following billet while he was decamping: "Do me the justice, Sir, to believe, that my retreat is entirely the prince of Baden's fault, and that I esteem you even more than I am angry with him."

The French had still some barriers in Germany. The enemy had not yet done any thing in Flanders, where marshal Villeroy, now at liberty,

liberty, had the command. In Spain king Philip V. and the archduke Charles, were both in expectation of the crown, the former from the powerful assistance of his grandfather, and the good-will of the greater part of the Spaniards; the latter from the assistance of the English, and the partisans he had in Catalonia and Arragon. This archduke, afterwards emperor, and at that time second son to the emperor Leopold, went, towards the latter part of 1703, without any retinue, to London, to implore the assistance of queen Anne.

Now the English power appeared in all its glory. This nation, which had in fact so little to do with this quarrel, furnished the Austrian prince with two hundred transport-ships, thirty ships of war, joined to ten sail of the Dutch, nine thousand men, and a sum of money, to go and conquer a kingdom for himself. But notwithstanding the superiority which power and benefits confer, the emperor, in his letter to queen Anne, which the archduke presented, would not give this princess, his benefactress, the title of majesty, but only that of serenity*, agreeable to the stile of the court of Vienna, which custom alone could justify, and which reason has since changed, when pride has been obliged to stoop to necessity.

* Reboulét says that the German chancery gave the title of Dilection to kings, but this is the title given to electors.

CHAP. CLXXXIII.

Losses in SPAIN. Loss of the Battles of RAMILLIES and TURIN, and their Consequences.

ONE of the first exploits performed by these English troops was the taking of Gibraltar, a place justly deemed impregnable. A long chain of steep rocks forbid all approach to it by land; it had no harbour, but only a long bay, very wild and unsafe, where ships lay exposed to storms, and the artillery of the fortress and mole: the inhabitants of the town were alone sufficient to defend it against a fleet of a thousand ships and an hundred thousand men. But this very strength was the cause of its being taken; there were only an hundred men in garrison, but these were more than sufficient, had they not neglected a duty which they looked upon as useless. The prince of Hesse had landed with eighteen hundred soldiers on the northernmost neck of land, behind the town; but the steepness of the rock made an attack upon the place impracticable on that side. The fleet in vain fired upwards of fifteen thousand shot; at length a body of sailors, in one of their merry-makings, happened to row close under the mole in their boats, the cannon of which must infallibly have sunk them all, but not a gun was fired; upon this they mount the mole, make themselves masters of it, and fresh troops flocking in on all sides, this impregnable town was at length obliged to surrender. It is still in possession of the English;

Aug. 4,

1704

lish; and Spain, now again become a formidable power under the administration of the princess of Parma*, second wife to Philip V. and lately victorious in Africa and Italy, beholds with an impotent grief, Gibraltar in the hands of a northern nation, that had hardly a single ship in the Mediterranean two centuries ago.

Immediately after the taking of Gibraltar, the English fleet, now mistress of the sea, attacked the count de Toulouse, admiral of France, in view of the castle of Malaga. This battle, tho' not a decisive one, was Aug. 26, the last epocha of the maritime power 1704 of Lewis XIV. His natural son the count de Toulouse, admiral of the kingdom, had fifty ships of the line and twenty-four galleys under his command. He made a glorious retreat, with very little loss. But the king having afterwards sent thirteen ships to attack Gibraltar, while marshal de Tessé laid siege to it by land; this double rashness proved the ruin of both army and fleet. Some of the ships were destroyed by a storm, others were March 1705 boarded and taken by the English after a most noble resistance, and another part of them burnt on the coast of Spain. From that day the French had no longer any large fleets either in the Western Ocean or the Mediterranean. The marine returned nearly to the same state from whence Lewis XIV. had drawn it, as well as many other glorious things which rose and set under his reign.

* This was written in the year 1740.

The English, who had taken Gibraltar for themselves, in less than six weeks conquered the kingdom of Valentia and Catalonia for the archduke Charles. They took Barcelona by an event of chance, which was owing to the rashness of the besiegers.

The English were at that time commanded by one of the most extraordinary men ever produced by that country, so fruitful in proud, valiant, and whimsical minds. This was the earl of Peterborough, a man who, in every respect, resembled those heroes with whose exploits the imagination of the Spaniards has filled so many books. At fifteen years of age he left London, to go and make war against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he was the first who set on foot the revolution in England, and went over to the prince of Orange; but, lest the true reason of his voyage should be suspected, he took shipping for America, and then went over to the Hague in a Dutch vessel. He parted with all his fortune more than once. He was now carrying on the war in Spain almost at his own expence, and maintained the archduke and all his household. It was this extraordinary man, who, with the prince of Hesse Darmstadt*, was laying siege to Barcelona. He proposed to the prince to make a sudden attack on the entrenchments which covered Fort Montjoui and the town. These entrenchments were carried sword in hand; the prince of Darmstadt fell in the attack. A bomb falling upon a magazine of pow-

* Réboullet, in his history, calls this prince the head of the rebels, as if he had been a Spaniard, who had rebelled against Philip V.

der in the fort, blew it up. The fort was taken, and the town thereupon capitulated. The viceroy came to one of the gates of the town to confer with lord Peterborough; but the articles were not yet signed, when their ears were suddenly struck with loud cries and shrieks. "You have betrayed us, my lord, said the vice-roy to Peterborough; we made a fair capitulation, and there are your English have entered the city over the ramparts, and are killing, robbing, and plundering every one." "You are mistaken, replied lord Peterborough, it must certainly be the prince of Darmstadt's troops. There is no other way left to save your town, but to let me enter immediately with my English. I will make every thing quiet, and return again to the gate to sign the capitulation." He spoke this with an air of truth and grandeur that, added to the present danger, entirely persuaded the governor, who immediately let him enter. He flew through the streets with his officers, where he presently found the Germans and Catalans busy in plundering the houses of the principal citizens; he drove them off, and made them quit their booty. After this he meets with the dutches of Popoli in the hands of some soldiers, who were going to dishonour her; he takes her from them, and delivers her to her husband. At length, having made every thing quiet, he returns to the gate according to his promise, and signs the capitulation. The Spaniards were confounded to find such magnanimity in the English, whom the populace had always been taught to look upon as merciless barbarians, because they were heretics.

To

To the loss of Barcelona succeeded the mortification of a fruitless attempt to retake it. Philip V. though he had the greater part of Spain in his interest, had neither generals, engineers, or hardly soldiers. The count of Toulouse returned to block up the harbour with twenty-five ships of war, the whole remains of the French navy; marshal Tessé formed the siege by land with thirty-one squadrons of horse, and thirty-seven battalions of foot; but the English fleet appearing, that of France was obliged to retire, and Tessé raised the siege with precipitation, leaving an immense quantity of provisions behind him in his camp, and one thousand five hundred wounded to the mercy of lord Peterborough. These were heavy losses; and it could hardly be said whether it had cost France more to conquer Spain, than it now did to assist it. Nevertheless, the grandson of Lewis XIV. still kept his ground, through the affection of the Castilians, whose greatest pride is their fidelity, and who, on this occasion, continued firm to the choice they had made.

In Italy affairs wore a better aspect; Lewis was revenged of the duke of Savoy; the duke of Vendôme had, in the beginning, repulsed prince Eugene with some glory, in the battle of Cassano, near the Adda; this proved a bloody day, and one of those drawn battles for which both sides sing *Te Deum*, and that only serve to destroy men without advancing the affairs of either party.

party. After the battle of Cassano he gained a complete victory at Cassinato *, in the absence of prince Eugene; and that prince, arriving next day, saw another detachment of his army intirely routed: in short, the allies were obliged to give ground every where before the duke of Vendome. Turin alone remained to be taken; they were already in march to invest it, and there appeared no possibility of relieving it. Marshal Villars pushed the prince of Baden in Germany. Villeroy, with an army of eighty thousand men in Germany, was in hopes to indemnify himself on Marlborough for the ill success he had met with against prince Eugene. His too great confidence in his own abilities proved now more fatal than ever to France.

April 19,
1706

Marshal Villeroy's army was encamped near the river Mehaigne, by the heads of the little Ghette; his center was at Ramillies, a village since as famous as that of Bienheim. It was in his power to have avoided a battle: he was advised to do so by his general officers; but a blind passion for glory prevailed over every other consideration. It is said that the disposition he made for the battle was such, that every one of the least experience foresaw the fatal consequence. His center was composed of new raised troops, neither complete nor acquainted

* It was the count de Reventlau, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the battle of Cassinato, but the troops were all Imperialists.

La Baumette observes on this occasion, in his notes on the Age of Lewis XIV. "That the Danes are as little worth abroad as at home." It is very extraordinary to see a writer thus abusing every nation.

with military discipline. He left the baggage between the lines, and posted his left wing behind a morass, as if he intended to prevent it from coming near the enemy*.

May 23, Marlborough, who observed all
1706 these mistakes with a careful eye, drew up his army in such a manner as to take advantage of them; he perceived that the left wing of the French army could not come up to attack his right; he therefore made draughts from that part of his army, in order to fall upon the enemy's center, at Ramillies, with a superior force. Monsieur de Gassion, the lieutenant-general, observing these motions, cried out to the marshal, "You are undone, Sir, if you do not instantly change the order of battle. Make a draught from your left wing, that you may have an equal force to oppose to the enemy. Close your lines more. If you lose a minute, you are irrecoverably lost." This salutary advice was backed by several of the other officers; but the marshal would not believe them. When Marlborough began the attack, he found the army drawn up in the very manner in which he himself would have posted it for a defeat. This was publicly declared through all France, and history is partly a relation of the opinions of men; but may it not be alledged that the troops of the confederates were better disciplined, and that the confidence they had in their generals, and their past successes, inspired them with superior boldness? Were there not some of the French regiments who did not do their duty? And do we not

* See Feuquieres's memoirs.

know that those battalions who can best stand fire, decide the destiny of states? The French army did not maintain its ground for half an hour; at Hochstet the fight lasted for eight hours, and the French killed the victors upwards of eight thousand men; but, at the battle of Ramillies, they killed them only two thousand five hundred. The defeat was general; the French lost twenty thousand men, together with the honour of their nation, and every hope of recovering the advantage. Bavaria and Cologne had been lost by the battle of Blenheim, and all Spanish Flanders was now lost by this of Ramillies; Marlborough entered victorious into Antwerp and Brussels, took Offend, and Menin surrendered to him.

Marshal Villeroy, in despair, did not dare to acquaint the king with this defeat; he continued five days without dispatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with consternation; and when he returned to Versailles to present himself to the king, that monarch, instead of reproaching him, only said, "Monsieur le marechal, people at our time of life are not fortunate."

The king immediately sent for the duke of Vendôme out of Italy, where he thought his presence not necessary, in order to replace Villeroy in Flanders, and repair, if possible, his disgrace. He still entertained hopes, and with just reason, that the taking of Turin would make him amends for all these losses. Prince Eugene was at too great a distance to come to its relief; he was on the other side the Adige, and a long chain of intrenchments that lined

the river on this side, seemed to make a passage impracticable. Forty-six squadrons and an hundred battalions formed the siege of this great city.

The duke de Feuillade, who commanded this army, was the gayest and most amiable man in the kingdom; and, though son-in-law to the minister, he was the darling of the people; he was son to that marshal de la Feuillade who erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the square des Victoires. He appeared to have as much courage as his father; the same ambition; the same magnificence; and more understanding. He expected the staff of marshal of France as a reward for his taking Turin. Chamillard, his father-in-law, who loved him tenderly, had left nothing undone to secure him success. The imagination stands appalled at the detail of the preparations made for this siege. Those readers who have it not in their power to inform themselves of these matters, may perhaps not be displeased to meet here with an account of this immense and fruitless apparatus.

There were an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and it is to be observed, that each large cannon, mounted on its carriage, costs about two thousand crowns; one hundred and ten thousand balls, one hundred and six thousand cartridges of one form, and three hundred thousand of another; twenty-one thousand bomb-shells, twenty-seven thousand seven hundred hand-grenades, fifteen thousand sand-bags, thirty thousand pioneering-tools, and twelve hundred thousand pounds weight of powder, besides lead, iron, tin, cordage, with every thing proper for the miners, sulphur, salt-petre, and im-

implements of all kinds. It is certain, that the expence of all these preparations for destruction, was more than sufficient to have founded a numerous colony, and put it into a flourishing condition. Every siege of a great town requires the same prodigious expence, and yet when a little village is to be repaired at home, it is neglected.

The duke de la Feuillade, full of ardour and activity, inferior to no one in undertakings where courage alone was required, but incapable of conducting those that called for art, reflection, and time, hurried the siege against all rules. Marshal Vauban, the only general perhaps who loved his country better than himself, had proposed to the duke de la Feuillade to come and direct the siege as an engineer, and to serve in his army as a volunteer; but the pride of la Feuillade made him take this offer for insolence, concealed beneath the appearance of modesty, and was piqued that the best engineer in France should presume to give him advice. He wrote back to him, in a letter which I have seen, "I hope to take Turin by Cohorn." This Cohorn was the Vauban of the allies, an excellent engineer, and a good general, who had taken several places that had been fortified by Vauban. After such a letter there was a necessity to take Turin; but having begun the attack by the citadel, which was the strongest part, and the city not being completely surrounded, an opening was left for men or provisions to be thrown in, or for the duke of Savoy to sally out. In short, the greater impetuosity the duke de la Feuillade shewed in his repeated

and fruitless attacks, the more tedious was the siege*.

The duke of Savoy came out of the town with some squadrons of horse, in order to amuse the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the siege to run after the prince, who, being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his pursuit. Thus la Feuillade missed the duke, and the business of the siege suffered by it.

All our historians, almost to a man, assert, that the duke de la Feuillade had no intention to take Turin, and pretend that he had sworn to the dutchess of Burgundy to respect her father's capital; they likewise tell us that this princess prevailed upon madame de Maintenon, to cause such measures to be taken as would

* During this siege, which continued from May to September, a simple corporal sacrificed his own life for the good of his country, with a spirit equal to that of a Curtius or a Scævola. The French had actually made a lodgement in one of the subterraneous galleries of the citadel, from whence they could have penetrated into the body of the place. A corporal of miners, whose name was Mica, being at work under the gallery, in finishing a mine which was not yet primed, and foreseeing that the enemy could not fail to have possession of the citadel, unless they were immediately destroyed, devoted his life to the safety of his fellow-citizens. He forthwith primed the mine, and desired one of his companions to tell the king he implored his majesty's protection for his wife and children; then he ordered his pioneers to retire, and make a signal of their being in a place of safety, by firing a musket, which he no sooner heard, than he set fire to the mine, and perished with two hundred grenadiers, who had taken possession of the gallery. The king expressed his sense of this action, by making a very ample provision for Mica's wife and children, and settling an annual pension of six hundred livres for ever on his descendants.

save the town. It is certain, that almost all the officers in this army were for a long time persuaded of the truth of this ; but it was only one of those popular rumours which are the disgrace of the novelist, and the dishonour of the historian ; besides, how contradictory was it, that the same general who would not take Turin, should endeavour to seize on the person of the duke of Savoy ?

From the 13th of May to the 20th of June the duke of Vendôme had been posted on the banks of the Adigi, to cover this siege, and thought himself certain, with seventy battalions and sixty squadrons, to stop all the passages against prince Eugene.

The imperial general was in want of men and money. The mercers company of London lent him about six millions of our livres * ; he then sent for a supply of men from the circles of the empire. The slowness of these succours might have proved the ruin of Italy ; but the slowness of the siege of Turin was still greater.

Vendôme was already appointed to go and repair the losses in Flanders ; but, before he left Italy, he suffered prince Eugene to cross the Adigi, to pass the White Canal, and even the Po itself, a river larger, and in some places more difficult of passage than the Rhine ; and before he himself left the banks of the Po, he saw prince Eugene in a condition to advance even to Turin. Thus he left affairs in the most ticklish crisis in Italy, while in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, they appeared desperate.

* Or nearly 263300 l. Sterling, at $10\frac{1}{2}$ to the livre.

The duke of Vendôme then went to Mons to assemble Villeroi's scattered forces; and the duke of Orleans, nephew of Lewis XIV. was sent to command his army on the banks of the Po. He found these troops in as much disorder as if they had suffered a defeat. Eugene had passed the Po in sight of Vendôme; he now crossed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; stole a march upon the French, and at length joined the duke of Savoy near Asti. All that the duke of Orleans could do was to march and join la Feuillade in his camp before Turin. Prince Eugene followed with the utmost diligence. The duke of Orleans had now two measures in his choice, either to wait for prince Eugene in the lines of circumvallation, or to march and meet him while he was yet on the other side of Veillane. He called a council of war, at which were present marshal Marfin, the same who had lost the battle of Blenheim, the duke de la Feuillade, Albergoti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals, to whom he thus addressed himself; "Gentlemen, if we remain in our lines we lose the battle. The lines of circumvallation are above five leagues in length: it will be impossible for us to line all these entrenchments. On one hand here is the regiment of marines, that is not above two men deep; and, on the other hand, there are many places left entirely naked. The Doire, which runs through our camp, will prevent our men from marching readily to the assistance of one another; besides, when the French know they are attacked, they lose one of their principal advantages, that impetuosity and instantaneous ardour,

dour, which so frequently decide the fate of battles. Believe me, it is our interest to march directly to the enemy." The lieutenant-generals immediately cried out, one and all, "Let us march." Then marshal Marfin drew the king's order out of his pocket, which left every thing to his decision in case of an action, and it was his opinion to remain in the lines.

The duke of Orleans was not a little incensed to find, that he was sent to the army only as a prince of the blood, and not as a general; however, he was obliged to follow Marfin's advice, and made the necessary preparations for this disadvantageous action.

The enemy seemed at first to intend to make several attacks at once; and the variety of their movements threw the French camp into confusion. The duke of Orleans proposed one thing, Marfin and la Feuillade another; they disputed, and concluded upon nothing; till at length they suffered the enemy to pass the Doire, who advanced towards them in eight columns, of twenty-five men deep each. There was an immediate necessity of opposing them with battalions of equal thickness.

Albergoti, who was posted at a distance from the main army, on the Capucins hill, had twenty thousand men with him, and only a body of the enemy's militia to oppose, who did not dare to attack. They sent from the camp for a detachment of twelve thousand men; but he returned for answer, that he could not weaken his division, and gave some specious reasons, Time was lost in these altercations. Prince Eugene attacks the intrenchments, and in two

Sept. 7, 1706 hours time forces them. The duke of Orleans was wounded, and had retired to be dressed; but he was scarcely got to the surgeon's tent, when word was brought him that all was lost, that the enemy was master of the camp, and that the defeat was become general. Nothing remained but immediate flight; the trenches were abandoned, and the whole army dispersed. All the baggage, provision, and ammunition, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Marshal Marsin himself was wounded in the thigh, and made prisoner. One of the duke of Savoy's surgeons cut off his thigh, and he died a few minutes after the operation. Sir Paul Methuen, ambassador from England to the court of Turin, the most generous and brave man that his country had ever employed in her embassies, fought by the duke of Savoy's side during the whole action. He was present when marshal Marsin was taken prisoner, and was near him in his last moments; and he told me, that the marshal, when he was dying, spoke to him in these very terms: "Be persuaded, Sir, that it was contrary to my opinion that we waited for you in our lines." These words seem positively to contradict what passed at the council of war, and may nevertheless be true; for Marsin, when he took leave of the king at Versailles, represented to his majesty that it would be proper to march and attack the enemy, in case they should appear to relieve Turin; but Chamillard, intimidated by so many former defeats, had afterwards prevailed that the army should wait in the lines, and not offer

offer battle: and this order given at Versailles occasioned the dispersion of sixty thousand men.

The French had not above two thousand men killed in this engagement; but we have already seen, that a panic does more than even slaughter. The impossibility of finding subsistence, which would make an army retire after a victory, brought back the troops to Dauphiny, after their defeat. Every thing was in such disorder, that the count of Medavy-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, and beat the Imperialists at Castiglione, under the command of the prince of Hesse, afterwards king of Sweden, gained only a fruitless victory, though it was complete*. In a word, the dutchy of Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and lastly the kingdom of Naples, were all lost within a very little time of one another.

Sep. 9,
1706

* This officer surprised the prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retreat to the Adigi, with the loss of two thousand men; but this action was attended with no other consequence.

C H A P. CLXXXIV.

The Losses of the FRENCH and SPANIARDS continued. LEWIS XIV. humbled ; his Perseverance and Resources. Battle of MALPLAQUET.

THE battle of Hochstet, or Blenheim, cost Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine ; and the elector of Bavaria all his dominions. All Flanders was lost to the very gates of Lisle, by the fatal day of Ramillies ; and the defeat at Turin drove the French out of Italy, which had always happened to them in every war since the time of Charlemagne. They had still some troops left in the dutchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count of Medavy. They were also still in possession of some strong places. They offered to give up all these to the emperor, provided he would permit these troops, which amounted to about fifteen thousand men, to retire unmolested. The emperor accepted of the proposition, and the duke of Savoy gave his assent. Thus the emperor, with a dash of his pen, became peaceable possessor of Italy. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him, and every thing that had formerly been feudal was now treated as subject to a supreme power. He imposed a tax of one hundred and fifty thousand pistoles upon Tuscany ; forty thousand upon the dutchy of Mantua ; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithstanding they were free states, were included in these impositions.

The

The emperor, who had all these advantages on his side, was not that Leopold, the antient rival of Lewis XIV. who, under a shew of moderation, had secretly cherished the most ambitious views. It was the fiery, sprightly, and passionate Joseph, his eldest son, who was not so good a soldier as his father. If ever there was an emperor who seemed formed to enslave Germany, it was this Joseph: his dominions stretched beyond the Alps, he laid the pope under contribution, and, by his sole authority, in 1706, had the electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the empire, and then stripped them of their dominions. He kept Bavaria's children in prison, and took away from them even their name. Their father had nothing left but to retire to France and the Low Countries, afterwards, in 1712; Philip V. ceded to them all Spanish Flanders*. If he could have kept this province, it would have been a better settlement for him than even Bavaria, and have freed him from his subjection to the house of Austria; but he could get possession only of the cities of Luxemburg, Namur, and Charleroi, the rest being in the hands of the victors. Every thing now seemed to threaten Lewis XIV. who had so lately been the terror of all Europe. There was nothing to oppose the duke of Savoy's entering France. England and Scotland were lately become one kingdom, by the union: or, rather, Scotland, now become a province of England, encreased the power of its

* It is said in Reboulét's history, that he had this sovereignty as early as 1700; but at that time it was governed only by a viceroy.

antient rival. In the years 1706 and 1707 all the enemies of France seemed to have acquired new strength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin. She was pushed on all sides, both by sea and land. Of the formidable fleets which Lewis XIV. had raised, scarcely five and twenty ships were left remaining. Strasburg still continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loss of Landau, all Alsace lay exposed. Provence was threatened with an invasion by sea and land, and the losses already sustained in Flanders, made us tremble for what was left; and yet, notwithstanding all these disasters, the body of the kingdom had not yet been attacked; and, unsuccessful as the war had been, we only lost what we had before conquered.

Lewis XIV. still opposed his enemies; and though beaten almost every where, he continued to resist, protect, and even attack on all sides. But affairs were as unsuccessful in Spain as in Italy, Germany, and Flanders. It is said that the siege of Barcelona was still worse conducted than that of Turin.

The count of Toulouse* had hardly made his appearance with his fleet, when he was ob-

* In the beginning of April 1706, king Philip at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles, in person. It was at the same time blocked up by sea, by the Count de Toulouse, and in all probability must have surrendered, had it not been relieved by the English fleet. Sir John Leak sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line, and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral at his approach made the best of his way to Toulon; and in three days after his departure, Philip retired in great disorder, leaving his tents behind, together with his sick and wounded.

liged to sail back again. Barcelona was relieved, the siege raised, and the French, after having lost half their army, were forced, for want of provisions, to march back into Navarre, a little kingdom that they kept for the Spaniards, and of which our kings take the title by a custom that seems beneath their dignity.

To these disasters was added yet another, which seemed to be the finishing stroke. The Portuguese, together with a body of English, under the command of lord Galloway, a Frenchman, formerly count de Ruvigni, lately created a peer of Ireland, took every place they presented themselves before, and were advanced even into the province of Estramadura; while the duke of Berwick, an Englishman, who commanded the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to stop their progress.

Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Pampelona; while his competitor, Charles, was increasing his party, and augmenting his forces in Catalonia.

He was master of Arragon, the province of Valentia, Carthagen, and part of the province of Granada. The English took Gibraltar for themselves, and gave him Minorca, Ivica, and Alicant: besides, the road of Madrid was open to him; and lord Galloway entered that city without any resistance, and proclaimed the archduke Charles king: a single detachment sent from the army pro- June 26,
claimed him in Toledo. In short, 1706

Philip's affairs seemed so desperate that marshal Vauban, the first of engineers, and the best of citizens, a man continually engaged in schemes, some useful, others impracticable, and
all

all of them singular, actually proposed to the French court to send Philip over to America to reign there. In this case all the Spaniards in Philip's interest would have quitted their country to follow him. Spain would have been left a prey to civil factions. The French would have had the whole trade of Peru and Mexico, and France would have been aggrandized even by the misfortunes of Lewis XIV's family. This project was actually in consideration at Versailles; but the perseverance of the Castilians, and the oversights of the enemy, preserved the crown upon Philip's head. The people loved him as the king of their choice; and his queen, the duke of Savoy's daughter, had gained their affections by the pains she took to please them; by an intrepidity above her sex, and an active perseverance under misfortunes. She went in person from city to city, animating the minds of her subjects, rousing their zeal, and receiving the donations which they brought in on all sides; so that in three weeks time she remitted her husband upwards of two hundred thousand crowns. Not one of the grandees who had taken the oath of fidelity proved false. When lord Galloway proclaimed the archduke in Madrid, the people cried out, "Long live king Philip;" and at Toledo they mutinied, and put to flight the officers who were going to proclaim Charles.

The Spaniards had till then made very few efforts in support of their king; but when they saw him thus distressed, they exerted themselves in a surprising manner; and on this occasion shewed an example of a courage quite the reverse of that of other nations, who generally
set

set out in a vigorous manner, but shrink back at last. It is very difficult to impose a king upon a nation against its will. The Portuguese, English, and Austrians, that were in Spain, were miserably harrassed wherever they came, suffered much for want of provisions, and were guilty of errors almost unavoidable in a strange country; so that they were beaten piece-meal. In short, Philip V. three months after his leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph, and was received with as much joy and acclamations as his rival had met with coldness and aversion.

Lewis XIV. redoubled his efforts when he saw the Spaniards bestir themselves; and while he was obliged to provide for the safety of the sea-coasts of the western ocean and the Mediterranean, by stationing militia all along shore; though he had one army in Flanders, another at Strasburg, a body of troops in Navarre, and one in Roussillon, he sent a fresh reinforcement to marshal Berwick at Castile.

It was with these troops, seconded by the Spaniards, that Berwick gained the important battle of Almanza*, in which he beat Galloway. Neither Philip nor the archduke were present at this action, on which the famous earl of Peterborough, who was singular in every thing, observed,

April 25,
1707

* This was fought on the fourteenth day of April 1707, and was altogether a decisive action. The allies were totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men taken prisoners, with all their colours and artillery. The defeat was in a great measure owing to the cowardice of the Portuguese troops on the right, who fled on the first onset.

“ That

“ That it was excellent, indeed, to fight against one another for them.” The duke of Orleans, who was to have the command in Spain, and who was very desirous of being present, did not arrive till the day after the battle : however, he made all possible advantage of the victory, by taking several places, and among others Lerida, the rock on which the great Condé had split.

On the other hand, marshal Villars, now replaced at the head of the armies in Germany, because the government could not do without him, made amends for the fatal defeat at Hochstet. He forced the enemy's lines at Stollhoffen, on the other side the Rhine, dispersed their whole body, levied contributions for fifty leagues round, and advanced as far as the Danube. This momentary success gave a better face to affairs on the frontiers of Germany ; but in Italy all was lost. The kingdom of Naples, entirely defenceless, and accustomed to a change of masters, was under the yoke of the conquerors ; and the pope, unable to refuse a passage to the German troops through his dominions, saw, without daring to murmur, the emperor make himself his vassal against his will. It is a strong instance of the force of received opinions, and the power of custom, that Naples may always be seized upon without consulting the pope, and yet that the possessor is always obliged to do him homage for it.

While the grand-son of Lewis XIV. was thus deprived of Naples, the grand-father was on the point of losing Provence and Dauphiny. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had already entered those provinces by the narrow pass of Tende ; and Lewis XIV. had the mortifi-

tification to see that very duke of Savoy, who a twelvemonth before had hardly any thing left but his capital, and prince Eugene, who had been brought up at his court, on the point of stripping him of Toulon and Marseilles.

Toulon was besieged, and in danger of being taken; the English fleet lay before the harbour, and bombarded the town. A little more diligence, precaution, and unanimity, would have carried Toulon. Marseilles, then left defenceless, could have made no resistance, and France seemed likely to lose two provinces; but what is probable seldom happens. There was time to send succours; a detachment had been made from marshal Villars's army, as soon as these provinces were threatened; and the advantages in Germany were made to give way to the safety of a part of France. That part of the country by which the enemy entered was dry, barren, and hilly; provisions were scarce, and a retreat difficult. A sickness, which made great havock in the enemy's army, proved no unfavourable circumstance to Lewis XIV. The siege of Toulon was raised*, and soon afterwards the enemy evacuated Provence, and Dauphiny was out of danger; so seldom does an invasion prove successful, unless there is an intelligence with the people of the country. Charles V. failed in the same design, and of

* This attempt upon Toulon might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable army towards Naples; and detained ten thousand recruits in Germany, from an apprehension of the king of Sweden, who was then in Saxony, and on very indifferent terms with the court of Vienna.

late days the queen of Hungary's troops have been likewise disappointed in their attempts upon this country.

However, this invasion, which cost the allies so dear, proved of no small disservice to the French. The country had been spoiled, and our forces divided.

Europe little expected that, while the French nation thus exhausted, thought itself happy in having escaped an invasion, Lewis XIV. was sufficiently great and fruitful in expedients, to attempt himself an invasion in Great Britain, in despite of the weak state of his maritime forces and the powerful fleets of the English that covered the seas. This expedition was proposed by some of the Scotch, in the interest of James III. The success was doubtful; but Lewis thought the very attempt sufficiently glorious; and actually declared afterwards, that he was determined as much by this motive as his political interest.

To carry the war into Great-Britain at that time, when we could with difficulty support the burthen of it in so many other places, and to endeavour to replace the son of James II. on the throne of Scotland, at least while we could hardly support Philip V. on that of Spain, was a noble idea, and after all, not quite destitute of probability.

Those of the Scotch who had not sold themselves to the court of London, were grieved to see themselves reduced to a state of dependence on the English, and privately with one accord called upon the offspring of their ancient kings, who in his infancy had been driven from the throne.

throne of three kingdoms, and whose very birth had been contested by his enemies. They promised to join him with thirty thousand men in arms to fight his cause, if he would only land at Edinburgh with some few succours from France.

Lewis XIV. who in his past time of prosperity, had made such efforts in behalf of the father, now did the same for the son, though his fortunes were in the decline. Eight ships of war and seventy transports were got ready at Dunkirk, and six thousand men put on board. The count de Gacé, afterwards marshal Matignon, had the command of the troops, and the chevalier de Forbin Janson, one of the best sailors of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing seemed favourable for their design: there were but three thousand regular troops in Scotland, England was left defenceless, its soldiers being all engaged in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough. The difficulty was to get thither; for the English had a fleet of fifty ships of war cruising at sea. This expedition was exactly like the late one in 1744, in favour of the grand-son of James II. It was discovered by the government, and impeded by several unlucky accidents; insomuch that the English ministry had time to send for twelve battalions out of Flanders. Several of the most suspected persons were seized in Edinburgh. At length, the pretender having shewed himself upon the Scotch coast, and not seeing the signals which had been agreed upon, nothing was left but to return back again. The chevalier Forbin landed him

him safe at Dunkirk *, and by his prudent retreat saved the French fleet ; but the expedition was entirely frustrated. Matignon was the only one who gained any thing on this occasion : having opened his orders after he came out to sea, he there found a patent for marshal of France, a reward for what he meant to do, but could not perform.

There cannot be a more absurd notion than that of some historians, who pretend that queen Anne had a correspondence with her brother in this affair. It is absolute folly to suppose that she would invite her competitor in the crown to come and dethrone her. They have confounded the time, and imagined that she favoured him because she afterwards looked upon him in private as her successor : but what prince would chuse to be driven from the throne by his successor ?

While the French affairs were every day growing worse and worse, the king thought, that by sending the duke of Burgundy, his grand-son, to head the army in Flanders, the presence of the heir presumptive to the crown would excite the emulation of the troops,

* Lewis XIV. is said to have had other aims than those our author mentions. His chief design was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which might hamper the English ministry, and hinder queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. The scheme was defeated by the vigilance of sir George Byng, commander of the English squadron, who reached the Frith of Edinburgh time enough to prevent the Pretender's landing. He gave chase to the French squadron, one of the ships of which he took, and Fourbin escaped with great difficulty.

which

which began to droop. This prince was of a resolute and intrepid disposition, pious, just, and learned. He was formed to command wise men: he loved mankind, and endeavoured to make them happy. Though well versed in the art of war, he considered that art rather as the scourge of human kind, and an unhappy necessity, than the source of real glory. This philosophical prince was the person sent to oppose the duke of Marlborough, and they gave him the duke of Vendôme for an assistant. It now happened, as it too frequently does: the experienced officer was not sufficiently listened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it over the general's reasons. Hence arose two parties; whereas, in the enemy's army, there was but one, that of the public good. Prince Eugene was at that time on the Rhine; but when he and Marlborough were together, they never had but one opinion.

The duke of Burgundy had the superiority in numbers: France, which Europe looked upon as exhausted, had furnished him with an army of one hundred thousand men; and the allies at that time had not quite eighty thousand. He had moreover the advantage of intelligence on his side, in a country which had been so long under the Spanish dominion, was tired out with Dutch garrisons, and where a great part of the inhabitants were inclined to favour Philip V. By his correspondence in Ghent and Ypres, he became master of these two places; but the schemes of the soldier soon rendered fruitless those of the politician. The disagreement in the council of war, already began to distract their operations; so that now they

they began to march towards the Dendre, and two hours afterwards turned back again towards the Scheld, to go to Oudenard. In this manner did they lose time, while the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were making the best of theirs, and acted in concert with each other. The

French were routed near Oudenarde.
 July 11, This was not a great battle*; but

1708 it proved a fatal retreat. Error was added to terror. The regiments were suffered to wander at random without receiving any orders, and upwards of four thousand men were made prisoners on the road, by the enemy's army, a few miles distant only from the field of battle.

The army in despondency retreated without any order, part under Ghent, part under Tournay, and part under Ypres, and quietly suffered prince Eugene, now returned from the Rhine, to lay siege to Lisle with an inferior army.

To sit down before so large and well fortified a town as Lisle without being master of Ghent, obliged to send for provisions and ammunition as far as Ostend, and these to be brought over a narrow causeway, at the hazard of being every moment surprised, was what Europe called a rash action; but which the misunderstanding and irresolution that prevailed in the French army rendered very excusable, and was justified in the end by the success. The grand convoys which might have been intercepted, arrived safe. The troops that escorted them, and which

* If the night had not interposed, the whole French army would have been ruined.

ought to have been defeated by a superior number, proved victorious †. The duke of Burgundy's army, that might have attacked that of the enemy before it was complete, remained inactive; and Lisle was taken, to the astonishment of all Europe, who thought the duke of Burgundy rather in a condition to besiege Marlborough and Eugene, than those generals to besiege Lisle. Marshal Boufflers defended the place near four months.

The inhabitants became so familiar with the noise of cannon, and all the horror that attended a siege, that public diversions were carried on as frequent as in time of peace; and though a bomb one day fell very near the play-house, it did not interrupt the entertainment.

Marschal Boufflers had made such judicious dispositions, that the inhabitants of this great city remained perfectly secure in his vigilance. The defence he made gained him the esteem even of his enemies, the hearts of the inhabitants, and a reward from the king. Those Dutch historians, or rather writers, who affect to blame him, should remember, that to contradict the public voice, a person must have been a witness, and an intelligent one, or prove what he advances †.

† Alluding to the battle of Wynendale, in which major general Webb, with six thousand of the allies, defeated two and twenty thousand French, commanded by the count de la Motte.

† Of this nature is a history which a bookseller called Vanduren, pretends to have been written by the Jesuit La Motte, when concealed in Holland, under the name of La Hode, and continued by Martinieri; the whole founded only on the pretended memoirs of a count de - - -, secretary of state.

In the mean time, the army that had looked on while Lisle was taken, began to diminish by little and little, and suffered Ghent to be taken next, and then Bruges, and all the posts one after another. Few campaigns have proved more fatal than this. The officers in the duke of Vendôme's interest laid all these faults to the duke of Burgundy's council, who retorted them back upon the duke of Vendôme. All minds were soured with misfortune. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers said one day to the duke de Vendôme, "Thus it is, never to go to mass; you see how misfortunes follow us." "Do you think then, replied the duke de Vendôme, that Marlborough goes there oftner than we?" The emperor Joseph was puffed up with the rapid successes of the allied army; he saw himself absolute in the empire, master of Landau, and the road to Paris in a manner open, by the taking of Lisle. A party of Dutch soldiers had the boldness to advance as far as Versailles, from Courtrai, and carried off the king's first equerry from under the castle windows, thinking it had been the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy's father. Paris was filled with terror; and the emperor entertained as strong hopes of settling his brother Charles on the throne of Spain, as Lewis XIV. had to keep his grandson in possession of it.

This succession, which the Spaniards wanted to have rendered indivisible, was already split into three parts. The emperor had taken Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples to himself. His brother Charles was still in possession of Catalonia, and a part of Arragon. The emperor at that time obliged pope Clement XI.

to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain. This pope, who was said to resemble St. Peter, because he owned, denied, repented, and wept ; had, after the example of his predecessor, acknowledged Philip V. and was attached to the house of Bourbon. The emperor, to punish him, declared several fiefs, which at that time were held from the popes, subject to the empire, particularly Parma and Placentia ; laid waste several lands belonging to the holy see, and seized on the town of Commacchio. In former times, a pope would have excommunicated any emperor who had attempted to dispute with him the most trifling privileges ; and that excommunication would have driven the emperor from his throne : but the power of this see was now reduced within its proper bounds. Clement XI. at the instigation of France had ventured to unsheath the sword for some short time ; but he had no sooner taken up arms than he repented of it. He perceived that the Romans were incapable of wielding the sword under a sacerdotal government. He therefore laid down his arms, left Commacchio in the emperor's hands as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and consented to write to the archduke with the stile of " Our dearest son, the catholic king in Spain." A fleet of English ships in the Mediterranean, and a German army in his dominions, soon made him glad to write, " To our dearest son Charles king of Spain." It was thought that this suffrage of the popes, though of no service in the German empire, might have some effect on the Spanish populace, who had been made to believe that the archduke was unworthy

to reign, because he was protected by heretics, who had taken Gibraltar.

There yet remained to the Spanish monarchy beyond the continent, the two islands of Sardinia and Sicily: an English fleet had taken Sardinia, and given it to the emperor; for the English were not willing that the archduke should have any thing more than Spain. At that time they made treaties of partition with their arms. The conquest of Sicily they reserved for another time, chusing rather to employ their ships at sea in cruising for the Spanish galleons, some of whom they took, than in conquering new territories for the emperor.

France was now as much humbled as Rome, and more in danger; resources began to fail, credit was at a stand, and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his prosperity, began to murmur against him when unfortunate.

A set of men to whom the ministry had sold the nation for a little ready money to supply the immediate call, grew fat on the public calamity, and insulted the sufferings of the people by their luxurious manner of living. The money they had advanced was spent; and had it not been for the bold industry of certain traders, particularly those of St. Malo, who made a voyage to Peru, and brought home thirty millions, half of which they lent to the government, Lewis XIV. would not have had money to pay his troops. The war had ruined the kingdom, and the merchants saved it: this was the case in Spain. The galleons, which had escaped being taken by the English, helped to support Philip V. but this resource, which was only of a few months duration, did not facili-

tate the raising of recruits. Chamillard, who had been made treasurer and secretary at war, resigned the latter post into the hands of M. Voisin, afterwards chancellor, who had formerly been an intendant on the frontiers. The armies were full as badly supplied as before, nor did merit meet with more encouragement. This same Chamillard afterwards resigned the management of the treasury likewise; but Desmarets, who succeeded him in that post*, was not able to restore a ruined credit. The severe winter of 1709 completed the despair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the south of France, were all destroyed; almost all the fruit trees were killed with the frost; there were no hopes of an harvest; and there was very little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great distance from the sea-port towns of the Levant, and the coast of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the enemies fleets, to whom we had hardly any ships of war to oppose. The scourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe; but the enemies had more resources, especially the Dutch, who had been so long the factors for other nations, had magazines sufficiently stored to supply the strongest armies the allies could bring into the field, in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, di-

* The history of the jesuit de la Motte, digested by La Martiniere says, that monsieur de Chamillard was removed from the treasury in 1703, and that marshal Harcourt was called by the public voice to succeed him. The blunders of this writer are out of number.

minished and disheartened, seemed ready to perish for want.

Lewis XIV. who had already made some advances towards a peace, determined under these fatal circumstances to send his chief minister, the marquis Torci Colbert, to the Hague, assisted by the president Rouillé. This was an humbling step. They first met at Antwerp, with two burgo-masters from Amsterdam, named Buis and Vanderhussen, who talked in the stile of conquerors, and returned upon the ministers of the proudest of all princes all the arrogance with which they themselves had been treated in 1672.

The states-general had chosen no stadtholder since the death of king William; and the Dutch magistrates, who already began to call their families, "The patrician families," were so many petty kings. The four Dutch commissaries, who attended the army, behaved with the utmost insolence to above thirty German princes, whom they maintained in their pay. "Send Holstein hither, said they; tell Hesse to come and speak to us." In this manner did a set of merchants express themselves, who, all plain in their garb, and abstemious in their way of living, took a pleasure in trampling upon German haughtiness in their pay, and mortifying the pride of a king who had formerly been their conqueror. They were not contented with shewing the world by these external marks of superiority, that power is the only real greatness. They likewise insisted upon having ten towns in Flanders given them up in sovereignty, and among others Lisle, which was already in their hands; and Tour-
nai,

nai, which was not yet taken. Thus the Dutch wanted to reap all the fruits of the war, not only at the expence of France, but at that of the house of Austria likewise, whose cause they had been fighting, in the same manner as the republic of Venice had formerly augmented its territories with those of its neighbours. The republican spirit is in the main full as ambitious as the monarchical.

This plainly appeared a few months afterwards; for when this shadow of a negotiation was vanished, and the allied army had gained some fresh advantages, the duke of Marlborough, at that time more absolute in England than his royal mistress, having been gained over by the Dutch, concluded a treaty with the States-general in 1709, by which they were to keep possession of all the frontier towns which should be taken from the French; were to have garrisons in twenty fortresses in Flanders, to be maintained at the expence of the country, and to have Upper Guelders in perpetual sovereignty. By this treaty they would have become actual sovereigns of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and have had the supreme rule in Liege and Cologne. In this manner did they want to aggrandize themselves by the ruin even of their allies. They were full of these lofty projects when the chief minister of France came to them to ask for peace; we must not therefore be surprised at the disdainful reception he met with.

After these first steps of humiliation, Lewis's minister went to the Hague, where he received in his master's name the last degree of insult. He there saw prince Eugene, the duke of

Marlborough, and the pensionary Heinfius, who all three were for continuing the war. The prince, because it at once gratified his glory and his revenge; Marlborough, because he gained both reputation and immense riches, of which he was equally fond; the third, who was guided by the other two, looked upon himself as a Spartan humbling the pride of a Persian monarch. They proposed instead of peace a truce, and during that truce a full satisfaction for all their allies, without taking any notice of the king's, conditionally that the king should assist in driving his grand-son from the throne of Spain, within two months; and that as a surety for his performance of the treaty, he should begin by ceding to the states general for ever, ten towns in Flanders, restore Strasburg and Brisac, and renounce the sovereignty of Alsace. Lewis little expected, some years before, when he refused a company of horse to Prince Eugene, when Churchill was only a colonel in the English army, and the name of Heinfius was hardly known, that one day these three men should impose such laws upon him. The marquis de Torcy took his leave without negotiating, and returned to carry the king the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. now did what he had never before done towards his subjects. He justified his conduct in a circular letter, which he addressed to them, in which, after acquainting his people with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to rouse their indignation, honour, and even pity. The politicians said that Torcy went to the Hague in that suppliant manner, only to throw the whole blame upon

upon the enemy, to justify Lewis XIV. in the eyes of Europe, and animate the French to a just resentment; but the fact is, that he went there purely to demand peace. The president Rouillé was left some few days at the Hague, to endeavour to get more favourable conditions; but all the answer he received to his remonstrances was an order from the states-general to depart Holland in twenty-four hours*.

Lewis XIV. when he heard the rigorous terms imposed upon him, said to Rouillé, "Well then, since I must make war, I would rather it should be against my enemies than my children." He then made preparations to try his fortune once more in Flanders; the famine, which had laid waste the countries round, proved a resource for the war; those who wanted bread enlisted for soldiers. Many lands lay untilled; but we had an army. Marshal Villars, who had been sent the preceding year into Savoy, to command a few troops whose ardour was revived by his presence, and who had met with some little successes, was recalled into Flanders, as the person in whom his country placed all her hopes.

Marlborough had already taken Tournai; and with prince Eugene, who had covered the siege, marched to invest Mons. Marshal Villars advanced to prevent them, having with him marshal Boufflers, a senior officer, but who had desired to serve under him. Boufflers had a true affection for his king and country; he

* Torci had actually agreed to preliminaries which Lewis rejected; and it was in consequence of this rejection that Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours.

proved, on this occasion, (notwithstanding what has been said by a very sensible man) that there are virtues in a monarchical state, especially under a good master. There are doubtless as many as in a republic, with less enthusiasm perhaps, but with more of what is called honour.

As soon as the French advanced to oppose the investing of Mons, the allies, on their side advanced to attack them near the wood of Blangies and the village of Malplaquet.

The two armies consisted of about eighty thousand men each; but the allies had forty-two battalions more. The French brought eighty pieces of cannon into the field, the allies one hundred and forty. The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, composed of the English and German troops in English pay; prince Eugene was in the center; Tilli and the count of Nassau at the left, with the Dutch.

Sep. 11 Marshal Villars took the command
1709 of the left wing of this army, and left the right to marshal Boufflers; he had entrenched his army in haste *, a method perhaps most suitable to his troops, that were inferior in numbers, and had been a long time unsuccessful, and consisted of one half recruits; it was most suitable likewise to our condition at that time; as an entire defeat would have intirely ruined the nation. Some historians have found fault with the disposition made by

* Their camp was fortified with triple intrenchments; and they were so fortified with lines, intrenchments, cannon and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible.

the marshal: "He ought, (say they) to have passed a large hollow, instead of having it in his front." Is it not being rather too discerning to judge thus from our closet of what passes in a field of battle?

All that I know is, the marshal himself said, that the soldiers who had had no bread for a whole day, and had just their allowance distributed among them, threw half of it away, to make the greater haste to come to action. There has not been for many ages a longer or more obstinate battle; none more bloody. I shall say nothing touching this action but what has been universally acknowledged. The enemies left wing, where the Dutch fought, was almost entirely cut to pieces; and we pursued them with the bayonets at the end of the piece. Marlborough at the right made and withstood surprising efforts. Marshal Villars had occasion to thin his center to oppose Marlborough; at that very instant the center was attacked, the entrenchments which covered it were carried, the regiment of guards who defended them making no resistance. The marshal, in riding from his left wing to his center, was wounded, and the day was lost; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of thirty thousand men, killed and dying.

The loss of the French in this battle did not amount to more than eight thousand men; the enemy left near twenty-one thousand killed and wounded, but the center being forced, and the two wings cut off, those who had made the greatest slaughter lost the day.

Marshal Boufflers* made a retreat in good order, with the assistance of the prince of Tingri-Montmorenci, afterwards marshal Luxembourg, inheritor of the valour of his ancestors. The army retired between Quesnoi and Valenciennes, carrying with them several standards and colours they had taken from the enemy †. Lewis XIV. comforted himself with these spoils, and it was esteemed a victory to have disputed the day so long, and to have lost only the field of battle. Marshal Villars, at his return to court, assured the king, that if he had not been wounded, he should have gained the victory. I know the general himself was persuaded of this, but I know very few people besides who believe it.

It may seem surprising, that an army, which had killed the enemy near two thirds more men than it lost itself, should not endeavour to prevent those who had gained no other advantage but that of lying in the midst of their dead, from going to lay siege to Mons. The Dutch were fearful for the success of this enterprize, and hesitated for some time; but the conquered are frequently imposed upon, and disheartened, by the name of having lost the battle. Men never do all that they might do, and the soldier who is told he is beaten, fears to be beaten again. Thus Mons was besieged and taken,

* In a book, intitled, *Memoirs of marshal Berwick*, it is said, that marshal Berwick made this retreat. In this manner are a number of memoirs written.

† The allies took above forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners,

and

and all for the Dutch, who kept possession of this town, as they had done of Lille and Tournai. Oct. 11, 1709



C H A P. CLXXXV.

LEWIS XIV. continues to solicit peace, and to defend himself. The Duke of VENDOME secures the King of SPAIN on his throne.

THE enemy not only continued thus advancing by degrees, and levelled all the barriers of France on this side, but they pretended, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to surprise Franche Comté, and penetrate at once by both ends to the heart of the kingdom. General Merci, who was charged with facilitating this enterprize, by entering into Upper Alsace by the city of Basil, was happily stopt near the isle of Newburg on the Rhine, by the count, afterwards marshal Dubourg. By an unaccountable fatality, all those of the name of Merci have been as unsuccessful as esteemed. This was defeated in the completest manner. Nothing was undertaken on the side of Savoy, but much was apprehended in regard to Flanders; the domestic affairs of the kingdom were in so languid a state, that the king once more solicited peace like a suppliant; he offered to acknowledge the archduke for king of Spain; to withdraw all assistance from his grandson, and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four places as securities; to restore

restore Strasbourg and Brisac ; to resign the sovereignty of Alsace, reserving only the prefecture ; to demolish all the fortified places between Basil and Philipsbourg ; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demolish its fortifications ; and to leave Lisle, Tournai, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge, in the hands of the states-general. These were in part the articles proposed, to serve as a basis for the peace which he solicited.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of discussing the submissive proposals of Lewis XIV. permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to present their master's supplications. Lewis made choice of marshal d'Uxelles, a man of great coolness and taciturnity, and of a disposition rather prudent than elevated or bold ; with him was joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal Polignac, one of the brightest wits, and most eloquent orators of his age, and of a most engaging person and address ; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no service in a minister, when the master is unsuccessful. It is conquest that makes treaties. The ambassadors of Lewis XIV. were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. The deputies came to hear their proposals, which they transmitted to the Hague to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, ambassador from the emperor. These proposals were almost always received with contempt. The plenipotentiaries were insulted by the most abusive libels, the work of French refugees, who were become more inveterate enemies to the glory of
Lewis

Lewis XIV. than even prince Eugene or the duke of Marlborough*.

Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their submission so far as to promise for the king, that he should furnish money to dethrone Philip V. they were not listened to. It was insisted upon as a preliminary, that Lewis XIV. should engage alone to drive his grandson out of Spain by force of arms. This absurd piece of inhumanity arose from fresh successes.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. like masters irritated against his pride and greatness, the city of Douay fell into their hands; and soon afterwards Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant; and lord Stair proposed to send parties to the gates of Paris.

Almost at the same time the archduke's army, commanded by Guy Staremberg, the nearest in military reputation to prince Eugene of all the German generals, Aug. 20, gained a complete victory near Sara- 1710 gossa†, over that army in which Philip and his adherents had placed their hopes, and that was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. Here again it was observed, that the two rival kings, though within reach of their armies, were not present at this battle. Of all the princes for whom Europe was then up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one

* And they had more reason so to be.

† The whole cavalry of Philip were defeated at Almenara, by the allied horse commanded by general Stanhope, who, with his own hand, slew general Ameffaga, commander of the Spanish guards. General Staremberg followed Philip's army to Saragossa, where they gave him battle, on the ninth day of August, and were totally defeated.

who

who fought his own battles. It was a melancholly consideration, that he could acquire his glory only by fighting against his two daughters, one of whom he endeavoured to dethrone, in order to gain a small spot of ground in Lombardy, about which the emperor Joseph already began to make some difficulties, and that he would have have been stript of the very first opportunity.

This emperor, who was successful every where, shewed no moderation in his good fortune. By his own pure authority he dismembered Bavaria, and bestowed the fiefs thereof on his relations and creatures. He despoiled the young duke of Mirandola of his dominions in Italy, and the princes of the empire maintained an army for him on the Rhine, without thinking that they were labouring to cement a power of which they stood in dread; so much did the old reigning hatred to the name of Lewis XIV. occupy every mind, as if their chief interest had been concerned therein. Joseph had likewise the good fortune to suppress the rebellious Hungarians. The court of France had set up prince Ragotski against him, who came armed with his own pretensions and those of his countrymen. Ragotski was beaten, his town taken, and his party ruined. Thus Lewis XIV. was equally unfortunate abroad and at home, by sea and by land, in his public negociations and his private intrigues.

It was believed by all Europe at that time, that the archduke Charles, brother to the fortunate Joseph, would reign without a competitor in Spain. Europe was threatened with a power more formidable than that of Charles V. and the
the

the English, so long the declared foes of the Austrian-Spanish branch, and the Dutch, its revolted slaves, were those who exerted themselves to establish it. Philip V. who had taken refuge in Madrid, quitted it again, and retired to Valladolid, while the archduke Charles made his entry as a conqueror.

The French king could no longer supply his grandson with succours; he had been obliged to do that partly through necessity which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by sending for those troops that were yet in Spain for his own defence, being hardly able to make head against the powerful efforts of the enemy in Savoy, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, where the stress of the war chiefly lay.

Spain was in a still more deplorable situation than France. Almost all its provinces had been laid waste by its enemies and friends. It was attacked by Portugal. Its trade was destroyed. There was a general dearth throughout the kingdom; but this indeed was more severely felt by the victors than by the vanquished, because the common people throughout this great country gave all in their power to Philip, for whom they had an affection, and refused every thing to the Austrians. Philip had no longer a general or troops from France; the duke of Orleans, by whom his drooping fortune had been a little raised, instead of commanding his army, was become his enemy. It is certain, that notwithstanding the affection the inhabitants of Madrid had for Philip, and the fidelity of the grandees and all Castile, he had still a powerful party against him in Spain. The Catalonians,
a war-

a warlike and headstrong nation, were, to a man, obstinately attached to his rival. One half of Arragon had likewise been gained over. One party of the people waited the event of affairs, and the other hated the archduke more than they loved Philip. The duke of Orleans, the namesake of Philip, disgusted with the Spanish ministry, and still more displeased with the princess Ursini, who governed affairs, began to think that he might secure for himself the country which he was sent to defend; and when Lewis XIV. himself proposed to give up his grandson, and that an abdication was already talked of in Spain, the duke of Orleans thought himself worthy of filling the throne which Philip V. would be obliged to resign. He had some pretensions to that place which had been left unnoticed in the king of Spain's will, and which his father had supported by a protest.

By means of his agents he made an agreement with some of the grandees, who engaged to place him on the throne, in case Philip V. should quit it. In this case, he would have found many of the Spaniards ready to lift under the standard of a prince who was so complete a warrior. This scheme, had it succeeded, could not have displeased the maritime powers, as there would have been less apprehension of seeing the kingdoms of France and Spain united in one person, and fewer obstacles to the peace. The project was discovered at Madrid about the beginning of 1709, while the duke of Orleans was at Versailles, and his agents in Spain were imprisoned. Philip V. never forgave his cousin for thinking him capable of abdicating, and endeavouring to succeed him. In France the whole

whole kingdom cried out against the duke of Orleans. The dauphin, father to Philip V. proposed in council to bring the offender to justice; but the king chose rather to pass in silence this abortive and pardonable scheme, than to punish a nephew, at the time that a grandson was on the verge of ruin.

In fine, about the time of the battle of Saragossa, the Spanish council and most of the grandees, finding they had no leader to oppose to Staremberg, whom they looked upon as a second Eugene, wrote in a body to Lewis XIV. requesting him to send them the duke de Vendôme. This prince, who had retired to Anet, set out immediately, and his presence was as good as an army. The Spaniards were struck with the great reputation he had gained in Italy, which the unfortunate campaign of Lisle had not been able to impair. His affability, openness, and liberality, which latter qualification he carried to a degree of profusion, and his love for his soldiers, won him all hearts; the moment he set his foot in Spain there happened to him what had formerly happened to Bertrand du Guesclin; his name alone drew a croud of volunteers. He wanted money; the corporations of the towns and villages, and the religious communities, supplied him. The nation was seized with a spirit of enthusiasm. The scattered troops left after the battle of Saragossa assembled together under him August, 1710 at Valladolid. Every place exerted itself in furnishing recruits. The duke de Vendôme, without allowing time for this fresh ardour to cool, goes in pursuit of the conquerors, brings the king back to Madrid, obliges the enemy

enemy to retire towards the frontiers of Portugal, follows them thither, makes his army swim over the Tagus, takes general Stanhope prisoner in Brihuega with five thousand English, comes up with general Staremburg at Villa Viciosa, and gives him battle the next day. Philip V. who had not accompanied any of his former generals to the fight, animated with the duke of Vendôme's spirit, put himself at the head of the right wing, while that general took the left. A complete victory was gained over the enemy *; and, in less than four months time, this great general, who had been called in when things were at the last extremity, retrieved all, and secured the crown for ever on the head of Philip V.

While the allies remained confounded at this surprising revolution, one of a more secret kind, though equally important, was preparing in England.

Sarah Jennings, dutchess of Marlborough, governed queen Anne, and the duke, her husband, governed the state. He had the treasury

* Stanhope was surprised, surrounded, and, after a very obstinate resistance, obliged to surrender himself and all his forces, amounting to two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier. At Villa Viciosa, Staremburg fought against double his number. His left wing was utterly defeated: but with the remainder of his troops he maintained his ground till night, when the enemy retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field and all their artillery, after having lost above six thousand men, who were killed on the spot. Staremburg had suffered so much in the battle, that he could not pretend to maintain his ground any longer; he therefore ordered their cannon to be nailed up, and retired to Catalonia.

at his command, through the means of the lord high treasurer Godolphin, whose son had married one of his daughters. His son-in-law, Sunderland, who was secretary of state, submitted every thing in the cabinet to him, and the queen's household, where his wife had an unlimited authority, was at his devotion. He was master of the army, while he had the disposal of all posts.

England was at that time divided between two parties, the whigs and the tories. The whigs, at whose head he was, did every thing that could contribute to his greatness; and the tories had been forced to admire him in silence. It is not unworthy of history to add, that the duke and dutchess were the two handsomest persons of their time; and that this advantage contributes not a little to impose upon the multitude, when accompanied with dignities and honour.

The duke had more interest at the Hague than the pensionary; and had great influence in Germany, had always been successful as a negociator and general, and enjoyed a more extensive share of power and reputation, than had ever been the lot of any one private man. He could likewise strengthen his power by the immense riches he had acquired during his having the command. I have heard his widow say, that, after he had given fortunes to his four children, he had remaining, independent of any gifts from the crown, seventy thousand pounds *per ann.* clear money, which makes about one million five hundred thousand of our livres. Had not his frugality been equal to his greatness, he might have formed a party in the king-

kingdom that queen Anne could not easily have overthrown; and had his wife been a little more complaisant, the queen would never have broke her chains. But the duke could never get the better of his thirst for riches, nor the dutchess of her capricious temper: The queen loved her with a tenderness that went even to submission, and a giving up of all will. In attachments of this nature, we generally find that dislike begins first on the side of the monarch: caprice, pride, and an abuse of superiority, are the things which first make the yoke felt, and all these the dutchess of Marlborough heaped upon her mistress with a heavy hand. The queen, who could not want a favourite, turned her eyes upon lady Masham, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber. The dutchess could not conceal her jealousy; it broke out on a thousand occasions. A pair of gloves of a particular fashion which she refused the queen, and a jar of water that she let fall in her presence upon lady Masham's gown, by an affected mistake, changed the face of affairs in Europe. Matters grew warm between the two parties. The new favourite's brother asked the duke for a regiment; the duke refused it, upon which the queen gave it him herself. The tories laid hold of this conjuncture to free the queen from her domestic slavery, humble the power of the duke, change the ministry, make peace, and if possible replace the Stewart family on the throne of England*. If the disposition of the dutchess

would

* We can affirm, on the very best authority, that the tories never harboured any such design. There might indeed be some Jacobites among them, who secretly entertained

would have allowed her to make some concessions, she might still have retained her power. The queen and she had been used to write to each other every day, under borrowed names: this mysterious familiarity always left the way open for a reconciliation; but the dutchess made use of this resource only to make things worse. She wrote to the queen in the most insolent terms; and, among other expressions made use of the following; "Do me justice, and make me no answer." She soon repented of what she had done, and went to ask pardon of the queen with tears in her eyes; but her majesty made her only this reply; "You have ordered me not to answer you, and I shall not answer you." After this the breach was irreparable; the dutchess appeared no more at court, and some time afterwards Sunderland, the duke's son-in-law, was removed from the ministry, as the first step towards turning out Godolphin, and then the duke himself. In other kingdoms this is called a disgrace; in England it is only a change of affairs; but this was a change very difficult to be brought about. The tories, tho' masters of the queen, were not of the kingdom; they found themselves obliged to have recourse to religion. At present there is little more religion in Great Britain than what is just sufficient to distinguish factions. The whigs inclined to presbyterianism. This was the faction that had de-

tained notions of that kind; but these they carefully concealed from the party with which they associated. Some too were driven into jacobitism by hard usage: but the tories in general had no intention to alter that succession which they themselves established,

throned

throned James II. persecuted Charles II. and brought Charles I. to the block. The tories were in the episcopal interest, that favoured the house of Stewart, and wanted to introduce the doctrine of passive obedience to kings, because the bishops hoped, by that means, to have more obedience paid to themselves. A clergyman was procured to preach up this doctrine in St. Paul's cathedral, and to set forth, in the most odious light, the administration of the duke of Marlborough, and the measures of the party who had given the crown to king William; but notwithstanding the queen secretly favoured this preacher, she could not prevent his being silenced for three years by the two houses, assembled in Westminster-hall, who ordered his sermon to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. She felt her want of power still more sensibly, in not daring to indulge the calls of blood in opening a way for her brother to that throne which the whigs had barred against him. Those writers who say that Marlborough and his party fell the instant the queen ceased to support them with her favour, know nothing of the affairs of England. The queen, though now desirous of peace, did not dare to remove Marlborough from the command of her armies; and, in the spring of 1711, he was still pursuing his conquests over France, though in disgrace at his own court. A private agent from France was sent to London, to propose conditions of peace under-hand; but the queen's new ministry did not dare to accept them as yet.

A new event, as unforeseen as the others, completed this great work. The emperor Joseph

Joseph died, and left the dominions of the house of Austria, and the German empire, together with the pretensions to Spain and America, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor some months afterwards.

April 17,
1711

On the first news of his death, the prejudices which had put arms into the hands of so many nations, began to be dissipated in England by the care of the new ministry. The war, said they, was begun to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grandson; why then should we endeavour to unite all these kingdoms in the family of Charles VI? Why must the English nation exhaust its treasures? We have paid more to the war than Germany and Holland together. The expences of this year alone amounts to seven millions sterling; and is the nation to ruin itself for a cause it has no concern with, and to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our rivals in trade? All these arguments emboldened the queen, and opened the eyes of a great part of the nation, and a new parliament being called, the queen was at liberty to prepare matters for the peace of Europe.

But though she might do this privately, she could not as yet publicly break with her allies; so that while they were negotiating in the cabinet, Marlborough was carrying on the service in the field. He still continued advancing in Flanders, where he forced the lines that

Sept. 1711 marshal Villars had drawn from Montreuil to Valenciennes, took Bouchain, advanced as far as Quesnoi, and from thence was proceeding towards Paris, which had not a single rampart to oppose him.

It was at this unfortunate period that the famous Dugué-trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the sea service, and owed every thing to himself, by his own courage, and the assistance of some merchants who furnished him with money, fitted out a small fleet, and sailed to the Brasils, where he took one of the principal cities called St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro. He and his crew returned home loaded with riches, and the Portuguese lost even more than he had gained; but the mischief that he had done in the Brasils did not alleviate the miseries of France.

CHAP. CLXXXVI.

Victory gained by Marshal VILLARS at DENAIN. The Affairs of FRANCE retrieved. The general Peace.

THE negotiations which were now openly set on foot in London, proved more salutary. The queen sent the earl of Strafford ambassador to Holland, to communicate to the states the proposals made by Lewis XIV. Marlborough's leave was no longer asked. The earl of Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France.

Three private persons still continued to oppose the peace; these were Marlborough, prince Eugene, and Heinsius, who persisted in their intention of crushing Lewis XIV. but when the English general returned to London, at the close of the campaign in 1711, he was deprived of all his employments; he found a new house of commons, and had no longer the majority in the house of lords. The queen, by creating a number of new peers, had weakened the duke's party, and strengthened the crown interest. He was now accused, like Scipio, of malversation; and, like that hero, extricated himself by his reputation and by retiring. He was still powerful, though in disgrace. Prince Eugene himself came over to London, on purpose to strengthen his party. This prince met with the reception due to his birth and reputation, but his proposals were rejected. The court-interest prevailed, prince Eugene returned

to end the war alone, with the fresh incentive of a prospect of victory, without a companion to divide the honour.

While the congress was assembling at Utrecht, and the French plenipotentiaries, who had been so ill used at Gertruydenberg, now returned to treat upon more equal terms, marshal Villars lay behind his lines to cover Arras and Cambray. Prince Eugene took the town of Quesnoy, and overspread the country with an army of an hundred thousand men. The Dutch had exerted themselves; and though they had never before furnished their whole quota towards the necessary expences of the war, they had this year exceeded their contingent. Queen Anne could not as yet openly disengage herself from them; she had sent the duke of Ormond to join prince Eugene's army with twelve thousand English, and still kept in pay a number of German troops. Prince Eugene, after burning the suburbs of Arras, advanced towards the French army, and proposed to the duke of Ormond to give them battle; but the English general had been sent with orders not to fight. The private negociations between England and France drew towards a conclusion: a suspension of arms was proclaimed between the two crowns. Lewis XIV. put Dunkirk into the hands of the English, as a security for the performance of his engagements. The duke of Ormond then retired towards Ghent: he endeavoured to take with him the troops that were in the queen's pay; but none would follow him except four squadrons of the regiment of Holstein, and one regiment of Liege. The troops of Brandenburg, Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark, remained with

prince Eugene, and were paid by the Dutch. The elector of Hanover himself, who was to succeed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithstanding her remonstrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly shewed, that the pretensions of his family to the crown of England did not depend upon queen Anne's favour.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the assistance of the English, was still superior by twenty thousand men to the French army; he was likewise superior by his position, by the great plenty of magazines, and by nine years of continued victories.

Marshal Villars could not prevent him from laying siege to Landrecy. France, exhausted of men and money, was in consternation, and people placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the successes of prince Eugene. Several considerable detachments had already entered Champagne and ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims.

The alarm was now as great at Versailles as in the rest of the kingdom. The death of the king's only son, which fell out this year, the duke of Burgundy, the dutchess his wife, and their eldest son, all carried to their graves the same day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all these domestic misfortunes, added to those from without, and the sufferings of the people, made the close of Lewis XIV.'s reign considered as a time pointed out for calamities, and every one expected to see more disasters than they had formerly seen greatness and glory.

Precisely at this period, the duke de Vendôme died in Spain. The general dispiritedness which seized upon the French nation on this occasion, of which I remember to have been myself a witness, filled them with apprehensions, lest Spain, which had been supported by the duke de Vendôme, should fall with him.

As Landrecy could not hold out long, it was debated at Versailles, whether the king should retire to Chambord. On this occasion he told the marshal d'Harcourt, that, in case of any fresh misfortune, he would assemble the nobility of his kingdom, lead them in person against the enemy, notwithstanding he was now upwards of seventy, and die fighting at their head.

A fault committed by prince Eugene delivered the king and kingdom from these dreadful inquietudes. It is said, that his lines were too much extended; that his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a distance; and that general Albemarle, who was posted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not within reach of assisting him soon enough, in case he was attacked. I have been assured, that a beautiful Italian lady, whom I saw sometime afterwards at the Hague, and whom prince Eugene then kept, lived in Marchiennes; and that it was on her account that this was made a place for magazines. It is doing injustice to prince Eugene, to suppose that a woman could have any share in his military arrangements; but when we know that a curate, and a counsellor of Douay, named le Fevre d'Orval walking together in those quarters, first conceived the idea that Denain and Marchiennes might easily
be

be attacked ; this will better serve to prove, by what secret and weak springs the great affairs of this world are often directed. Le Fevre communicated his notion to the intendant of the province, and he to marshal Montesquiou, who commanded under marshal Villars ; the general approved of the scheme, and put it into execution. To this action, in fact, France owed her safety more than to the peace she made with England. Marshal Villars put a deceit upon prince Eugene ; a body of dragoons was ordered to advance in sight of the enemy's camp, as if going to attack it ; and while these dragoons retired towards Guise, the marshal July 24, marched towards Denain with his army drawn up in five columns, 1712

forced general Albemarle's intrenchments, defended by seventeen battalions, who were all killed or made prisoners. The general himself surrendered prisoner of war, with two princes of the house of Nassau, the prince of Holstein, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment. Prince Eugene marched in haste to their assistance, but did not come up till the action was over ; and, in endeavouring to get possession of a bridge that led to Denain, he lost a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witness of this defeat.

All the posts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were carried, one after another, with the utmost rapidity ; the army then pushed directly for Marchiennes, which was defended by four thousand men ; the siege was carried on with the greatest vigour, and in three days time the garrison were made prisoners of war ;

July 30, 1712 all the ammunition and provisions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into our hands. The superiority was now wholly on the side of marshal Villars; the enemy discouraged, raised the siege of Landrecy, and soon afterwards saw Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain, retaken by our troops. The frontiers were now in safety. Prince Eugene drew off his army, after having lost near fifty battalions, forty of whom were made prisoners between the fight of Denain and the end of the campaign. The most signal victory could not have produced greater advantages.

Had marshal Villars been possessed of the same share of popular favour with some other generals, he would have been publicly called the restorer of France, instead of which they hardly acknowledged the obligations they had to him, and envy prevailed over the public joy for this unexpected success.

Every step of marshal de Villars hastened the peace of Utrecht; queen Anne's ministry, as answerable to their country and to Europe for their actions, neglected nothing that concerned the interest of England and its allies, and the safety of the public weal. In the first place, they insisted that Philip V. now settled on the throne of Spain, should renounce his right to the crown of France, which he had hitherto constantly maintained; and that the duke of Berry, his brother, presumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great grandson of Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, should likewise renounce all pretensions to the crown
of

of Spain, in case he should come to be king of France. They likewise exacted the same on the part of the duke of Orleans. The late twelve years war had shewn how little men are to be bound by such acts; there is no one known law that obliges the descendants of a prince to give up their right to a throne because their father may have renounced it. These renunciations are of no effect, except when the common interest is in concert with them; but however they served to calm, for the present, a twelve years storm; and it is probable, that one day, several nations may join to support these renunciations that are now the basis of the balance of power, and the tranquility of Europe.

By this treaty the island of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king, and on the continent the towns of Fenestrelles, Exilles, with the valley of Pragilas: so that they took from the house of Bourbon, to aggrandize him.

The Dutch had a considerable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at; and if the house of Bourbon was despoiled of some territories in favour of the duke of Savoy, the house of Austria was, on the other hand, stript to satisfy the Dutch, who were become at its expence the guarantees and masters of the strongest cities of Flanders. Due regard was paid to the interest of the Dutch with respect to trade; and there was an article stipulated likewise in favour of the Portuguese.

The sovereignty of the ten provinces of the Spanish Netherlands was reserved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordship of

the barrier towns. They likewise guarantied to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his possessions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coast of Tuscany. But the court of Vienna would not subscribe to these conditions, as thinking she had not sufficient justice done her.

As to England, her glory and interest were sufficiently secured. She had obtained the demolition of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk, which had been the object of so much jealousy. She was left in possession of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca by Spain. France ceded to her Hudson's bay, the island of Newfoundland, and Acadia; and she procured greater privileges for her American trade than had been granted even to the French, who placed Philip V. on the throne. We must likewise reckon among the glorious acts of the English ministry its having engaged Lewis XIV. to consent to set at liberty those of his subjects who were confined in prison on account of their religion; this was dictating laws, but laws of a very respectable nature.

Lastly, queen Anne, sacrificing the rights of blood, and the secret inclinations of her heart, to the desires of her country, secured the succession to the crown of Great Britain to the house of Hanover.

As to the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the former was to keep the dutchy of Luxembourg and the county of Namur till his brother and himself should be restored to their electorates; for Spain had ceded those two sovereignties to the elector of Bavaria, as a consideration
for

for his losses, and the allies had taken neither of them during the war.

For France, who demolished Dunkirk, and gave up so many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been secured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, she got back Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and Saint-Venant.

Thus did the English ministry to all appearance do justice to every one; but this was denied them by the whigs; and one half of the nation reviled the memory of queen Anne, for having done the greatest good that a sovereign possibly could do, in giving peace to so many nations. She was reproached with not having dismembered France, when it was in her power to do it.

All these treaties were signed, one after another, in the course of the year 1713; but whether it was owing to the obstinacy of prince Eugene, or to the bad politics of the emperor's council, that monarch did not enter into any of these negotiations. He would certainly have had Landau, and perhaps Strasbourg, had he at first fallen in with the views of queen Anne and her ministry; but he was bent upon continuing the war, and so got nothing.

Marshal Villars having secured the rest of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himself master of
 Spires, Worms, and all the circum-
 jacent country, he took Landau,
 which the emperor might have had by acceding
 to the peace, forced the lines that
 prince Eugene had ordered to be

Aug. 20,
1713

Sept. 20

drawn

drawn from Brisgau, defeated marshal Vau-
 bonne, who defended those lines; and lastly,
 O&A. 30 besieged and took Friburg, the capital
 of Upper Austria.

The council of Vienna pressed the circles of
 the empire to send the succours they had pro-
 mised, but no succours came. They now be-
 gan to be sensible that the emperor, without
 the assistance of England and Holland, could
 never prevail against France, and resolved upon
 peace when it was too late.

Marshal Villars, after having thus put an
 end to the war, had the additional honour of
 concluding the peace with prince Eugene, at
 Rastad. This was perhaps the first time that
 two generals of opposite parties had been known
 to meet together at the close of a campaign, to
 treat in the names of their masters. They
 both brought with them that openness of cha-
 racter for which they were distinguished. I have
 heard marshal Villars relate, that one of the
 first things he said to prince Eugene was this :
 " Sir, we do not meet as enemies; your ene-
 mies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." And in fact both of them had always cabals to
 combat at their respective courts.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of
 the pretensions which the emperor still main-
 tained to the Spanish monarchy, nor of the
 empty title of Catholic King, that he con-
 tinued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet pos-
 session of the kingdom. Lewis XIV. kept
 Strasbourg and Landau, which he had before
 offered to give up, Huninguen, and new Bri-
 sac, which he had proposed to demolish, and the
 sovereignty of Alsace, which he had offered to
 re-

renounce. But what was still more honourable for him, he procured the electors of Cologne and Bavaria to be reinstated in their ranks and dominions.

It is a very remarkable circumstance that France in all her treaties with the emperors, has constantly protected the rights of the princes and states of the empire. She laid the foundation of the Germanic liberties by the peace of Munster; and caused an eighth electorate to be erected in favour of this very house of Bavaria. The treaty of Westphalia was confirmed by that of Nimeguen. By the treaty of Ryswick she procured all the estate of cardinal Furstemberg to be restored to him. Lastly, by this peace of Utrecht, she obtained the re-establishment of the two electors. It must be acknowledged, that throughout the whole negotiation, which put an end to this long quarrel, France received laws from England, and imposed them on the empire.

The historical memoirs of those times, from which so many histories of Lewis XIV. have been compiled, say that prince Eugene, when he had finished the conferences, desired the duke de Villars to embrace the knees of Lewis XIV. for him, and to present that monarch, in his name, with assurances of the most profound respect of "A subject towards his sovereign." In the first place, it is not true, that a prince, the grand-son of a sovereign, can be the subject of another prince, because he was born in his dominions; and in the second place, it is still less so that prince Eugene, vicar-general of the empire, could call himself the subject of the king of France.

And

And now each state took possession of its new rights. The duke of Savoy got himself acknowledged in Sicily, without consulting the emperor, who complained of it in vain. Lewis XIV. procured entrance for his troops into Lisle, the Dutch seized on their barrier towns, and the states of the country gave them one million two hundred and fifty thousand florins per ann. to continue masters in Flanders. Lewis XIV. filled up the harbour of Dunkirk, razed the citadel, and demolished the fortifications towards the sea, in presence of the English commissary. The inhabitants, who saw their whole trade ruined thereby, sent a deputation over to London to implore the clemency of queen Anne. It was a mortifying circumstance to Lewis XIV. that his subjects should go to ask favours of a queen of England; but it was still more melancholy for these poor people to meet with a refusal from the queen.

The king, sometime afterwards, enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and by means of sluices formed an harbour there, which was thought already to equal that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambassador from England, complained of this in warm terms to the king. It is said in one of the best books we have, that Lewis XIV. made him this reply: "My Lord, I have always been master in my own kingdom, sometimes in those of others: do not put me in remembrance of it." I know of my own certain knowledge, that Lewis XIV. never made so improper a reply; he was far from ever having been master in England: he was indeed master in his own kingdom; but the point in question was, whether he was master of eluding a treaty

to which he owed his repose, and perhaps the greatest part of his kingdom. This however is true, that he put a stop to the works of Mardyck, and thus yielded to the remonstrances of the ambassador, instead of braving them. The works of the canal of Mardyke were demolished soon afterwards, during the regency, and the treaty accomplished in every point.

Notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht and Rastad, Philip V. was not yet in possession of all Spain: he had still Catalonia to conquer, and the islands of Majorca and Ivica.

It is necessary to know, that the emperor Charles having left his wife at Barcelona, and finding himself unable to carry on a war in Spain, and yet unwilling to give up his claim, or accept of the peace of Utrecht, had nevertheless made an agreement with queen Anne for a squadron of English ships to bring away the empress and the troops, now useless in Catalonia. In fact, Catalonia had been already evacuated; and Starembeg, when he quitted that province, had resigned his title of viceroy; but he left behind him all the seeds of a civil war, with the hopes of a speedy succour on the part of the emperor and the queen of England. Those who had the most credit in that province, imagined that they might be able to form a republic under a foreign protection; and that the king of Spain would not be strong enough to subdue them. On this occasion, they displayed that character which Tacitus gave them so long since, who calls them, "An intrepid people, that count their lives for nothing when not employed in fighting."

If

If they had made half the efforts for Philip V. their king, as they then did against him, the archduke would never have disputed Spain. By the obstinate resistance they made, they proved that Philip, though delivered from his competitor, was not able to reduce them by his own power. Lewis XIV. who during the latter part of the war, had not been able to assist his grand-son with either ships or soldiers, against his rival, Charles, now sent him succours against his rebellious subjects. A fleet of French ships blocked up the harbour of Barcelona, and marshal Berwick laid siege to it by land.

The queen of England, faithful to her treaty, would not assist this city. The emperor made a vain promise of succours. The besieged defended themselves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticism. The priests and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches, as if it had been a religious war. A phantom of liberty rendered them deaf to all the advances made to them by their master. Upwards of five hundred ecclesiastics died during this siege, with their arms in their hands: we may judge whether by their speeches and examples they helped to animate the people.

They hung out a black ensign upon the breach, and stood several assaults; at length the besiegers having made their way into the town, the besieged disputed street after street; and having retreated into the new town, after the old one was taken, they offered to capitulate on condition of being allowed all their privileges; but they only obtained their lives and estates. Most part of their privileges were taken from them.

them. Sixty monks were condemned to the gallies, and this was the only vengeance taken by the conquerors. Philip V. had, during the war, treated the little town of Xativa much more severely, by ordering it to be razed from the foundation as an example; but though he might do this to a town of no importance, he would not destroy a large city that had a fine sea-port, and was of use to the state.

This fury of the Catalans, that had not exerted itself while Charles VI. was among them, and which transported them to such extremes when they were left without assistance, was the last spark of that flame which had been lighted up by the will of Charles II. king of Spain, and had so long laid waste the most beautiful part of Europe.

END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.



Louis XIV. Patronizing the Arts & Sciences.

14 Ad. i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

WORKS

M. DE VOLTAIRE

Translated from the French

Notes, Histories and Characters

By T. SMOLLETT

With a new edition of his

Essays on Criticism

BY THE AUTHOR

Edited by J. G. KENNEDY

With a new edition of his

Essays on Criticism

MCCCLXII

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
EIGHTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CLXXXVII.

A General View of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Year 1756 1

CHAP. CLXXXVIII.

Continuation of the General View of Europe. Regency of the Duke of Orleans. Law's System 9

CHAP. CLXXXIX.

Continuation of the General View of Europe, to the Year 1756 18

CHAP. CXC.

Concerning the new House of Austria, the War of 1741, and the Conquests of Lewis XV. 30

CHAP. CXCI.

Of Prince Charles-Edward 39

CHAP. CXCII.

Admiral Anson's Voyage round the World 45

CHAP. CXCIII.

Concerning Lewisbourg, or Cape Breton; and the numerous Prizes taken by the English 54

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CXCV.

The French take Madras, and oblige the English to raise the Siege of Pondisberry, &c. 57

C H A P. CXCV.

Of Italy; the Revolution of Genoa; and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle 61

C H A P. CXCVI.

Concerning the War between France and England in 1756 70

C H A P. CXCVII.

Private Anecdotes of the Reign of Lewis XIV. 79

C H A P. CXCVIII.

Continuation of remarkable Particulars and Anecdotes 119

C H A P. CXCVI.

Continuation of the private Memoirs and Anecdotes 142

C H A P. CC.

Continuation of Anecdotes 167

C H A P. CCI.

Of the Interior Government, Commerce, Police, Laws, Militia, Discipline, Marine, &c. 193

C H A P. CCII.

Of the Finances 223

C H A P. CCIII.

Of the Sciences 238

C H A P. CCIV.

Of the Constitution 30

C H A P. CCV.

Of the Constitution 42

C H A P. CCVI.

Of the Constitution 52

C H A P.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
CONTINUED.

C H A P. CLXXXVII.

A general View of EUROPE, from the Peace
of UTRECHT to the Year 1756.

I Must still venture to call this long war a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms against his two daughters. The prince of Vaudemont, who sided with the archduke Charles, was on the point of taking his own father prisoner in Lombardy, who espoused the cause of Philip V. Spain was actually divided into factions; whole regiments of French protestants served against their own country. Lastly, it was on account of a succession between relations, that the general war was begun; and it may be added, that the queen of England excluded her own brother from the throne, who was protected by Lewis XIV. and was even obliged to set a price upon his head.

VOL. VIII.

B

Hu-

Human hopes and prudence were deceived in this war, as they almost always are. Charles VI. though twice proclaimed in Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when just ready to sink, was raised again by the unforeseen divisions in England: The Spanish council, whose only motive for calling the duke of Anjou to the crown had been to prevent the monarchy from being ever dismembered, saw several of its parts lopt off. Austria had Lombardy and Flanders, of which latter the house of Prussia had one small part, the Dutch another, and the French had possession of a fourth part. Thus the inheritance of the house of Bourbon was divided between four powers, while that which seemed to have the most right to it did not even possess a single farm. The emperor was for some time in possession of the island of Sardinia, which was of no use to him, and of the kingdom of Naples, that great fief of Rome, of which its owners are so frequently and easily dispossessed. The duke of Savoy held Sicily for four years; but to no other purpose than to maintain against the pope that singular but ancient privilege of being pope himself in that island; that is to say, absolute master in matters of religion, doctrinal points excepted.

The vanity of politics appeared more obvious after the peace than even during the war. It will not admit of a doubt that queen Anne's ministry had an intention of secretly preparing the way for the restoration of James II*. The queen

* Certainly the Whigs taxed them with such a design; though, with all their industry, they never could adduce one proof

queen herself began to listen to the voice of nature in that of her ministers, and designed to leave the succession to her brother, whom she had been compelled to proscribe against her will: but death prevented all these designs. The house of Hanover, whom she looked upon as foreigners, and did not love, succeeded her. Her ministers were persecuted; and the pretender's party having endeavoured to assert his right in 1715, was defeated*. And this rebellion, which, had the queen lived a little longer, would have been called a lawful revolution, was punished by the blood of many shed upon the scaffold.

proof to justify the charge. It is well known that at this period, the ministry was divided in itself; and that both Oxford and Bolingbroke took all the methods in their power to recommend themselves to the elector of Hanover and the duke of Marlborough. The queen repeated again and again in parliament, her inviolable attachment to the protestant succession, which both houses voted to be out of danger. Oxford made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, and took particular opportunities of assuring the elector of his attachment to the house of Hanover. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treason against those who should lift or be enlisted in the pretender's service; the motion was approved, and the bill passed into a law. The same lord carried on a secret correspondence with the duke of Marlborough; and it was from this quarter, that, after the accession of George I. he received timely intimation, that a design was formed to bring him to the block. If we allow this ministry had any regard to their own safety, we cannot suppose they would harbour and seek to promote a design so repugnant to the inclinations of the people.

* At Preston by general Willis, and on the same day at Dumblaine by the duke of Argyll.

Affairs took a very different turn in France after the death of Lewis XIV. It would have been too tedious, too difficult, and too hazardous, to assemble the states of the kingdom in order to adjust the various pretensions to the regency. The parliament of Paris had before conferred it upon two queens; at this time they bestowed it upon the duke of Orleans. They had in past ages declared void the will of Lewis XIII. upon the present occasion they, in like manner, set aside that of Lewis XIV. Thus was Philip, duke of Orleans, grandson of France, proclaimed absolute master, by the same parliament which shortly after sent him into banishment.

That it may the more fully appear what a blind fatality presides over the affairs of this world, it is proper to observe, that the Ottoman empire, which might have fallen upon the empire of Germany, during the long war of 1701, waited till the conclusion of the general peace, in order to wage war with the Christians. The Turks in 1715, with ease possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, which the renowned Morosini, surnamed Peloponnesiacus, had taken from them about the close of the seventeenth century, and which had been ceded to the Venetians by the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who guarantied that peace, was under a necessity of declaring against the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had before defeated them at Zenta, passed the Danube, and near Peterwaradin engaged the grand vizir Ali, favourite of the sultan Achmet III. over whom he gained a signal victory.

Though

Though particular facts do not properly enter into a general plan, I cannot avoid mentioning in this place the action of a Frenchman, famous for his extraordinary adventures. The count de Bonneval, who had quitted the service of France on account of some disgust received from the ministry, being then major general under prince Eugene, was in that battle surrounded by a numerous body of janissaries; he was accompanied by no more than two hundred soldiers of his own regiment: he made a stand during a whole hour, and being at last stunned by the stroke of a lance, his ten remaining soldiers carried him to the victorious army. This very man, who had been proscribed in France, came afterwards to Paris, and was there publicly married, and a few years after he assumed the turban at Constantinople, where he died invested with the dignity of bashaw.

The grand vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle. The manners of the Turks were at that time rough and barbarous: this vizir caused a general of the emperor's*, who was his prisoner, to be butchered, just before he expired.

The year following, prince Eugene laid siege to Belgrade, the garrison of which consisted of near fifteen thousand men: he soon found himself besieged by a numerous army of Turks, who advanced against his camp, and surrounded it with trenches: he was in a situation entirely similar to that of Cæsar at Alexia, and like Cæsar he extricated himself from the difficulty: he routed the enemy, and took the town: his

* His name was Breuner.

whole army was upon the point of perishing; but military discipline triumphed at once over both force and multitudes.

This prince was raised to the most exalted pitch of glory by the peace of Passarowitz, by which Belgrade and Temiswar were ceded to the emperor; but the Venetians, upon whose account the war had been undertaken, were abandoned, and lost all Greece irrecoverably.

The face of affairs underwent a change as considerable amongst the princes of Christendom. The good understanding and union that had subsisted between France and Spain, been so much dreaded, and alarmed so many states, was dissolved as soon as Lewis XIV. had breathed his last. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable in his conduct to his ward, took measures as if he was to succeed to the crown. He entered into a close alliance with England, reputed the natural enemy of France, and came to an open rupture with the branch of the house of Bourbon which reigned at Madrid; and Philip V. who had renounced the crown of France by the articles of peace, fomented, or rather lent his name to others to foment sedition in France, by means of which he might procure the regency in a country where he could not hope to reign. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a revolution in the views, negotiations, and policy, as well of those of his own family, as of the other princes of Europe.

Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister of Spain, formed a design to make a general change in the affairs of Europe, and was upon the point
of

of putting his project in execution. He had in a few years re-established the finances and forces of the Spanish monarchy; he formed a design of reuniting to it Sardinia, which at that time belonged to the emperor; and Sicily, which the dukes of Savoy had been possessed of ever since the peace of Utrecht. He proposed changing the constitution of England, in order to prevent it from making any opposition to his enterprizes; and with the same view he was desirous of kindling a civil war in France. He, at the same time, carried on negociations with the Ottoman Port, with the czar Peter the Great, and with Charles XII. He was very near engaging the Turks to renew the war against the emperor; and Charles XII. in conjunction with the czar, was himself to accompany the pretender to England, and replace him upon the throne of his ancestors.

In the mean time the cardinal stirred up an insurrection in Bretagne, and even then found means secretly to convey into the kingdom a body of troops disguised like falconers, led by one Colinceri, who had orders to join the revolted. The conspiracy of the dutchess of Maine, the cardinal de Polignac, and many more, was just going to break out: their design was to spirit away the duke of Orleans, to deprive him of the regency, and to confer it upon Philip V. king of Spain. Thus cardinal Alberoni, formerly a country curate in the neighbourhood of Parma, was in a fair way of becoming first minister of Spain and France, and governing all Europe.

An unforeseen accident made all these vast Projects vanish into air; the conspiracy was

discovered at Paris by a common courtesan; and being once made public, to carry it into execution was impracticable. The king of Sweden, who was to have placed the pretender upon the throne of England, was killed in Norway. Notwithstanding this, some of Alberoni's projects began to take effect, so many secret springs had he put in motion. The fleet which he had fitted out made a descent upon Sardinia in the year 1717, and in a few days made it submit to the yoke of Spain; soon after, it reduced almost all Sicily, in the year 1718.

But Alberoni not having been able to prevent the Turks from concluding a peace with the emperor Charles VI. nor to stir up civil wars in France and England, saw the emperor, the regent, and king George I. at once united against him. The duke of Orleans, assisted by the English, made an attack upon Spain; so that Lewis XV's first war was against his uncle, whom Lewis XIV. had established upon the throne, at the expence of so much blood. An English fleet defeated that of Spain not far from Messina*; so that all the enterprizes of cardinal Alberoni having miscarried, this minister, who but six months before was looked upon as the greatest statesman the world had ever produced, passed ever after for a rash and turbulent schemer.

The duke of Orleans refused to make peace with Philip V. except upon condition that he

* The English squadron was commanded by admiral Byng, who, on the eleventh day of August, took or destroyed the whole Spanish fleet, except three ships of the line and three frigates, which escaped under the conduct of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland.

would discard his minister ; he was delivered by the king of Spain to the French troops, which conducted him to the frontiers of Italy. This very man being afterwards sent as legate to Boulogne, and having it no longer in his power to ruin kingdoms, employed his leisure in an attempt to destroy the republic of San Marino. However, the result of all his great projects was an agreement to give up Sicily to the emperor Charles VI. and Sardinia to the dukes of Savoy, who have remained in possession of it ever since, and who upon that account have resumed the title of kings of Sardinia ; but the house of Austria has since lost Sicily.



C H A P. CLXXXVIII.

Continuation of the General View of EUROPE.
Regency of the Duke of ORLEANS. LAW'S
System.

ALL the courts of Europe were astonished to see, sometime after, in 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly irreconcilable enemies, now united in bonds of the strictest friendship ; and affairs deviated from their natural course to such a degree, that the ministry of Madrid governed the court of Vienna during a whole year. That court, whose intention had constantly been to exclude the French branch which reigned over Spain, from all access to Italy, so far lost sight of its first views as to admit a son of Philip V. and Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into that very country

from which they formerly intended to exclude every Frenchman and every Spaniard. The emperor bestowed upon this younger son of his competitor the investiture of Parma and Placentia, and the grand dutchy of Tuscany. Though the succession of these states was not made public, Don Carlos was introduced with six thousand Spaniards; and it cost Spain only twenty thousand pistoles, which were paid at Vienna.

This imprudent step of the emperor's council was by no means one of those which are productive of happy consequences; it cost him very dear in the sequel. Every circumstance in this treaty was singular; two adverse houses united without trusting each other; the English, who had exerted their utmost efforts to dethrone Philip V. and had deprived him of Minorca and Gibraltar, were mediators in the treaty: it was signed by a Dutchman, named Ripperda, who had been raised to the dignity of duke, and was at that time very powerful in Spain; he was disgraced after having signed it, and retired to end his life in the kingdom of Morocco, where he endeavoured to establish a new religion.

In France, during this time, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which threatened to be the most tumultuous ever known, on account of the secret practices of his enemies, and the general confusion of the finances, had been the most peaceable and the most happy imaginable. The habit of obedience, to which the French had been accustomed under Lewis XIV. was the security of the regent, and of pub-

public tranquillity. The conspiracy, which had been directed under-hand by cardinal * Alberoni, and ill managed in France, was defeated as soon as formed. The parliament, which during the minority of Lewis XIV. had commenced a civil war, on account of twelve places of master of the requests, and which had superseded the wills of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with less ceremony than if they had been the wills of private persons, scarcely had liberty to remonstrate, when the numerary value of the coin was raised to above three times its ordinary standard. His marching on foot from the great chamber to the Louvre, only drew upon him the raillery of the people. The most

* Alberoni, by means of the prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, intrigued with the malcontents of France; and a scheme was formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the young king. The duke of Orleans received the first intimation of this plot from the king of Great Britain; but the particulars were discovered by accident. The prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches to the abbé Portocarero, and to a son of the marquis de Montelione, who set out from Paris together in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postilion, having on this occasion, heard the abbe declare that he would not have lost his portmanteau for an hundred thousand pistoles, informed the government of this circumstance at his return to Paris. The Spaniards were immediately pursued, overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which were found two letters, which made the regent acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The prince de Cellamare was forthwith conducted to the frontiers. The duke of Mayne, the marquis de Pompadour, and the cardinal de Polignac, with many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The regent declared war against Spain; and an army of thirty-six thousand men was sent towards that kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

unjust edict that ever was published, the edict whereby all the inhabitants of the kingdom were forbid to keep by them any more than five hundred livres in ready money, did not occasion the least disturbance. The general scarcity of specie in the land ; a whole people pressing in crowds to ask at an office a little money to supply their immediate occasions ; paper credit, with which France was quite overwhelmed ; many citizens trod to death in the crowd, and their dead bodies carried to the royal palace ; I say, all this put together did not give rise to the slightest insurrection. In a word, the celebrated system of Law, which seemed calculated to ruin both the regency and the state, contributed to the support of both, by consequences which no body could foresee.

The avarice which it occasioned amongst men of all conditions, from the lowest of the vulgar to the magistrates, bishops, and princes of the blood, drew off the attention of every body from the public good, and from every political and ambitious view, by filling them with the dread of losing, and the thirst of gain. It was a great and extraordinary game of hazard, at which the citizens betted against each other. Earnest gamesters never lay aside their cards in order to disturb the government. It happened by a sort of delusion, whose springs will for ever remain hidden from all but the most experienced and piercing eyes, that a system altogether chimerical, gave rise to a real commerce, and caused to flourish a-new the company of the Indies, which had before been established by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the wars. In a word, though the fortunes

of many private persons were destroyed, the nation, in general, in a short time became more rich, and its trade more extensive. This system enlightened the minds of men in the same manner that civil wars whet their courage.

This was an epidemical disease, which soon spread from France to Holland and England: it is worthy the attention of posterity; for it was not the political interest of two or three princes that thus turned whole nations topsy-turvy. The people of their own accord ran headlong into this folly, which enriched some families, and reduced many more to beggary. A Scotchman, named John Law, whom we call John Lais, who had no other employment than that of a gamester and calculator, was obliged to fly from Great Britain on account of a murder: he had a long time before digested the plan of a company, which was to pay the debts of a state by bank-notes, and reimburse itself with the profits. This system was extremely complicated; but, under proper regulations, it might have been made of great use. It was an imitation of the English bank and India company. He proposed this establishment to the duke of Savoy Victor Amadeus, since first king of Sardinia, who answered, that he was not great enough to ruin himself.

He proposed it likewise to the comptroller general Des Marets; but that was at the time of an unfortunate war, by which all credit was annihilated; and credit was the basis of this system.

In fine, he found the regency of the duke of Orleans a juncture every way favourable; a debt of two thousand millions to pay, a peace which

which left the government at leisure, and a prince and people passionately fond of novelties.

He first of all established a bank in his own name, in the year 1716. This soon became a general office of the receipts of the kingdom. To this was joined the company of the Mississippi; a company from which the public was persuaded to hope for extraordinary advantages. The people being seduced by the allurements of hope, ran with the utmost eagerness to purchase the actions of this company and bank united. Wealth, which was before locked up by the distrustful, now began to circulate with profusion; the company's notes increased this wealth two and even fourfold. In effect, France became extremely rich by the influence of credit. Luxury became known to men in every station of life; and it passed to the neighbours of France, who had a share in this commerce.

The bank was declared a royal bank in 1718. It undertook to manage the commerce of Senegal, and acquired the privilege of the old India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had fallen since his time, and resigned its commerce to the traders of St. Malo. In fine, it took upon itself the general farms of the whole kingdom. Thus was all the wealth of the whole kingdom in the hands of Law, and the finances themselves depended upon a trading company.

As this company appeared to be established upon such great funds, its actions increased to more than twenty times their first value. The frequent variations in the price of these effects brought immense fortunes to obscure persons: Many in less than six months became more opulent

opulent than some sovereigns. Law, dazzled by his own system, and intoxicated by the public frenzy as well as his own, had made so many notes, that the imaginary value of actions amounted in 1719 to eighty times the money that could circulate in the kingdom. The government reimbursed all the tenants of the state by paper.

The regent was unable to govern a machine so immense and complicated, whose rapid motion hurried him on, whether he would or not. The ancient financiers, and the wealthy bankers united, exhausted the royal bank by making considerable draughts upon it. Every body tried to change their notes for cash; but the disproportion was enormous. Credit sunk all of a sudden; the regent strove to revive it by edicts which entirely destroyed it. Nothing was then seen but paper; real misery began to succeed so much imaginary wealth. At this juncture the place of comptroller-general was conferred upon Law, exactly at a time when it was impossible for him to acquit himself of the duties required by it; it was in 1720, an epocha rendered remarkable by the subversion of all private fortunes, and of the revenues of the kingdom. He was seen soon after to become, by naturalization, a Frenchman of a Scotchman; a catholic of a protestant; of an adventurer, a lord possessed of one of the finest estates of the kingdom; and of a banker a minister of state. The disorder was risen to its highest pitch. The parliament of Paris made all the opposition in its power to these innovations, and was therefore banished to Pontoise. In fine, during the course of the same year,

Law,

Law, loaded with the public execration, was obliged to fly from the country which he had turned topsy-turvy by attempting to enrich it.

The regent is charged in libels published at that time with having seized all the specie of the kingdom, that he might be in a condition to effect his ambitious designs; and it cannot be denied that he died seven millions in debt. Law was accused by the same authors of having sent the current coin of France into foreign countries for his own emolument: he lived for some time at London, being supported by the generosity of the marquis of Laffay, and died at Venice in circumstances just above indigence. Such revolutions are not the least useful objects which history offers to our consideration.

During this time the plague made terrible havock in Provence: the war with Spain still continued: Bretagne was ripe for rebellion: conspiracies had been formed against the regent; yet notwithstanding all this he, with scarce any difficulty, succeeded in all he undertook, either at home or abroad. The kingdom was in a confusion, which occasioned universal dread; yet this was the reign of pleasure and voluptuousness.

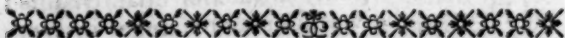
After the system of Law had failed, it was necessary to reform the state; an estimation was made of the fortunes of all the citizens, a step no less extraordinary than the system itself: this was the greatest and most difficult operation of exchequer ever made in any nation.

It was begun about the close of the year 1721. It was contrived, digested, and conducted by four brothers, who till then never had any considerable share in public affairs, and
who

who by their genius and industry were worthy of being intrusted with the revenues of the state. They erected a proper number of offices for masters of requests and other judges; they formed a certain and simple method, whereby to extricate affairs from the chaos wherein they were plunged; five hundred eleven thousand and five citizens, most of them fathers of families, carried their fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All these innumerable debts were cleared for about sixteen hundred and thirty-two numerary millions in ready cash, for which the state was accountable. Thus ended this extraordinary game of hazard, which an obscure stranger had caused the whole nation to play. After the demolishing of this vast edifice of Law, so boldly conceived, and which crushed its own architect, there still remained of its ruins an India company, which soon became the rival of those of London and Amsterdam.

The infatuation for venturing money upon the actions of a company, which had turned the heads of the French, soon after intoxicated the Dutch and English. Those who had examined the springs by which so many private persons in France had suddenly raised immense fortunes upon the credulity and misery of the public, introduced the same artifice and the same folly in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and London: companies were established, and an imaginary commerce set on foot. Amsterdam was soon undeceived, Rotterdam was for some time reduced almost to ruin. London was full of confusion and tumult during the year 1720. This frenzy produced in France and England a prodigious
num-

number of bankruptcies, frauds, public impositions, and all that depravity of manners which is the natural result of a boundless avarice.



C H A P. CLXXXIX.

Continuation of the general View of EUROPE,
to the Year 1756.

AFTER the confusion in the finances had ceased with the regency, the confusion in state-affairs ceased likewise when cardinal de Fleury was at the head of the ministry. If ever there was a happy man upon earth it was doubtless cardinal de Fleury. He was looked upon as the most amiable man, and the best companion in the world, till the age of 73, and, at a time when most men retire from public life, he undertook to hold the helm of government; he was considered as one of the wisest of ministers; he was constantly crowned with success, from the year 1726 till the year 1742. Till near the age of ninety, he preserved his faculties unimpaired, and was always capable of business.

When we reflect that out of a thousand contemporaries, there is seldom one that attains to that age, we cannot avoid acknowledging that the cardinal was a favourite of fortune; his gentleness and moderation were equally worthy of admiration. Every body has heard of the wealth and magnificence of the cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired to the papal dignity, and of the arrogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and in the habit of a monk, boasted that he led all the grandees of

Spain with his cord : every body is acquainted with the royal magnificence of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin. Modesty was the only distinction that remained for Fleury ; he was simple and frugal in every thing, and this character he constantly maintained. Elevation was wanting in his character ; but this defect was connected with virtues, such as mildness, evenness of temper, the love of order and peace : he proved that those of a gentle and pacific character are born to govern others.

He left France to repair its losses, and to enrich itself by a vast commerce, without making any innovation, treating the state as a robust and strong body that may recover without assistance.

Political affairs insensibly reassumed their natural order. Happily for Europe, Robert Walpole, the English minister, was of a character equally pacific ; and these two continued to preserve this tranquillity almost through all Europe, which enjoyed this blessing from the time of the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733 ; this state of tranquillity had been interrupted but once, and that was by the short war of 1718. This was an happy period for all nations, which, cultivating the arts and commerce with emulation, forgot all their past calamities.

In these days two powers were formed which Europe had never heard of in any former age. The first was Russia, which the czar Peter the Great had civilized when plunged in a state of barbarism. Before his time this power consisted entirely of immense deserts and a people without laws, discipline, or knowledge, such as the
Tartars

Tartars have been in all ages. The czar was so little known in France, that when a Russian embassy was sent to Lewis XIV. in 1768, the event was celebrated by a medal, as if it had been an embassy from Siam. This new government began to have considerable influence in the affairs of Europe, and to give laws to the North, after having reduced Sweden. The second power established by dint of art, and upon foundations less considerable, was Prussia. Its forces were preparing, but they did not display themselves for a time. The house of Austria remained in pretty nearly the same state wherein it had been left by the peace of Utrecht. England preserved her maritime power, and Holland began to lose hers imperceptibly. This little state, which owed its power to the want of industry in other nations, began to decline, because its neighbours of themselves carried on the commerce of which it had formerly been master. Sweden was in a languishing condition; Denmark in a flourishing way. Spain and Portugal were supported by America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many states as at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, which was become part of the Austrian inheritance.

Savoy at that time furnished the world with an extraordinary sight, and princes with a most instructive lesson. The king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, the same Victor Amadeus, who was sometimes the ally, and sometimes the enemy of France and Austria, and whose wavering conduct had passed for policy, being tired of bearing the burden of affairs, and weary of himself, abdicated through mere caprice, in 1730,
at

at the age of sixty-four, the crown which he had worn the first of his family; and, by a second caprice, soon after repented of what he had done. The company of his mistress, who was become his wife, devotion, and the tranquillity of retirement, could not satisfy a soul occupied during fifty years with the affairs of Europe.

This example is a strong proof of human weakness, and fully shews how incapable man is of happiness, either in private life, or when possessed of a throne. In this century four sovereigns renounced their royalty, Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. resumed the helm of government against his will. Casimir relinquished all thoughts of reigning. Christina was often tempted to reascend the throne, by a disgust that she had received at Rome. Amadeus alone was desirous of regaining by force the throne which his restless temper had made him abdicate. Every body knows the consequence of his attempt. His son Charles Emanuel would have acquired a glory far surpassing that of crowns, by restoring to his father that which he had received from him, if his father alone had required it, and if the juncture had admitted of his taking such a step; but an ambitious mistress aspired to be queen, and the council was obliged to obviate the ill-consequences, and seize upon the person of him who had once been their sovereign. He afterwards died in confinement. Nothing can be more false and groundless than what has been asserted in the historical tracts of those times, namely, that France proposed sending two thousand men to take the part of the father against

against the son. Neither the abdication of that monarch, the attempt he made to recover his scepter, his imprisonment, or his death, were productive of any consequence in the neighbouring nations.

Peace was every where established from Russia to Spain, when the death of Augustus II. again plunged Europe into those dissensions and calamities from which it is so seldom exempt.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. already nominated king of Poland in the year 1704, was elected king in 1733 in the most legal and solemn manner imaginable. But the emperor Charles VI. caused the states of Poland to proceed to another election, supported by his troops and those of Russia. The elector of Saxony, son to the last king of Poland, who had married a niece of Charles VI. was chosen in preference to his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had proved unable to keep Spain and the West Indies, and which had not long before failed in establishing a trading company at Ostend, had influence enough to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown of Poland. Upon this occasion France saw a renewal of the disappointment which had befallen prince Armand of Conti, who being solemnly elected, but destitute of money and troops, and more strongly recommended than supported, lost the kingdom which he had been invited to reign over.

King Stanislaus repaired to Dantzick to maintain his election. The majority, by whom he had been elected, soon yielded to the smaller number which opposed him. This country, where the common people live in slavery, the nobles

nobles sell their suffrages, where there is never in the public treasury money sufficient to supply the troops, where the laws have no force, and liberty serves only to produce factions; this country, I say, vainly boasted of a warlike nobility, which furnished a body of one hundred thousand horse. Ten thousand Russians* instantly put to flight all those who had assembled in favour of Stanislaus. The Polanders, who but a century before looked down with contempt upon the Russians, were now intimidated and led by them. The empire of Russia was become formidable since Peter the Great had introduced the knowledge of arts and arms. Ten thousand well disciplined Russian slaves dispersed the whole nobility of Poland; and king Stanislaus, shut up in Dantzick, was quickly besieged there by an army of Russians.

The emperor of Germany, being united with Russia, was confident of success. To counterbalance these powers France should have sent a considerable force by sea: but England certainly would not have looked on while these preparations were making, without declaring itself. Cardinal de Fleury, who was willing to keep fair with England, did not care to incur the shame of utterly abandoning king Stanislaus, nor to venture a considerable body of men in his aid. He sent upon this expedition a squadron with one thousand five hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. This officer never looked upon his commission as serious: he ap-

* The Russian general Lascki entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men; and was joined by ten thousand Poles, who declared for Augustus,

prehended,

prehended, when he was near Dantzick, that to engage the enemy would be sacrificing his men to no purpose; he therefore put in at one of the ports of Denmark. The count de Plelo, ambassador of France at the court of Denmark, saw with indignation this retreat, which appeared to him ignominious. He was a young man, who, to the study of literature and philosophy, united heroic sentiments worthy of a better fate. He resolved with this handful of men to succour Dantzick against an army, or perish in the attempt. Before he embarked he wrote a letter to one of the secretaries of state, which ended with these words; "I am sure I shall never return; I therefore recommend to you my wife and children." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, landed, and attacked the Russian army; he fell in the action, covered with wounds from head to foot, as he himself had foreseen. His letter and the news of his death arrived at the same time. Dantzick was taken, the ambassador sent from France to the king of Poland was made a prisoner of war, notwithstanding the privileges annexed to his character. King Stanislaus escaped with difficulty, amidst a thousand dangers; and, by the assistance of a disguise, after having a price set on his head by the general of the Muscovites, in a free state, in his own country, and in the midst of the very nation by which he had been duly elected king.

With regard to the 1500 French, who had been so unadvisedly sent against a whole army of Russians, they made an honourable capitulation: but a Russian vessel being at that time taken by a ship belonging to the king of France, the 1500 men

men were carried to Petersburg, and there detained prisoners: they might reasonably expect to be treated with inhumanity by a people who were looked upon as barbarous at the beginning of the century. The empress Anne reigned at that time; she caused the officers to be treated like ambassadors, and cloaths and refreshments to be given to the soldiers. Such an instance of generosity, unheard of till then, was a consequence of the great improvements made by the czar Peter at the court of Russia, and a sort of noble revenge taken for the disadvantageous ideas still conceived of it, through the influence of old national prejudices. The French ministry would have totally lost the reputation necessary for the support of greatness, if they had not revenged the outrage just received in Poland; but this vengeance would have been of no consequence, if it did not promote some useful purpose. The distance of place did not allow of falling upon the Muscovites; and policy required that the emperor should feel the whole weight of this revenge. It was executed with great severity both in Germany and Italy. France entered into an alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had their respective interests, but they all concurred in one view, namely, in weakening the house of Austria.

The dukes of Savoy had been a long time gradually encreasing their dominions, by sometimes assisting the emperors, and sometimes declaring against them. The king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, hoped to procure the dutchy of Milan; and it had been promised him both by the ministers of Versailles and Madrid.

Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his consort, hoped for more considerable establishments for the royal offspring than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had nothing in view but to encrease his own glory, to pull down his enemies, and to promote the interest of his allies.

No body at that time foresaw that Lorraine was to be an acquisition of that war. Men rarely direct events; they are almost always directed by them. Never was negotiation more speedily concluded than that which united these three monarchs.

England and Holland, which had for a long time been accustomed to declare themselves for Austria, against France, abandoned her upon this occasion. This was owing to that reputation for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired, during the administration of cardinal de Fleury. The idea of its pacific and disinterested views bound the hands of its natural enemies, even during a war; and nothing could be more honourable to the ministry than their having made those powers sensible that France might carry on a war with the emperor, without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the potentates stood by unconcerned spectators of its rapid successes. A French army was in possession of the banks of the Rhine; and the united forces of France, Spain, and Savoy, were in possession of Italy. The marshal de Villars ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-two, after having taken Milan. His successor, the marshal de Coigni, gained two battles; whilst the duke of Montemar, the Spanish general, was victorious in the kingdom of Naples at

at Bitonto, from which he derived a surname. This is an honour frequently conferred by the court of Spain, in imitation of the ancient Roman custom. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuscany, became, soon after, king of Naples and Sicily. Thus did the emperor Charles VI. lose almost all Italy by giving a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the two Sicilies, which had so often been taken and retaken before, and were constant objects of the attention of the house of Austria for above two centuries. This Italian war is the only one that has been productive of any solid advantage to France, since the time of Charlemagne. This was owing to their being assisted by the guardian of the Alps, who was become one of the most powerful princes in those countries; to their being seconded by the best troops of Spain, and to their armies being abundantly supplied with provisions and all things necessary.

The emperor then thought himself happy in receiving the terms of peace offered by victorious France. Cardinal de Fleury, the French minister, who had been prudent enough to prevent Holland and England from engaging in that war, had also wisdom enough to bring it to a happy conclusion without their intervention.

By one of the articles of this peace, don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe was at this time accustomed to see states given and exchanged. To Francis duke of Lorraine, son-in-law to the emperor, was assigned the inheritance of Medicis, which

had before been granted to don Carlos; and the last grand duke of Tuscany being near his end, asked if they would not give him a third heir, and what successor the empire and France intended for him. Not that the grand dutchy of Tuscany considered itself as depending upon the empire; but the emperor looked upon it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had always been claimed by the holy see, and for which the last duke of Parma had done homage to the pope: so much does law change in different periods! By this peace the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, which by the order of succession belonged to don Carlos, son of Philip V. and of a princess of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who claimed the whole dutchy of Milan, to which his family, that had aggrandised itself by degrees, had long since formed pretensions, obtained only a small part of it, namely, the districts belonging to Novara and Tortona, and the fiefs of Langhes. He derived his claim to the dutchy of Milan from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended. France had likewise pretensions of an ancient date, from Lewis XII. the natural heir to that dutchy. Philip V. founded his pretensions on the settlements renewed to four kings of Spain, his predecessors. But all these pretensions yielded to convenience and the general good. The emperor retained the dutchy of Milan: it is not a fief of which he is always to give the investiture: it was originally the kingdom of Lombardy annexed to the empire, which afterwards became a fief under the Viscontis

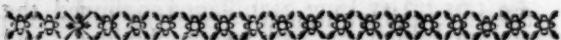
and the Sforzas ; and at present it is a state belonging to the emperor ; a dismembered state, it is true, but one that, with Tuscany and Mantua, renders the house of Austria very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom which he had twice obtained, and which his allies were unable to secure to him ; he however still retained the title of king. But he was to be further indemnified, and that more upon the account of France than of himself. The cardinal de Fleury was at first satisfied with the district of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine was to give to king Stanislaus, with a reversion to the crown of France ; and Lorraine was not to be ceded, till its duke should be in full possession of Tuscany. This was making the cession of Lorraine depend greatly upon chance. It was making but very little use of the greatest successes and the most favourable conjunctures imaginable. Cardinal de Fleury was encouraged to avail himself of his advantages : he demanded Lorraine upon the same conditions with the district of Bar, and obtained it.

It cost him only a little ready money, and a pension of three millions five hundred thousand livres, granted to duke Francis till he should be possessed of Tuscany.

Thus was Lorraine irrevocably reunited to the crown ; a reunion so many times attempted without success. By these means a king of Poland was transplanted to Lorraine ; and that province had for the last time a sovereign who resided in it, and rendered it happy. The reigning prince of the house of Lorraine became sovereign of Tuscany. The second son of the

king of Spain was removed to Naples. The inscription of Trajan's medal might have been applied upon this occasion, *Regna assignata, Thrones assignati*.



C H A P. CXC.

Concerning the new House of AUSTRIA,
the War of 1741, and the Conquests of
LEWIS XV.

THE house of Bourbon, at the close of this short war, found itself raised to a pitch of grandeur which it durst not have presumed to hope for, in the midst of the most shining prosperity of Lewis XIV. Almost the whole inheritance of the family of Charles V. of Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, Peru, were in its possession: and finally the house of Austria ended in the person of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his spoils was near being taken from his daughter, and divided amongst several powers. France caused an emperor to be elected with as great facility as the emperors, in former ages, caused electors of Cologne, and bishops of Liege to be chosen. The famous pragmatic sanction of the last Austrian emperor, which secured to his daughter the sole possession of all his dominions; a pragmatic sanction guarantied by the empire, by England, by Holland, and even by France herself, was not, at first, supported by any power. The elector of Bavaria, son to him who was proscribed by the
the

the empire, was without opposition crowned at Lintz duke of Austria, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort, by the assistance of Lewis XV's arms. The daughter of so many emperors was a whole year destitute of assistance, and without any hopes but in her own resolution. Scarce had she closed her dying father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, which was invaded by a young king of Prussia, whose renown will extend to the most distant ages. He was the first to avail himself of the conjuncture, and rendered subservient to his greatness an army disciplined like those of the old Romans, which his father had formed merely for show and ostentation. France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the house of Austria. They advanced even to the gates of Vienna; her allies observed a profound silence; there seemed to remain no room for a doubt that her states would be divided. But it quickly appeared that there is no real greatness amongst men, but that which is founded upon their own forces. The elector of Bavaria, emperor, with the appellation of Charles VII. a prince of great abilities, but destitute of two things indispensibly necessary (treasure and good troops) having allies who were frequently at variance, and being overwhelmed with diseases, could not possibly succeed by his own power, and few have conquered potent states by the hands of another. The greatest advantages were soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities. All that should have contributed to his greatness, facilitated his ruin, and all that threatened to overwhelm the queen of Hungary helped to raise her higher. The house of Austria rose again

from its ashes. The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of England; and afterwards her cause was espoused by Sardinia, Holland, and even the Russian empire, which sent, in the last year of the war, about thirty-five thousand men to her assistance. She made separate treaties with Prussia and Saxony: but she found no less succour in her magnanimity than in her allies. Hungary, which her ancestors had found a constant source of civil wars, opposition, and punishments, became in her reign a kingdom united, well-affected, and peopled with her defenders. The several parties engaged in Germany, in Italy, in Flanders, upon the frontiers of France, upon the Indian and American Oceans, much in the same manner as in the war of 1701. The cardinal de Fleury, being too much advanced in years to support so heavy a burthen, spent with regret the treasures of France in a war undertaken against his will, and died, after having been a witness of many misfortunes caused by the grossest errors of conduct. He could never conceive that the kingdom stood in need of a maritime force; the few remaining vessels of France had been entirely destroyed by the English, and its provinces were exposed to an invasion. The emperor, who was indebted to France for his dignity, had been three times driven out of his own dominions. He died the most unhappy prince upon the face of the earth, and his lamentable fall was owing to his having been raised to the summit of human greatness. The queen of Hungary had the glory and satisfaction of causing her consort to be elected em-

emperor, and of being the foundress of a new imperial family.

The French armies were destroyed in Bavaria and Bohemia, without ever coming to a decisive battle; and such was their deplorable condition, that a retreat, which they stood in need of, and which appeared to be impracticable, was looked upon as an extraordinary happiness. The marshal de Belleisle preserved the remainder of the French army, which was besieged in Prague, and led a body of about thirteen thousand men from Prague to Egra, by a round-about way, of thirty-eight leagues, through frost and snow, and in the view of the enemy. In a word, the war was carried back from the heart of Austria to the Rhine.

The king of France having, in 1743, seen and lamented the death of cardinal de Fleury, governed by himself, and repaired the misfortunes which the last years of that administration had produced. His situation was much the same with that which his great grandfather had been in during the war of 1701. He was under a necessity of supporting France and Spain against the same enemies; that is to say, against Austria, England, Holland, and Sardinia.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal de Fleury, acted as Lewis XIV. did after that of cardinal Mazarin; he assumed the helm of government himself, and headed his own armies. Never was war more vigorous, nor success more doubtful. The French army had been routed at Dettingen upon the Main, notwithstanding its advantageous situation; but on the other hand the prince of Conti forced the passage of the Alps. The king met with scarce any re-

sistance in Flanders. He took Menin, Courtrai, and Ypres. In the midst of this progress he was informed that prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the new emperor Francis I. had passed the Rhine and entered Alsatia. The king immediately marched the same way; and during that rapid march, he encreased the soldiers pay and quantity of provisions. Upon his arrival at Metz, he was seized with a violent disorder, and his life was despaired of. So universal a sadness had never been seen in France before, and no people ever discovered so strong an affection for their monarch. They assembled in the public places of every town: the priests, when they offered up prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted them by shedding floods of tears, and the people answered with sobs and cries. And when at length they were informed of his recovery, the excess of their joy was as immoderate as their grief had been before.

Scarce was his health established, scarce had the Austrians repassed the Rhine, when he flew to besiege Fribourg in Brisgau, and made himself master of the place. At this critical juncture marshal Saxe preserved the king's conquests with a small body of troops against a numerous army. Even then he began to acquire the reputation of the best general in Europe; and well deserved to be considered as such, since he commanded troops discouraged by their defeat, against the same army that, after having conquered at Dettingen, pursued the French forces as far as the Rhine. He invested Tournay in their presence. The Austrians, English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were disposed to prevent the loss of that city by a battle.

Hereupon Lewis XV. without delay quitted Versailles with his son; it was at that time the battle of Fontenoy was fought; it will be famous for many ages, it is the first victory that a king of France gained in person over the English since the times of St. Lewis.

Marshal Saxe cast intrenchments round his army on every side. But the duke of Cumberland, son to George II. king of England, forced these intrenchments with his English and Hanoverians; he put to flight almost all the brigades that opposed him, and victory declared for him during a whole hour. Marshal Saxe, upon whom the welfare of France depended, was then dying of a disease, which afterwards brought him to the grave; he caused himself to be carried about in a chair made of osier, in order to visit the posts; and the effort he made to mount his horse during the action occasioned apprehensions that he would expire in a moment. The English column, always impenetrable, constantly gained ground. The marshal sent twice to intreat the king to retire; he even went so far, as twice to give positive orders for evacuating the important post of Antoin. The king did not think proper to retire, and the post was not evacuated. The presence of the king, which rendered this battle so hazardous, was the only circumstance that made it victorious. The advice given by the duke of Richelieu to bring up the cannon against the English column*, and the reviving courage of the

* This English column existed no where but in our author's imagination. The British infantry attacked in a line, and not in a column; and had they been properly sustained

the troops, at length decided the event of this important day. From that time forward, the French gained an ascendant over the English and the allies, which they never after lost. A few companies were surprised by a body of six thousand English upon the causeway of Ghent, near an abbey called Mele*. They stood their ground resolutely; in a short time they were assisted by others; they totally routed the whole body of the enemy; in this action forty Frenchmen forced three hundred Hanoverians to lay down their arms. Ghent was taken without resistance. Ostend, which had formerly held out three years, yielded in three days. Brussels was besieged and taken in the depth of winter. The Turennes and the Condés never made more glorious campaigns.

Marshal Saxe constrains the Austrians to repass the Meuse and the Maese: they suffer the prince of Clermont to take Namur. They appear a second time at the gates of Leige; the marshal marches towards them, and defeats them in a pitched battle†. All

by the Dutch troops and the cavalry on the wings, the French army would in all likelihood have been defeated.

* The duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a design upon Ghent, detached a body of four or five thousand men to reinforce the garrison of that city. This detachment fell into an ambuscade at a place called Par-du-Mêle, where they were attacked on a long march by a body of French troops, amounting to ten thousand, and defeated after a desperate resistance. That same night, Ghent was surprised.

† At the village of Roucoux. The battle was fought on the first day of October. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the allies, was obliged to retreat towards Maestricht with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery.

Dutch

Dutch Brabant falls into the hands of Lewis XV. The Dutch, alarmed at these successes, chuse a stadtholder, as the Romans created a dictator upon extraordinary emergencies; but with very different success. The king, at the head of his army, under the conduct of marshal Saxe, again beats the duke of Cumberland, at Laufelt*, near Maestricht. Bergenopzoom, which was thought to be impregnable, being secured by its situation, by a numerous garrison, and by an army which encamped before its gates, was taken by storm when the breach was scarce large enough to be entered. This is the only town that was taken sword in hand, since Valenciennes was conquered by the musqueteers and French guards in 1677. It was likewise the only one that was abandoned to pillage. The conquerors found in the port seventeen large barks laden with provisions, with this direction in large characters upon each, "To the invincible garrison of Bergenopzoom." This success was due to the bravery of marshal Lowendahl, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the siege. At that time two strangers, marshal Saxe and himself, supported the fortune of France in the Low Countries, and compensated for the losses which were sustained elsewhere.

* The loss of this battle was also owing to the misbehaviour of the Dutch troops. A body of their horse posted in the centre gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry, taking advantage of this incident, charged them in their confusion, with great impetuosity, and penetrated through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre.

Marshal Saxe closed his campaigns, and rendered his glory complete, by the most skilful motion that had been seen for a long time. He intended to besiege Maestricht, for which purpose it was necessary to deceive the enemy; he caused several detachments to file off, some to Luxembourg, others to Breda; one division marches to Tongres, another to Tirlemont, and nobody knows where all these bodies are to unite. The enemy does not know what post to defend; they leave him master of the Maese. He invests Maestricht in the sight of eighty thousand men, who are unable to make any opposition. This was the last example he gave of his knowledge in the art of war; and these last successes were preludes to a peace, which all parties equally stood in need of.

Marshal Saxe was son to Augustus II. king of Poland, and the countess of Konigsmark. He served in France from the age of seventeen. He was for a long time looked upon as a mere man of pleasure, and people were not aware, that in the midst of luxury and voluptuousness, he studied the art of war with the most arduous application; and was become a great man long before his talents were known.

C H A P. CXCI.

Of Prince CHARLES EDWARD.

GREAT BRITAIN had, in this war, been upon the point of undergoing a revolution similar to that of the red and white roses. Prince Charles Edward, whose grandfather, by the father's side, was the unfortunate British monarch James II. and the great king of Poland, John Sobieski, his grandfather on the mother's side, made an attempt to reascend the throne of Great Britain, by one of those extravagant enterprizes, of which we meet with no examples except amongst the English, or in the fabulous ages of antiquity. He embarked, on the 12th of June 1745, in a small frigate of eighteen guns, without having given the court of France any intimation of his design; and having, in order to effect the conquest of three kingdoms, only seven officers, eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred fuzils, two thousand lewis d'ors, which he had borrowed, and not a single soldier.

After a passage wherein he was surrounded by dangers, he landed upon the south-west coast of Scotland: a few inhabitants of Moydart, to whom he discovered himself, threw themselves prostrate before him, but exclaimed at the same time, What can we do? we have no arms; we are poor, and destitute of all resource; we live only upon bread made of oats, and we cultivate barren lands. The prince made answer: "I will cultivate this land with you; I will eat of this bread; I will share your poverty; and I have brought you arms."

The

40 Of Prince CHARLES EDWARD.

The inhabitants, moved and encouraged by this, took up arms in his favour: they were immediately joined by the neighbouring tribes, which go by the name of clans. A piece of silk, which he had brought over, served him as a royal standard. As soon as he saw himself at the head of one thousand five hundred men, he marched to Perth, made himself master of it, and there caused himself to be proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, in the name of his father James III. This title of regent of France, which was assumed by a prince who was scarce master of an inconsiderable village in Scotland, and who had no hopes of success but from the assistance of the French king, was a consequence of the custom adopted by the English kings, of assuming the title of kings of France; a custom which still subsists, though it should be abolished.

After this some Scotch noblemen repaired to his standard. He entered Edinburgh, and there caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign. The king of England's council set a price upon his head: 30000 pounds sterling (about seven hundred thousand livres) were offered to the person who should give him up, dead or alive. To this menace he answered by gaining, with his one thousand five hundred Highlanders, a complete victory at Preston-pans, over an English army; and he took as many prisoners as he himself had soldiers. These Highlanders are the only people in Europe who preserve the military habit of the ancient Romans, together with the buckler; with the habit they possessed the courage of those Romans; they were deficient in nothing but discipline. The
kings

kings of Spain and France, upon this occasion, sent some pecuniary assistance to prince Edward. They wrote to him; they bestowed upon him the title of brother; two or three hundred men, of the royal Scotch regiment *, were sent to him from France, with some piquets, who landed, after having passed through the midst of the English fleet.

The young prince subdued the whole country as far as Carlisle, and advanced within a hundred miles of London; he was then at the head of an army of about eight thousand men. Another English general, not the same that had been defeated at Preston-pans †, advanced towards Scotland. Prince Edward marched against him in the depth of winter, came up with him at Falkirk, upon the way to Edinburgh, gained a second victory, and the next day a third, over the same troops which he had beat the day before ‡.

This was the favourable time to complete the revolution; already a considerable part of London was, in secret, well affected to his cause §. That capital was full of broils and confusion. The duke of Richelieu was upon the coasts of France, ready to bring ten thousand men to his assistance; but as France was

* There was no such regiment in France before the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland: the few troops that arrived as auxiliaries to the young pretender belonged to the Irish brigade.

† He was obliged to retreat to Scotland before the troops commanded by the duke of Cumberland.

‡ This third battle is altogether chimerical.

§ No symptoms of this appeared.

at that time in want of men of war, the enterprize miscarried, and the whole fruit of the efforts and victories of Edward was lost. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of a well disciplined army, well armed, and provided with artillery, at last defeated these Highlanders, who were destitute of every thing but courage. Prince Edward received a total overthrow at the battle of Culloden, not many miles from Inverness: his whole army was dispersed; he went through much the same adventures which Charles II. had experienced after his defeat at Worcester, wandering like him, without succour, sometimes in company with two friends, the partners of his distress, sometimes with only one: sometimes alone, walking from cavern to cavern, lying in the forests, taking refuge in desert islands, being in want both of cloaths and food; and incessantly pursued by those who were desirous of getting the reward offered for taking him. Having one day walked above thirty miles on foot, being pressed hard by hunger, and almost ready to faint, he ventured to enter the house of a person who he knew was not of his party. "The son of your sovereign, said he, comes to ask of you food and raiment: I know you are my enemy, but I believe you a man of too much honour to abuse the confidence I place in you: take the rags that cover me, and keep them; you may perhaps one day restore them to me, in the palace of the kings of Great Britain." The gentleman was moved with compassion, assisted him as far as his situation would permit, and kept his secret.

Whilst this prince, constantly pursued by his enemies, led a miserable and concealed life in the

the deserts, a circumstance which adds a new lustre to his glory, scaffolds and gibbets were erected in Scotland and England to punish his partizans: near eight hundred at different times suffered as traitors upon that account*.

They began on the seventeenth of August by the execution of seventeen officers, who were drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, and after they were hanged the executioner tore out their hearts and struck their cheeks with them; which being done, their bodies were cut in quarters. This punishment is a remnant of ancient barbarism. In former times it was customary to tear out the hearts of condemned persons, whilst they were still breathing.

This custom has been preserved in appearance, in order to strike with terror the minds of the vulgar, who are not easily intimidated. The lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were beheaded. When Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold, he, like one who had repented of what he had done, cried out, Long live king George. Balmerino cried out, Long live king James, and his worthy son. Derwentwater was a younger brother of another lord Derwentwater executed in 1715, for having fought unsuccessfully in the very same cause: it was desired by this elder brother, that his son, then a child, should ascend the scaffold with him: he said to him, "My intention is to cover you with my blood, that you may learn to die for your kings."

* The number of those that suffered death by law did not amount to one hundred.

It was the fate of those who were sprung from this family to die like heroes by the hands of an executioner. This Derwentwater had likewise a son who was born in France. "I die like my brother," said he; I exhort my son to die in like manner, if there should ever be occasion for it; and I recommend him to the king of France." This recommendation was not ineffectual, Lewis XV. settled a pension upon this son and his sister.

Lord Lovat was executed in the eightieth year of his age. Before he received the blow, he repeated the following verse of Horace :

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

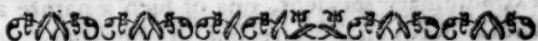
But there happened upon this occasion a very extraordinary incident, one of such a nature as could occur no where but in England. A young student, named Painter, who was devoted to the Jacobite party *, possessed with that spirit of fanaticism which produces so many extraordinary events, intreated with the most earnest and reiterated importunity to be executed in the place of lord Lovat.

Prince Edward, after having wandered a long time upon the coast of Lochaber, at last escaped the pursuits of his enemies. A small vessel conducted him to the coast of Bretagne: he went from thence to Paris, and there resided till the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle was set on foot, by which the king of France was obliged to deprive him of that asylum, for the general

* Painter, on the contrary, professed the utmost abhorrence of the Jacobite party. His request was the effect of madness.

good of Europe. This unhappy prince suffered in Paris more mortifications than he had undergone in Scotland after the battle of Culloden: he obstinately persisted to stay, notwithstanding the treaty, and though he was frequently urged to depart by the king. It was thought necessary to secure his person; he was accordingly carried prisoner to Vincennes, and then sent out of the kingdom. This was the very height of the misfortunes of the unhappy race of Stewart. From that time forward Charles-Edward hid himself from mankind.

Let private men, who think themselves unhappy, reflect a few moments upon the misfortunes of this prince and his ancestors.



C H A P. CXCII.

Admiral ANSON'S Voyage round the World.

WHenever France or Spain happen to be at war with England, the shock given to Europe is felt at the extremities of the earth. If the industry and boldness of the modern nations of Europe give them an advantage over the rest of the world, and over the antients in general, it is owing to their maritime expeditions. Men are not as much surprised as perhaps they should be, when they see come out of the ports of a few inconsiderable provinces unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity, fleets of such a construction, that a single vessel of them would have utterly destroyed all the shipping of the ancient Greeks
and

and Romans. On the one hand these fleets go beyond the Ganges, in order to engage each other in the view of the most powerful empires, who stand by the unconcerned spectators of the dire effects of an art which they have not hitherto acquired: on the other, they go beyond America, to contend with each other for slaves in the new world.

The success is rarely proportioned to the greatness of these enterprizes, not only because it is impossible to see all the obstacles which may arise, but because adequate means are scarce ever made use of.

Admiral Anson's expedition proves how much a man of sense and resolution may perform; though his preparations may be very inadequate to the danger of his undertaking.

Before so many nations had engaged in a war, in order to decide whether the daughter of the emperor Charles VI. should succeed her father, there subsisted a war between Spain and England about a ship*; that war cost both parties a thousand times more than the worth of what had given rise to it.

The ministry of London, in the year 1739, sent admiral Vernon to Mexico: he there destroyed Porto-bello, but he failed in his attempt upon Carthagena. It was intended at the same time that George Anson should fall upon Peru by the South-sea, in order, if possible, to ruin, or at least weaken the vast empire which Spain

* The cause of the war with Spain was a series of depredations and outrages committed upon the English traders in the West Indies. It was a cause upon which the liberty of the British commerce in a great measure depended.

had acquired in that part of the world, by both ends. Anson was created commodore, that is, commander of a squadron; there were given to him five vessels, a sort of a little frigate of eight guns, with about one hundred men on board, and two ships loaden with provisions and merchandize; these two ships were intended to carry on commerce under the protection of the convoy; for it is peculiar to the English nation to mix traffic with warlike operations. Aboard the squadron were fourteen hundred seamen, amongst whom there were no more than two hundred and sixty superannuated invalids, and two hundred recruits. He steers his course by the island of Madeira, which belongs to Portugal; he advances to the isles of Cape Verde, and sails by the coasts of Brazil. His crew refreshed themselves in a little island named St. Catherine, which is covered with never-fading verdure, and abounds with fruit through every season of the year: this island is twenty-seven degrees beyond the tropic of Cancer. The commodore, after having coasted along the cold and uncultivated country of Patagonia, entered the streights of Maire about the end of February 1741; thus did he pass above a hundred degrees of latitude in less than five months. The little sloop or frigate of eight guns, named the *Trial*, was the first vessel of the kind that ventured to double Cape Horn: she afterwards seized, in the South Sea, a Spanish ship of six hundred tons, the crew of which little expected to have been taken in the Pacific Ocean by a ship from England.

How-

However, upon doubling Cape Horn, after having passed the streights Le Maire, Anson's squadron was shattered and dispersed by violent tempests. One half of the men aboard perished by an inveterate scurvy. The vessel of the commodore being separated from the rest, put in at the desert island of Fernandez, which lies higher up the South-Sea towards the tropic of Capricorn. A rational reader, who beholds with horror the prodigious efforts which mortals make, in order to render themselves and their fellow creatures unhappy, will perhaps receive some satisfaction upon being informed that George Anson, finding the climate of this island exceeding mild, and the soil equally fertile, sowed in it pulse and fruits, the seeds of which he brought with him from England, by which means it in a short time became a plentiful country. Certain Spaniards, who touched there some time after, being, in the course of the war, carried prisoners into England, formed an opinion, that Anson alone was capable of repairing the ravages of war by such an attention to the general good of mankind, and returned him thanks as their benefactor. Let me be allowed to soften, by such circumstances as these, the melancholy tenour of a history which is almost one continued narrative of murders and calamities.

Anson, whose vessel carried sixty guns, being joined by another of his ships of war, and by the little frigate called the Trial, took several considerable prizes in cruising near the island of Fernandez; but having soon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city

city of Paita, upon the same coast of America. He neither made use of his ships of war nor of his men, in executing this bold and hazardous attempt: the expedition was performed by fifty soldiers in a boat with oars: they landed during the night; the sudden surprize, the confusion, and the darkness, redoubled, multiplied, and increased the danger. The governor, the garrison, and the inhabitants fled on every side. In the mean time the fifty English, without molestation, carried off the treasures which they found in the custom-house and in private houses, during the space of three days. Some black slaves, a species of animals who always become the property of the first that seize them, not having fled, assisted the English in carrying off the wealth of their former masters. Anson caused Paita to be burnt to ashes, and then set sail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much ease as they, in past ages, plundered the Americans. Spain lost above fifteen hundred thousand piastres by the fire: the English gained about one hundred and eighty thousand, which, added to the former captures, greatly enriched the squadron*. The great number of men carried off by the scurvy left the bulk of the treasure to the survivors. This little squadron came afterwards opposite to Panama, upon the coast where pearls are dived for, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The go-

* This exploit is greatly over-rated. The little town of Paita was very inconsiderable. It had been taken by the crew of a privateer in the reign of queen Anne. The value of all the effects plundered by Mr. Anson's people did not exceed thirty thousand pounds.

vernment of Madrid was not then aware of the risk it ran of losing that vast region of the world. If admiral Vernon, who besieged Carthagena upon the opposite sea, had succeeded, he might have assisted commodore Anson. Thus the isthmus of Panama would have been taken by the English both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very centre of their American dominions.

Anson, who had but two ships remaining, the rest having been destroyed by tempests*, confined all his enterprizes and his sanguine hopes to the taking of a large galleon, which Mexico sends every year to the island of Manilla in the Chinese seas. Manilla is one of the Philippine islands, so called because they were discovered during the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with silver, would not have set sail if the English had been seen upon the coasts, and it did not leave the port till a considerable time after their departure. The commodore therefor crossed the Pacific Ocean, and all the climates between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him traverse the globe with his two remaining men of war. The scurvy continued to afflict the sailors upon these seas; and, as one of the two vessels leaked on every side, they were obliged to abandon and set fire to it, lest the wreck should be thrown upon some

* Two of his great ships never weathered Cape Horn, but returned to Europe, having first been resisted at Rio de Janiero in Brasil. One frigate of twenty guns was wrecked on a desolate island in the South Sea; but none of them were destroyed by storms.

of the Spanish islands, and become of use to the inhabitants: the soldiers and sailors belonging to this vessel, were taken on board Anson's. At that time the only vessel that was left of his whole squadron was his own ship, called the *Centurion*, which carried sixty guns, and was accompanied by two tenders. The *Centurion* escaped alone from so many dangers, but in a very shattered condition, and having none but sick men on board, very fortunately touched at one of the Marianne Islands called *Tinian*, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before it contained no less than thirty thousand souls; but the greatest part of the inhabitants had been swept away by an epidemic disease, and the survivors had been removed to another island by the Spaniards.

The crew owed its preservation to the island of *Tinian*. That island, which surpassed *Fernandes* in fertility, abounded on all sides with wood, springs, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulse, and every thing necessary for food, the conveniencies of life, and for refitting the vessel. But the most extraordinary thing found there was a sort of tree, the taste of whose fruit resembled that of the best bread; a real treasure, which, if it could be transplanted to our climates, would be greatly preferable to those riches which owe all their worth to opinion, and which men go in quest of to the end of the earth, through so many dangers and difficulties.

From this island he went to that of *Formosa*; he then bent his course towards China, to *Macao*, at the entrance of the river of *Canton*, in order to repair his only remaining vessel.

The commodore having completely refitted his ship at Macao by the assistance of the Chinese, and having taken aboard some Indian sailors, and some Hollanders, whom he thought to be useful men, put to sea again.

At length, upon the ninth of June 1743, the so much wished for Spanish ship was descried: it advanced towards Manilla, having but sixty-four guns*; the crew consisted of five hundred and fifty men fit for action; the treasure which it carried amounted only to about fifteen hundred thousand piastres in silver, with cochineal and other merchandize, because the whole treasure, which is generally double that sum, had been divided into two equal parts, and one half was carried by another galleon.

The commodore had but two hundred and forty men on board the *Centurion*. The captain of the galleon perceiving the enemy, chose rather to venture the treasure than forfeit his reputation by flying before an Englishman; for which reason he hoisted as much sail as possible, in order to come up with, and engage him.

The eager desire of seizing riches, a passion much stronger than the principle of duty, which directs to preserve them for the sovereign, the experience of the English, and the skilful operations of the commodore, procured him the victory. But two of his men were killed in the fight; the galleon lost sixty-seven, who were slain

* The Manilla ship, called the *Nuestra Senhora de Cabadonga*, was mounted with forty guns; and the treasure, with the other effects on board, amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling.

upon deck, and eighty-four were wounded. The number of his crew still surpassed that of the commodore's: however, he thought proper to strike. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize. He there maintained the honour of his country, by refusing to pay the imposts exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ships; he insisted that a man of war was not subject to them. His conduct overawed the Chinese; the governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of soldiers, whose number amounted to ten thousand; after which he returned to his own country, by the Sunda Islands and the Cape of Good Hope. Having thus sailed round the world victorious, he landed in England the 4th of June 1744, after a voyage of three years and an half.

He caused the riches he had taken to be carried to London in triumph, in thirty-two waggon, amidst the acclamations of the people, with drums beating and trumpets sounding. His different prizes amounted in gold and silver to ten millions, French money; these were the recompence of the commodore, his officers, his sailors and soldiers, without the king's enjoying any share of the fruit of their fatigues and their valour. The wealth quickly circulating in the nation, contributed to enable it to support the immense charges of the war*.

* Far from answering this purpose in any considerable degree, the treasure brought home by Mr. Anson did not indemnify the nation for the expence of the armament; and the original design of this expedition was intirely defeated.

C H A P. CXCIH.

Concerning LEWISBOURG, or CAPE BRETON;
and the numerous Prizes taken by the ENG-
LISH.

ANOTHER enterprize, undertaken some-
time after that of admiral Anson, suffi-
ciently shews what a trading and warlike na-
tion is capable of. What I at present have in
view is the siege of Lewisbourg; this operation
was not set on foot by the British ministers;
it was the effect of the undaunted resolu-
tion of the merchants of New-England. A
common merchant, named Vaugan*, proposed
to his fellow-citizens of New-England to raise
forces in order to besiege Lewisbourg. This
thought was received with loud applause. A
lottery was made, the profits of which were suf-
ficient to pay a little army of four thousand
men. They were armed; they were supplied
with provisions; they were furnished with trans-
port-ships, and all at the expence of the inha-
bitants. They named a general; but they stood
in need of the concurrence of the court of Lon-
don; and still more of a squadron of men of
war. There, was no time lost, except what

* The plan of this conquest was originally layed by Mr. Auchmuty, judge advocate of the court of Admiralty in New England. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Pepperel, a trader of Piscataway. They were conducted by ten ships of war under Sir Peter Warren, reinforced by eight hundred marines, and directed in their operations by regular engineers. In a word, the place was reduced, and the people of New England were amply recompensed by the government of their mother country.

was

was required to make application for it. The court sent admiral Warren with four men of war to second this enterprize of a whole people. Lewisbourg was taken, after having made a vigorous resistance, during fifty days. This is not all. A fatality equally remarkable farther enriched the new possessors of this island. French and Spanish vessels, laden with gold and silver, came, some from the Mogul's country, others from Peru and Mexico, and anchored in that port, the taking of which they were ignorant of. They gave themselves up of their own accord. If war is a game of hazard, as has been said long since, the English won about a hundred millions at this game in the space of one year. They had at one and the same time a fleet in the seas of Scotland and Ireland, one at Spithead, one at the East-Indies, one at Jamaica, one at Antigua, and they fitted out new ones whenever they saw occasion.

France was obliged, during the whole course of this war, to make opposition to so formidable a power with about thirty-five vessels, which were hardly fit for service.

One of the greatest advantages obtained by the English at sea, was, in the naval engagement of Finisterre*; an engagement in which they took six large vessels belonging to the king, and seven East India ships, fitted out as men of war, four of which surrendered in the fight and three afterwards; these vessels were, in all, manned with four thousand men. London swarms with merchants and sea-faring men,

* This engagement happened on the third of May, in the year 1746.

who are much more interested in maritime successes than in all the transactions of Germany or Flanders. The citizens were seized with an inexpressible transport of joy, when they saw the Centurion, so famous for its voyage round the world, enter the Thames; it returned with the news of the victory gained at Cape Finisterre by the same Anson, raised by his merit to the place of vice admiral, and by admiral Warren. They saw twenty-two waggons arrive laden with the gold, silver, and effects, which were taken aboard the French fleet. The loss of these effects, and these vessels, was rated at above twenty millions, French money. The money got by this prize was employed in coining new pieces, the inscription of which was, Cape Finisterre; a monument calculated as well to sooth the pride as excite the courage of the nation, and a glorious imitation of the Roman custom of engraving the principal events of the empire upon the current coin, as it were upon medals. This victory was rather happy and profitable than extraordinary. The admirals, Anson and Warren, had, with seventeen ships of the line, engaged six of the king's ships, the best of which was, in its construction, inferior to the most ordinary one of the English fleet.

What seems surprising is, that the marquis de la Jonquiere, commander of that Squadron, had sustained the combat for a long time, and given a company of merchantmen, which he had brought from Martinico, time to escape. The captain of a ship called the Windsor, expressed himself in the following terms concerning that engagement, in a letter which he wrote
upon

upon the occasion; "I never knew a conduct superior to that of the French commodore; to say truth, all the officers of that nation have manifested an extraordinary courage; none of them yielded till it was become absolutely impossible to work their ships."

The French had but seven men of war left to escort the merchantmen to the American isles, under the command of Mons. de l'Estanduer. They were met by fourteen English men of war. They engaged as they had done at Cape Finisterre, with the same courage and the same success: the superior number prevailed, and admiral Hawke entered the Thames with six ships out of the seven he had engaged. At that time the maritime power of the king of France was reduced to a single man of war. This made every body sensible of cardinal de Fleury's erroneous conduct, in neglecting to cultivate sea-affairs; and this fault has been since repaired.



C H A P. CXCIV.

THE FRENCH take MADRASS, and oblige the ENGLISH to raise the siege of PONDICHERRY, &c.

WHILST the English carried their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of the war, they at last felt the effects of it in their colony of Madras. A person of the name of Bour-

donnaie, who was at once a merchant and a warrior, vindicated the honour of the French flag in the remotest part of Asia. Madras, or Fort St. George, upon the coast of Coromandel, is of the same service to the English that Pondicherry is to the French. These two rival towns are but seven or eight leagues distant from each other; and commerce is so extensive in that part of the world, and the industry of the Europeans so much superior to that of the Asiatics, that these two colonies have it in their power to increase their wealth without doing each other any hurt. Mons. de Pleix, governor of Pondicherry, and chief of the French settled in the Indies, had proposed a neutrality to the English company. Nothing could have been more advisable for traders: these offers, made by reason and humanity, were rejected by avarice and pride. The English flattered themselves, and not without some grounds, that it would be as easy for them to conquer on the Indian seas, as they had done elsewhere, and totally to annihilate the French company.

Mons. de la Bourdonnaie was, like the du Quesnes, the Barts, the du Gue-Truins, capable of doing a great deal with an inconsiderable force, and equally versed in commerce and navigation. He was governor of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which places he was nominated to by the king, and governed them in the name of the company. These isles were become flourishing by his care: in fine, he left the isle of Bourbon with nine ships, fitted out by himself for war, and having on board two thousand three hundred white men, and eight hundred blacks, whom he disciplined himself,
and

and made of them excellent gunners. An English squadron, under the command of captain Barnet*, cruized in that sea, defended Madras, infested Pondicherry, and took a great many prizes. He attacked that squadron, dispersed it, and without loss of time laid siege to Madras.

Deputies came, and represented to him that it was not proper to attack the dominions of the grand mogul. They were entirely in the right; it is a proof of the excess of Asiatic weakness to suffer it, and of European boldness to attempt it. The French landed without resistance; their artillery was brought up before the walls of the ill-fortified town, defended by a garrison of five hundred soldiers. The English settlement consisted of Fort St. George, in which were all the magazines of the White-town, which is inhabited only by Europeans, and of that called the Black-town, peopled with merchants and tradesmen of all the nations of India, Jews, Banians, Mahometans, idolaters, negroes of different kinds, red Indians, and swarthy Indians; all these taken together amounted to fifty thousand souls.

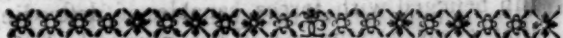
The governor was soon forced to surrender. The city was ransomed by the payment of eleven hundred thousand pagodas, which sum is equivalent to about nine millions, French money. No individual ever did a service of greater importance to his country. An unhappy mis-

* It was not commodore Barnet, but Peyton, who shamefully declined an engagement with a French squadron of inferior force to his own, and abandoned the settlement of Madras.

understanding between him and the council of Pondicherry deprived France of the fruit of his labours. This man, whose name should be for ever dear to the nation, was treated at Paris as a criminal. His enemies caused him to be imprisoned in the Bastile: he there languished during three years and a half; but at length the commissioners appointed by the king unanimously pronounced him innocent. France conferred another title upon him; she called him her Revenger. The decree by which he was justified was received with as great acclamations as the French prizes had been at London: the commissioners only restored him his liberty, but the nation by its transports of joy recompensed his past sufferings. Such circumstances as these are more worthy to be transmitted to posterity than many military operations.

He was not the only person who did the state important services in the war, though destined to peaceful employments by his profession. Mr. de Pleix preserved Pondicherry, which the English besieged with forces capable of destroying that great settlement. That city, which was peopled much in the same manner as Madras, was better fortified. Four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were erected upon its ramparts: there were in it experienced officers, and excellent engineers, with a garrison of about one thousand five hundred French, and two thousand Asiatics, well disciplined and well affected. It had flourished since the year 1725. The company, by a calculation made in 1743, found itself possessed of effects to the value of one hundred and sixty millions. The taking of Pondicherry would have given France a wound

wound that the utmost care would not have been able to close in the space of twenty years. Admiral Boscawen laid siege to it with about four thousand English or Dutch soldiers, and as many Indians, backed by the greatest part of the sailors aboard his fleet, which consisted of one and twenty ships. The French did not confine themselves within their walls; they made many vigorous sallies, and, after a siege of fifty days, forced the enemy to retire. From that time forward the governor of Pondicherry, always master of Madras, became the protector of the viceroys upon the coast of Coromandel. He was himself honoured with the title of viceroy by the Indian emperor: he received from his master the order of St. Lewis, an honour which was never before conferred in France upon any one that was not in the army; but an order below the merits of a man who had rendered the French name respectable in the Indies.



C H A P. CXCIV.

OF ITALY; the Revolution of GENOA; and the Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE war occasioned by the Austrian succession resembled a disease which often changes its nature and symptoms. It seemed probable at the beginning of the year 1741, that the queen of Hungary would entirely lose her dominions; and in 1746, the house of Bourbon was

was upon the point of being deprived of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to Don Carlos, and of the dutchy of Parma, which was the inheritance of Don Philip, his brother. Both these princes were sons of Philip V. king of Spain, and great grand-sons of Lewis XIV. Both were settled in Italy, through the happy consequences of the efforts made by Lewis XIV. in order to preserve the throne to Philip V.

The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, in conjunction with the new house of Austria, and the English, made war against Lewis XV. after having made it for him in the year 1733, just as his father had by turns fought for and against Lewis XIV. And in Italy the same efforts were exerted in order to the establishing there the power of foreign nations, which have been constantly seen in that country, since the subversion of the Roman empire.

Rome frequently beheld the German, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops upon its territories. The king of Sardinia and the Austrians, in 1746, conquered all before them, from the frontiers of Naples to those of France. The French and Spaniards lost the most flourishing armies, notwithstanding the successful campaigns which the prince of Conti had made upon the Alps. But the most extraordinary accident that happened during this adverse fortune was the revolution of Genoa; whatever else came to pass had a precedent, but this event had none.

The republic of Genoa had implored the protection of France in this almost universal war. Genoa does not, like the city of Milan, lie under the necessity of delivering up its keys to whoever

ever approaches it with an army. Besides its own compass, it has another inclosure, formed upon a chain of rocks. Beyond this double inclosure the Appenine mountains serve to fortify it round. The post of Bochetta, by which the enemy advanced, had always been looked upon as impregnable; and yet the troops who guarded that post made no resistance, but went off to join the French and Spanish army by Ventimille. The consternation of the Genoese did not allow them even to attempt a defence. They had a considerable quantity of artillery, the enemy had no guns fit to be used at a siege; but they did not wait the coming of that cannon, and terror hurried them into all the perplexity which they dreaded. The senate precipitately sent four senators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Austrians were encamped, in order to receive from the marquis de Botta Adorno, a native of Milan, who commanded the troops of the empress queen, whatever laws he should think proper to subject them to. They consented to give up their city in twenty-four hours, as likewise all the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans in it, together with the effects which might belong to the subjects of France, Spain, and Naples. It was expressly stipulated, that four senators should go as hostages to Milan; that the doge and six other senators should repair to Vienna in the space of a month, to ask pardon for their past transgressions; that they should pay directly 50,000 Genovines, which make about four hundred thousand livres of France, till the conquerors should determine what farther contributions to require of them.

It

It was remembered upon this occasion, that Lewis XIV. formerly insisted upon the doge of Genoa coming to Versailles, accompanied by four senators, in order to apologize for his conduct: two were added upon the empress queen's account; but she picqued herself upon refusing what Lewis XIV. had exacted. She was of opinion that no great glory was to be acquired by mortifying the weak; and therefore made it her chief care to levy upon the Genoese considerable contributions, of which she stood more in need than of the empty honour of seeing the doge of the republic of Genoa at the foot of the imperial throne. Genoa was taxed twenty-four millions of livres, which was enough to ruin it entirely. This republic little expected, when the war for the Austrian succession began, that she would prove a victim to it; but as soon as the principal states of Europe have taken up arms, every petty state should tremble.

Genoa had already paid sixteen millions; the rest was rigorously exacted, and the victors lived at the expence of the vanquished in their houses. In fine, this very people that had voluntarily submitted to the yoke; that had surrendered at discretion whilst it had still defenders remaining; that had patiently suffered itself to be deprived of its own property, at length took courage when it had neither hope nor resource.

The Austrians took the artillery belonging to the town in order to convey it to Provence, into which country the armies of the empress queen and the king of Sardinia had penetrated. The Genoese themselves helped to carry the pieces.

pieces of cannon of which they were deprived. An Austrian officer one day struck with his cane a common fellow who was a little tardy in doing this service ; upon this the whole populace assembles in a body, runs to arms, falls upon its conquerors in the streets and public places, with whatever weapon first offers itself. They march to the repository of arms, while the senate filled with irresolution, did not dare publicly to second their efforts. They arm themselves regularly, and being rendered soldiers by despair, drive the Austrians from the gates which they guarded : they then name their chiefs. The consternation with which the Genoese had been so long daunted now enters the breast of their new masters. The peasants of parts adjacent being animated by the example of the citizens, assemble to the number of fifteen or sixteen thousand. A prince named Doria, descended from a family to which Genoa has been more than once indebted for its preservation, attacks general Botta in St. Peter des Arenes ; the Austrians fly, one thousand of them being slain, and three thousand taken prisoners : they abandon their magazines and their baggage ; they repass the Bochetta, and quit the territories of Genoa.

This extraordinary revolution contributed greatly to deliver Provence from the armies of Austria and Piedmont, which ravaged it and menaced Marseilles. The provisions which that victorious army thought to procure from Genoa entirely failed it. The marshal de Belleisle, so much celebrated for the retreat he made from Prague to Egra in 1742, during the misfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. and of the French in Bohemia, had time to arrive with

an army, and to force the enemy to fly from Provence, and to pass the Var.

These being driven out of Provence, soon fell upon Genoa: she was again upon the point of losing that liberty which she had recovered in so singular a manner.

She was blocked up; an English fleet sailed up to her port. There were divisions between the senate and people, which might prove much more dangerous than the Austrians, the Piedmontese, and the English. She had not wherewithal to pay the few regular troops which she had raised so precipitately.

The court of Spain promised assistance; the king of France furnished her with men and money; the galleys of Toulon arrived with about five thousand French, notwithstanding the English fleet. The duke de Boufflers arrived with fresh succours; he was son to the marshal de Boufflers who had served so bravely under Lewis XIV. and he was worthy of such a father; but he died at Genoa of the small-pox, on the same day that the enemy, disconcerted by the measures he had taken, retired to a considerable distance from the town.

They soon after returned, and with much greater forces than at first. The duke of Richlieu, who succeeded the duke de Boufflers, saved Genoa; and the senate, which was indebted to him for its liberty, caused a statue to be erected to his honour.

In this flux of fortunate and unfortunate events, a brother of marshal de Belleisle lost part of his army, and was killed in attacking the Piedmontese, who had intrenched themselves in a defile of Piedmont. But Lewis XV. repaired
all

all by his victories in the Low Countries. Maffricht was upon the point of surrendering to marshal Saxe, who laid siege to it after the most skilful march which had ever been made by any general, and from thence went directly to Nimeguen. The Dutch were in great consternation; about thirty-five thousand of their soldiers were prisoners of war in France. That republic seemed to be threatened with disasters much greater than those of the year 1672; but what France gained in one place she lost in another: her colonies were exposed, her commerce was perishing, and she had no more men of war left. All the nations engaged in war suffered, and all stood in need of peace, as they did in the preceding wars. Near seven thousand merchant ships, belonging either to France, Spain, England, or Holland, had been taken during the course of these reciprocal depredations: and it is reasonable to conclude from thence that about fifty thousand families had suffered considerable losses. Add to all these calamities the multitude of the slain, and the difficulty of raising recruits: this is the natural consequence of every war. One half of Germany and Italy was ravaged, together with the Low Countries; and to increase and prolong all these misfortunes, thirty-five thousand Russians, allured by the gold of England and Holland, were already arrived in Franconia. The French were upon the point of seeing upon their frontiers the same troops that had vanquished the Turks and Swedes.

What characterized this war in a particular manner was, that Lewis XV. after every victory he gained had offered peace, which was constantly

stantly rejected. But when the enemy saw at length that Maestricht was likely to have the same fate with Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, they asked that peace which was become necessary to all mankind.

One of the plenipotentiaries of France at the congress at Aix-la-chapelle began by declaring that he came to fulfil the promise of his master, whose intention was to make peace like a king, and not like a merchant.

Lewis XV. asked nothing for himself; but he did all he could for his allies. By this peace he secured the two Sicilies to Don Carlos, a prince of his own family; he settled in Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, Don Philip, his son-in-law; the duke of Modena, his ally, and son-in-law to the duke of Orleans, the late regent, was reinstated in the possession of his country, which he had lost by espousing the cause of France. Genoa recovered all her privileges. It appeared more noble, and even more profitable to the court of France, to think of nothing but the welfare of her allies, than to procure two or three towns in Flanders, which would have given rise to constant jealousies.

England, which had engaged in this universal war, merely on account of a single ship, lost many men, and much treasure by it; and the dispute concerning the vessel still remained undecided. The king of Prussia gained greater advantages than any power concerned in the war: he preserved the conquest of Silesia at a time when it was a received maxim amongst all potentates not to suffer the aggrandizement of any prince. Next to the king of Prussia, the duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was the greatest

est gainer; the queen of Hungary having purchased his alliance with part of the dutchy of Milan.

After this peace France recovered its strength in the same manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and even became more flourishing. In this period Christendom was divided between two great parties, which were a check upon each other, and equally contributed to support the balance of Europe, that pretext of many wars which ought to secure an eternal peace. The states of the empress queen of Hungary and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, composed one of these great factions. The other was formed by France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden. All the powers continued in arms, and it was hoped that a lasting repose would spring from the fear with which one half of Europe inspired the other.

Lewis XIV. was the first that kept on foot armies extremely numerous, which forced other princes to make an effort to do the same; so that after the peace of Aix-la-chapelle the christian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms; and they flattered themselves, that none would presume to break the peace for a long time, because every state was armed in its defence.

C H A P. CXCVI.

Concerning the War between FRANCE and
ENGLAND in 1756.

IN the midst of this peace, founded upon the preparation for war, the jealousies of the several states, and the efforts of so many princes, an unexpected event changed for some time this great system established by distrust, and time will soon give it a new face. A slight difference between France and England, occasioned by some uncultivated lands belonging to Canada, inspired all the sovereigns of Europe with a new plan of policy. It is unnecessary to observe, that this difference owed its rise to the negligence of all the ministers, who in 1712 and 1713 negotiated the treaty of Utrecht. France had, by this treaty, yielded to England Acadia, which bordered upon Canada, with all its antient boundaries; these they were not very well acquainted with; this is an oversight which was never committed in a contract between private persons. Disputes were the natural result of this omission. If philosophy and justice had any influence in the differences of mankind, they would have convinced them that the French and English contended for a country to which they had no right; but abstract reasoning is of no consequence in worldly affairs. The English laid claim to the whole country as far as the borders of Canada, and would have annihilated the commerce of France in that part of America. Their rich and populous colonies rendered them greatly superior to the French in
North

North America; their fleets made them still more so at sea; and, having destroyed the maritime power of France in the war of 1741, they flattered themselves that nothing could resist them, either in the new world, or upon our seas: they were mistaken, however, at least it has hitherto appeared so.

They began hostilities in the year 1755*, by attacking the French upon the confines of Canada;

* By this very partial representation, one would be apt to believe that the English began the war from motives of avarice and ambition, without having received the least disturbance or provocation from the French. But, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, even while the commissaries of both nations were conferring together at Paris, in order to settle the limits of Acadia, the French invaded Nova Scotia, expelled the English inhabitants, and built the fort Beau Sejour upon the ground that was then in litigation. They excited the Indians to harraßs the infant colony of Nova Scotia; and the French neutrals of that country openly rebelled against the English government, appearing in arms under the command of a French officer called Le Corne. Not contented with these scandalous encroachments, they raised forts at Niagara, and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, upon lands belonging to the Indians, whom they themselves had acknowledged in an express article of the treaty of Utrecht, to be subjects of Great Britain. Nay, they completed a chain of fortifications from Canada to the river Mississippi, so as to hem in all the British colonies, and cut off all communication between them and the inland parts of America. In the year 1754, the French began hostilities on the Ohio, by surprizing and plundering Logs Town, and an English fort on the forks of the river Monongahela. They had, previous to this event, made several English traders, prisoners, and even sent them to France and when representations on the subject of these outrages were made by the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, he received nothing but evasive answers. In the year 1755, before a ship sailed from England, certain intelligence was brought that a powerful
French

nada; and, without any previous declaration of war, they took above three hundred merchant-ships, just as if they were vessels that carried on a contraband trade; they likewise seized some vessels belonging to other nations, which carried merchandize to the French. The king of France at this juncture observed a conduct quite different to that of Lewis XIV. He at first contented himself with demanding satisfaction, and did not allow his subjects even to cruize against the English.

Lewis XIV. often spoke to other courts with an air of superiority. Lewis XV. made the superiority affected by the English evident to all other courts. Lewis XIV. had been reproached with an ambition which aimed at universal monarchy; Lewis XV. made it appear that the English aimed at being monarchs of the sea in effect. All nations then wished to see the power of England reduced, as they had before desired to see the pride of Lewis XIV. humbled.

In the mean time Lewis XV. took the best measures to procure a just revenge; his troops defeated the English in 1755 upon the confines of Canada*; he prepared a formidable fleet in his

French squadron with frigates and transports, containing a great number of land forces, was ready to sail from Brest for Canada: then indeed an English fleet was equipped to anticipate and frustrate the designs of that squadron.

* These troops were commanded by Braddock, an officer altogether unequal to that command, who fell into an ambuscade in the neighbourhood of Fort Du Quesne near the Ohio, and perished with a good number of officers and soldiers. What is very remarkable: the English never saw the faces of their enemies, who lay concealed behind

his ports, and he proposed to attack George II. king of England by land in his electorate of Hanover. This invasion of Germany threatened Europe with the flame of war, the first spark of which took fire in America. Upon this occasion the whole system of Europe's politics was changed. The king of England prepared to oppose the French in Germany with thirty thousand Russians, who were to be paid by him. The Russian empire was in alliance with the emperor and the empress-queen of Hungary. The king of Prussia had reason to apprehend that the Russians, the Imperialists, and Hanoverians, would fall upon him at the same time. He had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; he did not hesitate a moment to join with the king of England, to prevent the Russians from entering Germany on the one hand, and to cut off the passage of the French troops on the other. This step had an effect which the king of Prussia did not desire, and which nobody expected; it reconciled the houses of Bourbon and Austria, an union which so many negotiations and marriages had not been able to bring about: thus, what was never hoped for since Charles V.'s accession to the empire, was effected without difficulty above two hundred years after, by a disgust which France conceived against a prince of the empire. The houses of Bourbon and Austria were united by a defensive league, but without any one's being able to

behind trees and bushes, from whence they fired with great deliberation, until the British troops were broken, and began to retreat in disorder; then they shewed themselves to the number of a few hundreds, and appeared to be chiefly Indians.

foresee the consequence of this so much wished for union.

But treaties alone were not sufficient to revenge the king of France for the depredations of England: he procured with ease, and in a moment, all the money he had occasion for, by one of those prompt expedients which are not known except in such opulent countries as France. The money raised by creating twenty new farmers of the revenue, with a few loans, was sufficient to support the war during the first years, whilst Great Britain exhausted herself by exorbitant taxes*.

A feint was made of invading the coasts of England. This period was very unlike that in which queen Elizabeth, supported only by her English subjects, having every thing to fear from Scotland, and being scarce able to keep Ireland in subjection, baffled the prodigious efforts of Philip II.

George II. king of England, thought it necessary to bring over the Hanoverians and Hessians, in order to defend his coasts. The English, who had not foreseen this consequence of the war, murmured to find their country overrun with strangers; the haughtiness of many citizens was converted into fear, and they began to tremble for their liberty.

The English government had made a mistake with regard to the designs of France: it dreaded an invasion, and never once thought of the island of Minorca, which had cost such vast sums, in the war concerning the Spanish suc-

* The course of the war has demonstrated how far Great Britain was at that time exhausted. But we must give our author leave to write like a Frenchman.

cession. The English, as the reader has been already informed, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards. The possession of that conquest, secured by all the treaties, was of greater importance to them than Gibraltar, which is not a port, and made them masters of the Mediterranean Sea. The king of France, about the latter end of April 1756, sent the marshal duke of Richelieu to that island with about twenty battalions, escorted by twelve first-rate men of war, and a few frigates, which the English did not expect to see fitted out so soon: all things were ready at the proper time, and the English were unprepared in every thing. However, in the month of June 1756, they attempted, when it was too late, to attack the French fleet commanded by the marquis de Galissoniere. Had they been successful in this battle, they would not thereby have preserved the island of Minorca; but they would have saved their reputation. Their attempt however was fruitless; the marquis de la Galissonierre repulsed and put their fleet in disorder*. The English ministry saw with grief that they had laid France under a necessity of establishing a formidable navy.

The English however still retained hopes of defending the citadel of Port-Mahon, which was considered as the strongest place in Europe next to Gibraltar, both by its situation, the nature of the ground upon which it stood, and thirty years' care, which was bestowed upon its

* The French commander was so far from repulsing the British Squadron on this occasion, that he bore away from it, and left an undisputed victory to the English.

fortifications. It was every where a smooth rock, with trenches twenty feet, and in some places thirty feet deep cut into it; there were eighty mines under the works before which it was impossible to open trenches: every thing was impenetrable to cannon-balls, and the citadel was every where surrounded by external fortifications, cut out of the rock itself.

The marshal de Richelieu attempted an enterprize more bold than that against Bergen-op-zoom; this was to make an assault at the same time upon all the works that defended the body of the place.

The French troops entered the trenches, notwithstanding the fire of the English artillery; they planted ladders thirteen feet high against the walls: the officers and soldiers having ascended to the last step, sprung upon the rock, by mounting upon each others shoulders: it was by this inconceivable boldness they made themselves masters of all the out-works. The troops exerted surprising courage, as they were to engage three thousand English, seconded by all that nature and art could do to defend them.

The next day the place surrendered. The English were unable to conceive how the French could force those trenches, into which a man in cold blood would find it impossible to descend.

The general and the French nation acquired great honour by this action*. With it we shall con-

* One cannot help smiling to see our author finish his history of the war at the very period when fortune turned tail to his countrymen. He might, however, in decency, have mentioned the defeat of the French forces in America, and

conclude this slight sketch of a general view of Europe from the death of Lewis XIV. All these events will be one day obscured by the multitude of revolutions to which revolving ages will give birth : but the age of Lewis XIV. will flourish during all ages, through the influence of the elegant arts, which will reflect lasting glory upon it.

If the useful arts, to which we owe the conveniences of life ; and the polite arts, which render it agreeable by improving the human mind, had not distinguished this age, it would, like others, be nothing more than a lively picture of the vicissitudes and the calamities of mankind. What is there to be met with in the history of Europe down from the ministry of the Richelieus, the Buckinghams, the Olivarezes, and the Oxenstierns, but countries a long time laid waste by civil and foreign wars, or kings, princes, and ministers, dying upon a scaffold, or in prison.

Those who chuse to add to the perusal of this reign that of the life of Charles XII. which contains every thing that relates to the czar Peter I. will find that had it not been for a native of Geneva, who aided the natural genius of that emperor, Russia would still have been in a state of barbarism.

and the capture of their general Dieskau, by Sir William Johnson, at the head of a small body of provincials ; an action that more than ballanced the check which the English under Braddock had received. Indeed, we cannot help observing, that our author's sketch of the present war is extremely defective and unsatisfactory.

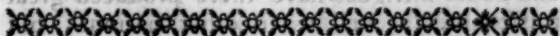
They will there see a magnificent city rise from the midst of a marsh; fleets built in places where a single boat had never been seen before; a society regulated amongst a people to whom its very name had been unknown. Ambition and court-intrigues have there produced great misfortunes as well as in other nations; but political oeconomy became general, and the improvement of the arts have prevented this country from being plunged again into its original chaos.

We have just seen a bloody scene in Sweden during the month of June 1756; citizens put to death by their fellow citizens, for having rashly attempted to change the constitution; but in the midst of these calamities, and of all the uneasinesses that attended them, a work was undertaken in imitation of the canal of Languedoc, not less extraordinary than its model, by which a passage was opened for ships from the ocean to the Baltick sea, without their being under a necessity of entering the streights of the Sound.

Were we to consider the age of Lewis XIV. only with a view to the wars sustained by that monarch, we should meet with two esteemed unjust, a third occasioned by the two first, and a fourth that ruined France; in which wars above two millions of men were killed in battle, and as many perished miserably. But if we descend into the particulars of government, we shall see a variety of establishments, which, at this day, constitute the glory and happiness of the nation.

Before we enter into these details so interesting to every citizen, it may not be improper

per to take a cursory view of the court anecdotes, which seem to furnish nothing but amusement, though a judicious reader may from thence derive the most instructive lessons.



C H A P. CXC VII.

Private ANECDOTES of the REIGN of LEWIS XIV.

ANECDOTES are a sort of confined field, where we glean after the plentiful harvest of history: they are small narratives, which have long been secreted, whence they receive the name of anecdotes, and when they concern any illustrious personages, are sure to engage the public attention.

Plutarch's lives are but a collection of anecdotes, rather entertaining than true: how could he have procured faithful accounts of the private life of Theseus or Lycurgus? Most of the maxims which he puts into the mouths of his heroes advance moral virtue rather than historical truth.

The secret history of Justinian, by Procopius, is a satire dictated by revenge; and tho' revenge may speak the truth: this satire, which contradicts his public history, has not always the appearance of it.

We now are not allowed to imitate even Plutarch, much less Procopius. We admit none as historical truths, but what are well supported. When cotemporaries, like the car-

dinal of Retz and the duke of Rochefoucault, inveterate enemies to each other, confirm the same transaction in both their accounts of it, that transaction cannot be doubted: when they contradict each other, we must doubt them: what does not come within the bounds of probability can deserve no credit, unless several contemporaries of unblemished reputation join unanimously in the assertion.

The most useful and most valuable anecdotes are those secret papers which great princes leave behind them, in which their minds have thrown off all reserve. Such are those I am now going to relate of Lewis XIV.

Domestic occurrences only amuse the curious: the discovery of weaknesses only entertains the malignant, except where these weaknesses instruct, either by their fatal consequences, or those virtues which prevented the impending misfortune.

Secret anecdotes of contemporaries are liable to the charge of partiality: they who write at any considerable distance of time should use the greatest circumspection, should discard what is trifling, reduce what is extravagant, and soften what is satirical.

Lewis XIV. was so magnificent in his court, as well as reign, that the least particulars of his private life seem to interest posterity, as they drew the attention of all the courts of Europe, and of all his contemporaries. The splendor of his government threw a light on his most trivial actions. We are more eager, especially in France, to know the transactions of his court, than the revolutions of other states. Such is the effect of a great reputation! We had rather
be

be informed of what passed in the cabinet and court of Augustus, than hear a full detail of the conquests of Attila or Tamerlane.

Hence all who have written the history of Lewis XIV. have been very exact in dating his first attachment to the baroness of Beauvais, to mademoiselle d'Argencourt, to cardinal Mazarin's niece, who was married to the count of Soissons, prince Eugene's father; and quite elaborate in setting forth his passion for Maria Mancini, that prince's sister, who was afterwards married to the constable Colonne.

He had not assumed the reins of empire, when these amusements busied and plunged him into that languid state, in which cardinal Mazarin, who governed with a despotic sway, permitted him to remain. His bare attachment to Maria Mancini was an affair of great importance; for he was so passionately fond of her, as to be tempted to marry her, and yet was sufficient master of himself to quit her entirely. This victory, which he gained over his passion, made the first discovery of the greatness of his soul; he gained a more severe and difficult conquest in leaving the cardinal Mazarin in possession of absolute sway. Gratitude prevented him from shaking off that yoke which now began to grow too heavy. It was a well known anecdote at court, that after the cardinal's death, he said, "I do not know what I should have done, had he lived any longer.*"

He

* This anecdote is attested by the memoirs of La Porte, page 255, and we there see that the king had taken an aversion to the cardinal; that that minister, though his re-

He employed himself in this season of leisure with reading books of entertainment, and especially in company with the constable, who had a facetious turn as well as his sisters. He delighted in poetry and romances, which secretly flattered his own character, by pointing out the beauty of gallantry and heroism. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed to himself that taste which was only the result of solid sense, and of that readiness of sentiment which is the characteristic of a real genius.

The conversation of his mother, and the court ladies, contributed very much to give him this taste, and form him to that peculiar delicacy, which began now to distinguish the court of France. Anne of Austria had brought with her a kind of generous and bold gallantry, not unlike the Spanish disposition in those days: to this she had added politeness, sweetness, and a decent liberty, peculiar to the French only. The king made a greater progress in this school of entertainment from eighteen to twenty, than he had all his life in that of the sciences under his tutor, the Abbé of Beaumont, afterwards archbishop of Paris: he had very little learning of this last sort. It were to have been wished he had at least been instructed in history, especially the modern; but what they had at that time was very indifferently wrote. He was

lation, and entrusted with the charge of his education, had taken no care to improve him, and had often left him in want of common necessities. He adds much heavier accusations, which reflect dishonour on the cardinal's memory; but they do not appear to be proved, and no accusation should be admitted without it,

uneasy at having perused nothing but idle romances, and the disagreeableness he found in necessary studies. A translation of Cæsar's commentaries was printed in his name, and one of Florus in that of his brother; but those princes had no other hand in them, than having thrown away their time in writing a few observations on some passages in those authors.

He who was chief director of the king's education under the first marshal Villeroy his governor, was well qualified for the task, was learned and agreeable: but the civil wars spoiled his education; and cardinal Mazarin was content he should be kept in the dark. When he conceived a passion for Maria Mancini, he soon learned Italian to converse with her, and at his marriage he applied himself to Spanish, but with less success. His neglect of study in his youth, a fearfulness proceeding from the dread of exposing himself, and the ignorance in which cardinal Mazarin kept him, persuaded the whole court that he would make just such a king as his father Lewis XIII.

There was only one circumstance, from which those capable of forming a judgment of future events, could foresee the figure he would make: this was in 1655, after the civil wars, after his first campaign and consecration, when the parliament were about to meet on account of some edicts: the king went from Vincennes in a hunting dress, attended by his whole court, and entering the parliament chamber in jack boots, and his whip in his hand, made use of these very words: "The mischiefs your assemblies produce are well known: I command you to break up those you have begun upon my edicts. Mr.

President, I forbid you to permit these assemblies, and any of you to demand them *."

His height already majestic, his noble action, the masterly tone and air he spoke with, affected them more than the authority due to his rank, which hitherto they had not much respected: but these blossoms of his greatness seemed to fall off the moment after; nor did the fruits appear till after the cardinal's death.

The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarin, amused itself with play, with balls, with comedies, which being but just produced in France, had not grown into an art; and with tragedies, which were now a sublime science, through the management of Peter Corneille. A † curate of St. Germain, who inclined towards the rigorous precepts of the Jansenists, had frequently wrote to the queen against these shows, from the very beginning of her regency. He pretended that those were damned who attended them, and had this anathema signed by seven doctors of the Sorbonne: but the abbé Beaumont, the king's preceptor, defended them by the approbation of more doctors than the rigid priest could procure to condemn them. Thus he quieted the queen's scruples; and when he was archbishop of Paris, gave the sanction of authority to that opinion which he had defended when only an abbe.

* These words, faithfully copied, are in all the authentic journals of those times: it is neither allowable to omit or change a word in them in any history of France. The author of M. de M. makes a bold conjecture in his note. "His speech was not quite so good, but his eyes spoke more sensibly than his mouth."

† The cures or curates in France are their parish ministers.

I must observe, that after cardinal Richelieu had introduced at court regular plays, which have at last raised Paris to rival Athens, there was not only a bench appointed for academics, (in which body were several ecclesiastics) but one in particular for the bishops.

Cardinal Mazarin, in 1646 and 1654, had Italian operas performed by voices which he brought from Italy, in the theatre of the royal palace, and at the little Bourbon near the Louvre. This new entertainment had just arisen at Florence, a country favoured at that time by fortune as well as nature, to which we owe the revival of many arts, lost in the preceding centuries, and the invention of new ones. France shewed some relics of her antient barbarity in opposing the establishment of these arts.

The Jansenists, whom the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin wanted to keep under, revenged themselves upon these diversions, which these two ministers had introduced. The Lutherans and Calvinists had acted the same part in pope Leo X's time. Besides, their opposition was sufficient to gain them the character of austerity. The same men, who would overturn a state to establish opinions frequently absurd, anathematized the innocent pleasures necessary in so large a city, and the arts, which contributed to the splendor of the nation. Abolishing these diversions was an act more worthy the age of Attila than that of Lewis XIV.

Dancing, which may now be reckoned among the arts *, because it is tied down to rules, and
adds

* Cardinal Richelieu had already given balls, but they were without taste, as were all entertainments before his time.

adds grace to motion, was one of the greatest amusements of the court. Lewis XIII. had only danced once at a ball in 1625; and that ball was in so bad a taste, that it did not in the least presage the appearance this art made in France thirty years after. Lewis XIV. excelled in grave dances, which were agreeable to the majesty of his figure, and did not injure that of his rank. At the running at the ring, which was sometimes performed with great splendor, he shewed that peculiar dexterity which he had at all exercises. Pleasure and magnificence, such as they then were, diffused themselves universally; but they were nothing in comparison of what appeared when the king sat on the throne; and yet might be reckoned amazing, after the horrors of a civil war, and the dulness of the retired and melancholy life of Lewis XIII. That prince, without health and spirits, had neither been attended, lodged, or equipped as a king. He had not above an hundred thousand crowns worth of jewels belonging to the crown: cardinal Mazarin little more than doubled that sum, and now we have jewels to the amount of above twenty millions of livres.

1660 At the marriage of Lewis XIV. every thing assumed an air of the highest taste and magnificence, and this increased daily. When he made his entry with his queen consort, Paris saw with a respectful and tender admiration, that beautiful young queen, drawn in a superb car, of a new invention; the king rode on horseback

time. The French, who have now carried the art of dancing to perfection, had only a few Spanish dances in the minority of Lewis XIV. as the sarabande, the courante, &c.

by

by her side, adorned with all that art could add to his manly and heroic beauty, which drew universal attention. At the end of the streets of Vincennes a triumphal arch was built, the foundation of which was stone, but the shortness of the time would not permit them to finish it with such durable materials; the rest was only plaister, and has since been entirely pulled down. The design was given by Claude Perrault. The gate of St. Anthony was rebuilt for the same ceremony; a monument of no very noble taste, but adorned with some good pieces of sculpture. All who had seen the day of the battle of St. Anthony, and the dead and dying bodies of the citizens brought to Paris thro' this gate, then furnished with a portcullis, and who beheld this entry so extremely different, blessed heaven, and returned their thanks for so happy a change.

Cardinal Mazarin added to the solemnity of this marriage the representation of an Italian opera in the Louvre, called *Hercules in Love*. This did not please the French. They saw nothing in it that entertained them, but the king and the queen, who danced. The cardinal wanted to signalize himself by a play more to the taste of the nation. The secretary of state at Lyons undertook to have a sort of allegorical tragedy after the taste of that of Europa, in which cardinal Richelieu had some hand. The great Corneille was happy in not being chosen to work upon such poor materials. The subject was *Lisis* and *Hesperia*. *Lisis* signified France, and *Hesperia* Spain. Quinault was set to work upon it, who had just raised himself a reputation by his *Falſe Tiberinus*, which, though a bad piece, had amazing success. The *Lisis* had
not

not the same fate. It was acted at the Louvre, and had nothing good in it but the machinery. The marquis of Sourdiac, of the name of Rieux, to whom France was afterwards indebted for the establishment of the opera, acted at the same time, at his own expence, in his castle of Newbourg, *The Golden Fleece*, by Peter Corneille, with machinery. Quinault, a youth of a genteel figure, was supported by the court; Corneille by his name, and the nation. There was one continued train of feasts, pleasures and gallantry from the king's marriage, which increased on that of the king's brother with Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II. and was not interrupted till the death of cardinal Mazarin in 1661.

Some months after the death of this minister, an event happened, which was not to be paralleled; and what is no less strange, is unnoticed by all the historians. An unknown prisoner, of a majestic height, young, of a graceful and noble figure, was sent with the utmost secrecy to the castle on St. Margaret's island, in the see of Provence. This prisoner, on the road wore a mask, the chin of which was composed of steel springs, which gave him liberty to eat with his mask on. Orders were given to kill him if he discovered himself. He remained in the island, till an officer of tried fidelity, named St. Mars, governor of Pignerol, was made governor of the Bastile in 1690. He went to the island of St. Margaret, and brought him to the Bastile with his mask on all the way. The marquis de Louvois went to see him in that island before his departure, and spoke to him with great respect, and with-
out

out sitting down. This stranger was brought to the Bastile, and lodged as well as he could be in that castle. He was refused nothing that he desired. His greatest pleasure was in extraordinary fine linnen and laces. He played on the guittar. He was much caressed, and the governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old physician of the Bastile, who had frequently attended this strange gentleman in his illness, declared he never saw his face, though he had frequently examined his tongue, and other parts of his body. This physician said, that he was rather brown, but extremely well made. The very tone of his voice was engaging, but he never complained of his situation, nor ever discovered who he was*.

This stranger died in 1704, and was buried at night in the parish of St. Paul. What redoubles our astonishment is, that when he was sent to the isle of St. Margaret, no person of any consequence disappeared in Europe. This prisoner was, however, doubtless a man of high rank, for on his first arrival in the island, the governor himself set the silver plates upon his table, and then retired, after securing the door. One day the prisoner wrote upon a silver plate with the point of a knife, and threw the plate out of the window towards a boat which was on the river, near the foot of the tower. A fisherman, to whom the boat belonged, took up the plate, and brought it to the governor. He with great eagerness asked the

* A famous surgeon, son-in-law to the physician above mentioned, is witness of what I have said, and Mr. Bernaville, successor of St. Mars, has often confirmed it.

fisherman, "Have you read what is wrote upon this plate, or has any one seen it since you had it?" The fisherman answered, "I do not know how to read. I have just found it, and nobody has seen it." The peasant was detained till the governor was convinced that he never could read, and that the plate had been seen by no other person." "Go, (says he) you are happy in not knowing how to read." There are some very credible witnesses of this fact, who are now living. Mr. Chamillard was the last person, who knew any thing of this strange secret. The second marshal of Feuillade, his son-in-law, told me, that at the death of his father-in-law, he conjured him on his knees to tell him who that person was who was never known but by the name of the man with the iron mask. Chamillard answered him that it was a secret of state, and that he had taken an oath never to reveal it. In fine, there are many of my contemporaries who will attest the truth of what I advance; nor do I know any one fact so extraordinary, and so well supported.

Lewis XIV. in the mean while divided his time between the pleasures agreeable to his age, and the duties of his station. He held a council daily, and then studied in secret with Colbert. This secret labour was the original cause of the disgrace of the famous Fouquet, in which the secretary of state, Guenegaud, Pelisson, and many others, were included. The fall of this minister, who perhaps was less to blame than cardinal Mazarin, shewed that all people have not the liberty of committing the same faults. His ruin was already determined, when the king accepted of that magnificent feast which
this

this minister entertained him with in his house of Vaux. This palace and gardens had cost him eighteen million of livres, which were then as much as thirty-six millions would be now*. He had built the palace twice, and bought three entire villages, the land of which was all enclosed in these immense gardens, laid out by le Notre, and then esteemed the finest in all Europe. The fountains of Vaux, which made no indifferent appearance after even those of Versailles, of Marly, and St. Cloud, were at that time prodigies. But how grand soever his palace was, the expence of eighteen millions, the accompts of which are now subsisting, shew that he was served with as little oeconomy as he served the king. The palaces of St. Germain and Fontainebleau, the only pleasure-houses the king had, certainly were not to compare with Vaux. Lewis XIV. observed it, and was piqued. Throughout the whole house were to be seen the arms of Fouquet: a squirrel, with this motto, *Quo non aſcendam?* Where shall I not ascend? The king had it explained to him. The ambition of this device did not contribute to appease the monarch. The courtiers observed, that the squirrel was every where painted, as pursued by an adder, which was the arms of Colbert. The entertainment exceeded what cardinal Mazarin had ever given, not only in magnificence, but taste. There, for the first time, was acted the *Impertinents* of Moliere. Pellisson had made the prologue, which was much admired. Public pleasures so often

* The accounts which prove the above were at Vaux, now called Villars, in 1718, and must be there still.

conceal or prepare the court for private disasters, that, had it not been for the queen-mother, the superintendant and Pelisson would have been arrested at Vaux the very day of the feast. What inflamed the resentment of his master was, that mademoiselle la Valiere, for whom the king began to feel a lively passion, had been one of the objects of the superintendant's loose desires, who spared nothing to satisfy them. He had offered La Valiere two hundred thousand livres, which she had rejected with scorn, before she had formed any design upon the heart of the king. The superintendant soon perceiving what a powerful rival he had, aimed at being the confident of her of whom he could not be the possessor, and this too enraged his majesty.

The king, who in the first heat of his resentment was tempted to arrest the superintendant in the very middle of the entertainment he received from him, afterwards dissembled when it was not necessary. It was said, that the monarch now in full power dreaded Pouquet's party.

He was attorney-general to the parliament, and this office gave him the privilege of being tried by the united chambers. But after so many princes, marshals, and dukes, &c. had been tried by commissaries, they might have given the same treatment to a magistrate, who would make use of such extraordinary measures, as, though they might not really be unjust, might raise a suspicion of their being so.

Colbert persuaded him by no very honourable artifice to sell his office, and he parted with it for twelve hundred thousand livres, which now costs above two millions. The immoderate price

price of places belonging to the parliament, so greatly diminished in value since that time, shews the high estimation in which this body was still held, even in its state of depression. The duke of Guise, great chamberlain to the king, had not sold this office of the crown to the duke of Bouillon for more than eight hundred thousand livres.

Tho' Fouquet squandered the revenues of the state, and used them as his own proper income, he had still much greatness of soul; what he embezzled, he spent in magnificence and acts of liberality. He caused the money which he had for his place to be brought into the king's privy treasury; yet this noble action did not save him. They drew a man by artifice to Nantz, whom one exempt and two soldiers might have seized at Paris. The king caressed him before his disgrace.

I know not why most princes commonly affect to deceive by false appearances of favour, those among their subjects whom they mean to ruin. At such times dissimulation is the opposite to greatness: it never is a virtue, and cannot become a valuable accomplishment, except when absolute necessity enforces it. Lewis XIV. seemed to act out of character: but he was made to understand, that Fouquet was about raising considerable fortifications in Belleisle, and that he possibly might have too many connections, both without and within the kingdom. It plainly appeared at the time in which he

* In the same manner, James I. of England caressed the earl of Somerset, when he had resolved upon his destruction.

was arrested and carried to the Bastile, and to Vincennes, that the strength of his party lay only in the avarice of some courtiers, and certain women, who received pensions from him, and forgot him the moment he was no longer able to bestow them. The only friends he had left were Pellisson, Gourville, mademoiselle Scudri, such as were involved in his disgrace, and some men of letters. The verses of Hainault, the translator of Lucretius, against Colbert, the persecutor of Fouquet, are well known.

*Ministre avare & lâche, esclave malheureux,
Qui gémis sous le poids des affaires publiques,
Victime dévoué aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré sous un titre onéreux,
Voi combien des grandeurs le comble est dangereux;
Contemple de Fouquet les Funestes reliques,
Et tandis qu'à sa perte en secret tu t'appliques,
Crains qu'on ne te prepare un destin plus affreux.
Sa chute quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crain ton poste, ton rang, la cour & la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d'où l'on te voit monté.
Cesse donc d'animer ton prince à son-supplique,
Est prêt d'avoir besoin de toute sa bonté,
Ne le fais pas user de toute sa justice.*

Base, sordid minister, poor slave misplac'd,
Who groan'st beneath the weight of state affairs,
Devoted sacrifice to public cares,
Vain phantome, with a weary title grac'd;
The dang'rous point of envy'd greatness see;
Of fall'n Fouquet behold the sad remains;
And while his fall rewards thy secret pains,
Dread a more dismal fate prepar'd for thee.

Those

Those pangs he suffers thou one day may'st feel;
Thy giddy station dreads the court and fortune's wheel.

Against him cease thy prince's ire to feed,
From pow'r's steep summit few unhurt descend,
Thyself, perhaps, shall all his mercy need;
Then seek not all his rigour to extend.

Mr. Colbert, as some persons were discoursing with him about this libellous sonnet, asked, whether the king was offended with it? and upon being told he was not, "So neither am I", replied the minister.

It is true, that the commencing of a process against the superintendant would be impeaching the memory of cardinal Mazarin: for the most considerable depredations of the finances were his doings: he, like a despotic sovereign, had appointed to himself several branches of the public revenue; he had treated in his own name, and to his own advantage, for military stores. "He had imposed, says Fouquet in his defence, by lettres cachet, extraordinary sums on the generalities; which was never done but by him, and for his behalf; a proceeding, which was punishable with death according to the royal ordinances." It was in this manner the cardinal amassed immense riches, and these even unknown to himself.

I have heard the late Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, relate, that in his youth, some years after the death of the cardinal, he had been in the palais Mazarin, where resided the duke his heir, and the dutchess Hortense; that he saw there a large press, or cabinet, which was very deep, and from top to bottom

bottom took up the whole height of the closet where it stood. The key had been lost for some time, so that the drawers had been neglected to be opened. Mr. Caumartin, surpris'd at the oversight, says to the dutchess of Mazarin, that probably some curiosities might be found in this press. It was accordingly opened, and was quite full of the coin called quadruples, also gold counters, and medals of the same metal: of this madam Mazarin threw handfulls to the people out at the windows for the space of above eight days together*.

The abuse which cardinal Mazarin made of his arbitrary power did not justify the superintendant; but the irregularity of the proceedings against him; the tediousness of his process; time, which extinguishes public envy, and inspires people's minds with compassion for the unhappy; together with solicitations, always more active in favour of an unfortunate person, than means employed to ruin him: all these together saved his life. Judgment was not given in the process till three years after, in 1664; and, of the twenty-two judges who gave sentence, only nine made it capital. The other thirteen, among which there were some that Gourville† had prevailed on to accept of presents, gave their opinion for perpetual banishment. But the king commuted the punishment into one still more severe; for he was confined in the castle of Pignerol‡. All the historians say, that he died there in 1680; but Gourville as-

* I have since found the same story in St. Evremont.

† See Gourville's memoirs.

‡ There he amused himself in composing works of piety.

fares us in his memoirs, that he was released from prison some time before his death. The countess of Vaux, his daughter-in-law, had before strongly averred this fact to me, tho' the contrary is believed among his own family. Thus one knows not in what place died an unfortunate man, whose least actions, while he was in power, were striking.

Guenegaud, the secretary of state, who sold his place to Colbert, was no less pursued by the chamber of justice, who stripped him of the greatest part of his fortune.

St. Evremont*, who had a particular friendship for the superintendent, was involved in his disgrace. Colbert, who searched every where for proofs against him whom he had a mind to ruin, caused some papers to be seized that were entrusted to the care of madam du Pleffis-Bellievre, among which was found a manuscript letter of St. Evremont's, upon the peace of the Pyrennees. This piece of pleasantry, which was represented as a crime against the state, was read to the king. Colbert, who

* This was the celebrated Charles de St. Denys, lord of St. Evremont, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, and his wit in conversation. His letter, reflecting on the memory of cardinal Mazarin, being discovered, Lewis ordered him to be imprisoned in the Bastile; but before he could be arrested, he made his escape into Holland, and was invited to England by king Charles II. who gratified him with a pension of three hundred pounds. He lived to enjoy the favour of king William also, and died at London in the year 1703, at the age of ninety. His writings have been admired for the vivacity of his stile, the strength and delicacy of his portraits, the justness of his reflections, the elegance of his taste, and the agreeable variety of his expression. They are not, however, without affectation, obscurity, and false fire; and his poetry is but indifferent.

scorned to avenge himself upon Hainault, a person of an obscure character, persecuted in St. Evremont the friend of Fouquet, whom he hated, and the fine genius, which he dreaded. The king was so extremely severe as to punish an innocent piece of raillery composed some time before against cardinal Mazarin, whom he himself had not regretted, and whom the whole court had insulted, reproached, and proscribed for several years with impunity. Among a thousand pieces written against this minister, the least poignant was the only one which was punished; and that after his death.

St. Evremont, having retired into England, lived and died there with the freedom of a man and a philosopher. The marquis de Miremont, his friend, formerly told me in London that there was another reason for his disgrace, which St. Evremont would never be prevailed upon to explain.

The new minister of the finances, under the simple title of comptroller-general, justified the severity of his proceedings, in re-establishing the order which his predecessors in office had broken through, and by labouring indefatigably to promote the grandeur of the state.

The court became the center of pleasure, and the model for the imitation of other courts. The king piqued himself upon giving feasts or entertainments, which obliterated the remembrance of that made by the count of Vaux.

It seemed that nature took delight at that time to produce in France some of the greatest men in all the arts, and to assemble at court the most beautiful and best made persons of

both sexes. The king excelled all his courtiers, in the proper dignity of his stature, and the majestic beauty of his features. The tone of his voice, noble and striking, gained those hearts which his presence intimidated. He had a gait which could suit none but himself and his high rank, and would have been ridiculous in any other. The embarrassment into which he threw those who spoke to him flattered secretly the complaisance with which he felt his own superiority. That old officer, who being somewhat confounded, faltered in his speech on asking him a favour, and being unable to finish his discourse, told him, "Sire, I do not tremble thus before your enemies," easily obtained his demand.

The relish of society had not as yet received all its perfection at court. Anne of Austria, the queen-mother, began to love retirement, the reigning queen hardly understood the French tongue, and goodness constituted her only merit. The princess of England, sister-in-law to the king, brought to court the charms of a soft and animated conversation, which was soon improved by the reading of good books, and by a solid and delicate taste. She perfected herself in the knowledge of the language, which she wrote but badly at the time of her marriage. She inspired an emulation of genius that was new, and introduced at court a politeness, and such graces as the rest of Europe had hardly any idea of. Madame possessed all the vivacity of her brother Charles II. being adorned with the charms of her own sex, and both the power and desire of pleasing. The court of Lewis XIV. breathed a gallantry full of decorum, whilst that which reigned at

the court of Charles II. was of a freer kind, and, being too much unpolished, dishonoured its pleasures.

There passed at first between madame and the king a good deal of that coquetry of wit and secret sympathy, which were observable in little feasts often repeated. The king sent her copies of verses, and she answered him in the like manner. It happened that the very same person was confident both to the king and madame, in this ingenious commerce; and this was the marquis de Dangeau. The king gave the marquis in charge to write for him; and the princess also engaged him to answer the king. He thus served both of them, without giving any grounds of suspicion to the one that he was employed by the other: and this was one of the causes of his making his fortune.

This intelligence had alarmed the royal family, but the king converted the noise made by this commerce into an invariable source of esteem and friendship. When madame afterwards engaged Racine and Corneille to write the tragedy of Berenice, she had in view not only the rupture of the king with the constable Colonne, but the restraint which she herself put upon her own inclinations, lest they should have a dangerous tendency. Lewis XIV. is sufficiently pointed out in these two verses of Racine's Berenice:

*Qu'en quelque obscurité, que le ciel l'eût fait naître,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu son maître.*

His birth, howe'er obscure, his race unknown,
The world in him its sov'reign chief would own.

These

These amusements gave way to the more serious, and regularly pursued passion which he entertained for mademoiselle de la Valiere, maid of honour to madame. He tasted with her the happiness of being beloved purely for his own sake. She had been for two years the secret object of all the gallant amusements and feasts which the king had given. A young valet de chambre to the king, called Belloc, composed several recitatives, intermixed with dances, which were performed sometimes at the queen's, and sometimes at madame's; and these recitatives mysteriously expressed the secret of their hearts, which soon ceased being any longer so.

All the public diversions which the king gave, were so many pieces of homage paid to his mistress. In 1662 a carousal was performed over against the Tuilleries*, in a space of vast circuit, which on that account still retains the name of la Place du Carrousel. In it were five quadrilles, or parties: the king was at the head of the Romans; his brother at that of the Persians; the prince of Condé of the Turks; the duke d'Enguien his son, headed the Indians; and the duke of Guise†, the Americans. This duke

* Not in the Place Royale, as the Histoire de la Hode, under the name of Martiniere, has it.

† This Henry, duke de Guise, was designed for the church, provided with a great number of abbeys, and even nominated to the archbishopric of Rheims: but he was stripped of all his benefices by the cardinal de Richelieu. He fought a duel with the count de Coligny, for which he was obliged to retire to Rome, from whence he repaired to Naples, in order to command the army of the people who had rebelled against the court of Spain. His adventures, on this occasion, were altogether romantic; but in

duke of Guise was the grandson of Balafre; he had made himself famous in the world for the unfortunate temerity with which he had undertaken to make himself master of Naples. His prison, duels, romantic amours, prodigality, and adventures, rendered him quite singular. He seemed to be a person of another age. It was said of him, upon seeing him run against the great Condé, "Here go the heroes of history and of romance."

The queen-mother, the reigning queen, and the queen of England, dowager of Charles I*. then forgetting her misfortunes, sat under a canopy to view this spectacle. The count de Sault, son to the duke de Lesdiguières, won the prize, and received it from the hands of the queen-mother. Those feasts revived, more than ever, the taste for devices and emblems, which tournaments had formerly brought into vogue, and which continued after these were no more.

An antiquary, called d'Ouvrier, invented, in 1662, for Lewis XIV. the emblem of the sun, darting its rays upon a globe, with these words, *nec pluribus impar*; i. e. Yet a match for many. The thought was a kind of imitation of a Spanish device made by Philip II. and was more applicable to this king, who possessed the finest part of the new world, and so many states in the old, than to a young king of France, who hitherto gave no more than hopes. This device had prodigious success. The king's

spite of all his courage and efforts, he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Spain, from whence he was released at the solicitation of the great prince of Condé.

* Not Charles II. as the original has it.

cabi-

cabinets, the moveables of the crown, the tapestries, and sculptures, were all adorned with it; yet the king never carried it in his carousals. Lewis XIV. has been unjustly condemned for the pride of this device, as if he had chosen it himself; and perhaps it has been more justly censured for its foundation. The body does not represent that which the legend signifies; and this legend has not a quite clear and determined sense. That which may be explained several ways does not deserve to be explained by any. Devices, those remains of the ancient chivalry, may suit with feasts, and give some pleasure when these allusions are just, new, and pointed. It is better to have none, than suffer such as are bad and low, like that of Lewis XII. which was a hedge-hog, with these words, *Qui s'y frotte, s'y pique*; i. e. He that touches me, galls himself. Devices are, with regard to inscriptions, what masquerades are to more solemn ceremonies.

The feast of Versailles in 1664 surpassed that of the Carousal for its singularity, magnificence, and the pleasures of the mind, which mixing with the splendor of these diversions, added a relish and such charms as no feast had ever yet been embellished with. Versailles began to be a delightful residence, without approaching to the grandeur at which it arrived afterwards.

On the fifth of May the king came hither with a court consisting of six hundred persons, who, with their attendants, were entertained at his expence, as were likewise all those employed in preparing these enchanting scenes. There was nothing ever wanting at these feasts

but such monuments erected for giving of them, as were constructed by the 'Greeks and Romans. But the readiness with which they built the theatres, amphitheatres, and porticoes, beautified with as much magnificence as taste, was a wonder which added to the illusion, and which, diversified afterwards in a thousand ways, still augmented the charms of these spectacles.

There was at first a sort of carousal. Those who were to run appeared the first day as in a review; they were preceded by heralds at arms, pages, and squires, who carried the devices and bucklers; and upon the bucklers were written in letters of gold, verses composed by Perigni* and Benferade†: this last especially had

* The abbe Perrin was a native of Lyons, the first who, by royal patent, established an opera in Paris, in imitation of the Venetian opera. He and his partners erected a theatre in the Rue Mazarine, and in the year 1672, exhibited the pastoral Pomona, the poetry by Perrin, and the music by Lambert. Perrin afterwards quarrelling with his partners, resigned his patent in favour of the famous Lully, who built a new theatre near the palace of the Luxembourg, from whence he in the sequel transferred his company to the hall of the Palais Royal. Perrin, besides several pastorals of five acts, wrote many sonnets, odes, and elegies. He also translated the *Æneid* of Virgil in verse, and enjoyed a considerable share of reputation. His death happened about the year 1680.

† Isaac Benferade was born of a good family, at Lyons in Normandy in the year 1612. He soon distinguished himself as a wit, a poet, and a man of gallantry, was gratified with a considerable pension by the queen mother of Lewis XIV. and lived in great familiarity and esteem with the noblemen of that court. He composed tragedies, comedies, and verses for ballets, which were in great esteem at court,

had a singular talent for these gallant pieces, in which he always made delicate and lively allusions to the characters of the persons present, to the personages of antiquity or mythology which they represented, and to the passions actuating the court at that time. The king personated Roger; when all the diamonds belonging to the crown sparkled upon his cloaths, and the horse which he rode. The queens, and three hundred ladies under triumphal arches, viewed this entry.

The king, amidst all the eyes which were fixed upon him, distinguished only those of mademoiselle de la Valiere*. The feast was for her alone; which she secretly enjoyed, tho' not distinguished from the crowd.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilt car eighteen feet high, fifteen broad, and twenty-

as well as through all France, in the younger days of Lewis. All the wits of that kingdom were divided on the merit of two sonnets, one by Benferade, and the other by Voiture. He was particularly patronized by cardinal Mazarin, and preserved his reputation to a good old age. Among his bon mots, the most remarkable is the repartee he made to a gentleman whom he had often rallied on suspicion of impotence. That gentleman meeting Benferade in the street, "Well (said he) notwithstanding all your raillery, my wife has been delivered some days." "O, sir, (replied the poet) I never doubted the ability of your wife."

* Louisa Frances de la Baume-le-Blanc de la Valiere, was maid of honour to Henrietta of England, dutchess of Orleans. She fell in love with the person of Lewis XIV. who returned her passion; had several children by her, and raised her to the rank of dutchess of Vaujour, and peeress of France. Tired of the pleasures of a court, and touched by the stings of repentance, she retired to the convent of the Carmelites in Paris, and spent the latter part of her life in acts of piety and mortification.

four long, representing the chariot of the sun. The four ages of gold, silver, brass, and iron, the celestial signs, the seasons, and the hours followed this car on foot. All was distinctly characterized. Shepherds carried pieces of the enclosure, that were adjusted by the sound of trumpets, to which succeeded at intervals violins and other instruments. Some persons who followed Apollo's car, came at first to recite to the queens certain verses suitable to the place, the time, and the persons present. After the races were finished, and the night came on, four thousand large flambeaux lighted the spot where the feast was given. The tables therein were served by two hundred persons, who represented the seasons, the fauns, sylvans, and dryades, with shepherds, grape-gatherers, and reapers. Pan and Diana advanced upon a moving mountain, and descended from, it in order to place upon the tables whatever the country and the forests produced that was most delicious. Behind the tables, in a semi-circle, rose up all at once a theatre filled with performers in concert. The arcades which surrounded the table and theatre were decorated with five hundred chandeliers, with tapers in them; and a gilt balustrade inclosed this vast circuit.

These feasts, so much superior to what are invented in romances, lasted for seven days. The king carried four times the prizes of the games; and afterwards he left those he had won to be contended for by other knights, and accordingly gave them up to the victors.

The comedy of the princess d'Elide, or princess of Elis, though not one of the best plays of Moliere,

Moliere, was one of the most agreeable decorations of these games, for the vast number of fine allegories on the manners of the times, and for the apposite purposes which form the agreeableness of these feasts, but which are lost to posterity. People at court were still fond, even to madness, of judicial astrology: many princes imagined, through an haughty superstition, that nature distinguished them by writing their destiny in the stars. Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, father to the dutchess of Burgundy, retained an astrologer near his person, even after his abdication. Moliere was so bold as to attack this delusion in his comedy.

Here also was to be seen a court-fool. These wretched fellows were still much in vogue. This was a relic of barbarism that continued longer in Germany than in any other place. The want of amusements, and the inability of procuring such as are agreeable and virtuous in times of ignorance and bad taste, had given occasion to the invention of this wretched pleasure, which degrades the human mind. The fool who was then in the court of Lewis XIV. had formerly belonged to the prince of Condé; his name was Angeli. The count de Grammont said, that of all the fools who followed that prince, there was none but Angeli who made his fortune. This buffoon was not without some parts. It is he who said, "That he went not to hear sermons, because, as he did not like brawling, so he did not understand reasoning."

The farce of the Forced Marriage was likewise acted at this feast. But what was truly admirable here was, the first representation of the three first acts of Tartuffe.

The king had an inclination to see this masterpiece even before it was finished. He afterwards protected it against those false bigots, who would have drawn in earth and heaven to be interested for the suppression of it: and it will subsist, as has been already said elsewhere, as long as there shall be any taste and hypocrites remaining in France.

Most part of these shining solemnities are often calculated only to please the eyes and the ears. That which is no more than pomp and magnificence passes away in one day; but when master-pieces of art, like the *Tartuffe*, make up the ornament of these feasts, they leave behind them an eternal remembrance.

There are still fresh in memory several strokes of those allegories of *Benserade*, which were an ornament to the ballads of that time. I shall only give here the verses for the king, representing the sun.

*Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous sur le ton
De Daphné ni de Phaëton.*

*Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine,
Ils n'est point là de piège, où vous puissiez donner;
Le moyen de s'imaginer,*

Qu'une femme vous fuie, et qu'un homme vous mène?

With you I doubt we must not prate
Of Daphne's scorn and Phaeton's fate,
He too aspiring, she inhuman;
In snares like these you cannot fall,
For who will dream that e'er you shall
Be fool'd by man, or shunn'd by woman.

The principal glory of these amusements, which perfected taste, politeness and parts, in
France,

France, proceeded from this, that they did not take the monarch off in the least from his assiduous labours : for without these he would only have known how to keep a court, and would have been unacquainted with the methods of governing : so that had the magnificent pleasures of this court insulted over the miseries of the people, they had only been odious. But the same person who gave these feasts, gave bread to the people in the famine of 1662. He caused corn to be brought, which the rich purchased at a cheap rate, and he gave it gratuitously to poor families at the gates of the Louvre : he remitted to the people three millions of imposts ; no part of the interior administration was neglected, his government was respected abroad, the king of Spain was obliged to yield to him the precedence, the pope was forced to make him satisfaction, Dunkirk was added to France by a sale no less glorious to the purchaser than it was ignominious to the seller. In short, all the steps taken from the time that he held the reins of government, had been either noble or useful : after this the giving of feasts was extremely proper.

Chigi, the legate a latere, and nephew to pope Alexander VII. coming in the midst of these rejoicings at Versailles to give satisfaction to the king for the high insult offered by the pope's guards, presented a new spectacle to the court. Such grand ceremonies are like feasts for the public. The honours paid him rendered the satisfaction more striking and illustrious. He received under a canopy the compliments of the superior courts, the bodies of the city and clergy : he entered Paris under the discharge
of

of cannon, with the great Condé on his right hand, and the son of that prince on his left: he came in this pomp to humble himself, Rome, and the pope, before the king who had not yet drawn his sword. After he had audience he dined with the king, and the whole concern was to treat him magnificently, and to give him pleasure. Afterwards the doge of Genoa was treated, with less ceremony, but with the same earnest desire of pleasing, which the king always made reconcileable with his more lofty proceedings.

All this gave the court of Lewis XIV. an air of grandeur, which quite obscured all the other courts of Europe. He was desirous that this lustre annexed to his person should reflect a glory on all around him; that the great should be honoured, beginning with his brother and the prince; and that none should be powerful. It was with this view that he determined in favour of the peers their ancient dispute with the presidents of the parliament: the latter pretended, that they ought to give their opinions before the peers, and accordingly they put themselves in possession of this right: but he decided, in an extraordinary council, that the peers should give their opinions at the beds of justice, held in the king's presence, before the presidents, as if they owed this prerogative only to his person, when present; and he allowed the ancient usage in those assemblies, which are not beds of justice, still to continue.

In order to distinguish his principal courtiers, he invented blue short coats embroidered with gold and silver. The permission of wearing these was a great favour to such as were guided
by

by vanity. They were asked for almost like the collar of an order. It may be observed, as we have here entered upon minute details, that at that time these coats were worn over a doublet adorned with ribbons, and over the coat passed a belt, to which hung the sword. There was also a sort of laced cravat, and a hat adorned with a double row of feathers. This mode, which lasted till 1684, became that of all Europe, except Spain and Poland: for people almost every where already piqued themselves on imitating the court of Lewis XIV.

He established an order in his household, which still continues, regulated the several ranks and offices belonging thereto; and he created new places about his own person, as that of the grand master of the wardrobe. He re-established the tables instituted by Francis I. and augmented them. There were twelve of these for the commensal officers, as they are called, who eat at court, and are served with as much elegance and profusion as a great many sovereigns: he would have all strangers invited thither, and this lasted during all his reign. But there was another point of a still more desirable and polite nature, which was, that after he had built the pavillions of Marli in 1679, all the ladies found in their apartments a complete toilette, in which nothing that belonged to the purposes of a commodious luxury was forgot: whoever happened to be upon a journey, might give repasts in their apartments to their friends, and the same delicacy was used in serving the guests as for the master himself. Such trivial matters have their value only when they are supported by greater:

greater. In all his actions, splendor and generosity were to be seen. He made presents of two hundred thousand franks to the daughters of his ministers at their marriage.

That which raised most admiration of him in Europe was a piece of liberality that had no example before. He had the hint from a discourse which he held with the duke of Saint-Aignan, who told him, that cardinal Richelieu had sent presents to some learned men of other countries who had written elogies upon him. The king did not wait till he was praised; but, sure of deserving it, he recommended to his ministers Lionne and Colbert to pitch upon a number of Frenchmen and foreigners distinguished for their literature, on whom he might bestow marks of his generosity. Lionne having written into foreign countries, informed himself as much as possible in a matter of such delicacy, where the point was to give preference to cotemporaries. At first a list of sixty persons was made out: some had presents given them, and others pensions, according to their rank, wants, and merit. Allati *, librarian of the Vatican, Count Graziani †, secretary of

* Leo Alazzi was a native of Chio, acquired a great share of reputation for learning, and wrote a great number of books: but his taste and judgment were not thought equal to his erudition. He died at Rome in the year 1669, in the eighty-third year of his age.

† Jerome Graziani, count of Sarzana, distinguished himself by his poetical genius. He wrote an heroic poem, intitled Cleopatra, and another on the conquests of Grenada, together with a collection of odes and sonnets. He was appointed secretary of state, and afterwards created count of Sarzana by Francis duke of Modena, to whose family he had been always zealously attached.

state to the duke of Modena, the celebrated Viviani*, mathematician to the grand duke of Florence, Vossius† historiographer to the United Provinces, the illustrious mathematician Huygens, and a Dutch resident in Sweden; in short, down to the professors of Altorf and Helmstadt, towns almost unknown to the French, were astonished upon receiving letters from monsieur Colbert, by which he acquainted them, that

* Vincent Viviani was the disciple of the famous Galileo, and soon distinguished himself by a sublime genius for geometry. He undertook to restore, by conjecture, the fifth book of *Apollonius de Maximis et de Minimis*, which was lost. While he was engaged in this undertaking, the famous Borelli found in the grand duke's library at Florence, an Arabic manuscript, with this Latin title, *Apollonij Pergei conicorum libri octo*. This, with the grand duke's permission, he carried to Rome to be translated by Abraham Ecchelenensis, Maronite professor of the Oriental tongues. Viviani, in the mean time, without the least communication with this translator, published his restoration by conjecture; and when the translation of the Arabic manuscript was finished, it appeared that he had not only restored all that was in the fifth book of Apollonius, but carried his researches much farther on the same subject. He afterwards restored by the same art of divination or conjecture, three books of the ancient geometrician Aristæus, which had perished through the injury of time.

† Dionysius Vossius, who translated into Latin Reidanius's Annals, and was nominated professor of history and eloquence at Derpt in Livonia, died young at Amsterdam, in the year 1633. Isaac Vossius, the son of Gerard John Vossius, was also a man of great erudition, and received a very considerable present from Lewis XIV. but he was no historian. He came over to England in the reign of Charles II. and died canon of Windsor. Matthew Vossius, the brother of Dionysius, wrote in Latin five books of the Annals of Holland and Zealand; but it does not appear that he received either pension or present from the king of France; whereas the letter of Colbert to Isaac Vossius is still extant.

tho

tho' the king was not their sovereign, he entreated them to allow him to be their benefactor. The expressions in these letters were estimated from the dignity of the persons who sent them ; and all were accompanied with considerable gratifications, or pensions.

Among the French, they knew how to distinguish † Racine, Quinault ‡, Flechier §, since bishop of Nîmes, who was then but very young.

† John Racine, celebrated for his tragedies, which are preferred to those of the great Corneille, in point of correctness, tenderness, and regularity. Corneille was more sublime ; Racine more interesting : the one commanded admiration ; the other maintained an empire over all the passions of the heart. Corneille was living, and admired by all France, when Racine made his first appearance as a tragic writer, and acquired the applause of the whole kingdom, without diminishing the fame of his great cotemporary.

‡ Philip Quinault acquired great reputation by his comedies and operas, notwithstanding the satirical couplet of Boileau :

*Si je pense exprimer un auteur sans défaut,
La raison dit Virgile, et la rime Quinault.*

To the censure of this poet, Quinault made no reply. On the contrary, he courted his friendship, and visited him often, in order to take his advice concerning his works ; but he never spoke a syllable of Boileau's own performances, and this affected silence piqued him extremely. " His only reason (said Despreaux) for soliciting my acquaintance was that he might have an opportunity to talk of his own verses ; but he never says a word of mine."

§ Esprit Flechier, bishop of Nîmes, rendered himself famous by writing panegyrics on the saints, and by composing funeral orations, one of the most celebrated of which is that which he pronounced on the great Turenne. He was a prelate of uncommon erudition, pious, moderate, and extremely charitable.

and

They had presents. It is true that Chapelain* and Cotin had pensions bestowed upon them: but it was chiefly Chapelain whom the minister Colbert had consulted. These two men, otherwise so much disparaged on account of their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain was possessed of an immense stock of learning; and what is surprising is, that he had taste, and was one of the most acute critics. There is a great difference in all this from genius. Science and vivacity conduct an artist; but they do not form him in any kind. None in France had more reputation in their time than Ronsard and Chapelain: the reason for this was, that in Ronsard's days barbarism prevailed, and in those of Chapelain the people had hardly emerged out of it. Costar, fellow-student with Balsac† and Voiture, called Chapelain the first of the heroic poets.

Boileau

* John Chapelain was in very high reputation for his poetical genius under the ministry of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. Balzac has praised him on many occasions. He wrote one ode to cardinal Richelieu, which is generally admired; but his poem *De la Pucelle* was the ruin of all his poetical fame; and produced the following severe distich:

*Ille Capellani dudum expectata puella,
Post tanta in lucem tempora prodit anus.*

Chapelain, in the midst of his success as an author, had the misfortune to fall under the ridicule of Boileau; as did his cotemporary Cotin, canon of Bayeux, who, though a good scholar, was a wretched preacher, and a miserable poet.

† John Lewis Guez, lord of Balzac, was patronized as a man of genius by Richelieu, esteemed the most eloquent man in France, and the great restorer of the French language.

Vincent Voiture was patronized by the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. He distinguished himself by his writings

Boileau had no share in these bounties : he had hitherto wrote only satires ; and it is well known that these pieces attacked the same learned men whom the ministry had consulted. The king distinguished him some years after, without consulting any body.

The presents made in foreign countries were so considerable, that Viviani built a house at Florence out of the liberality of Lewis XIV. He put in letters of gold upon the frontispiece, *Ædes a Deo datæ*, i. e. "This house is the gift of God," being an allusion to the surname of Dieu Donne, which appellation the public voice had given to this prince at his birth.

The effect which this extraordinary munificence had in Europe may be easily imagined ; and if we consider all the memorable things which the king did very soon after, the most severe and most morose men ought to bear with the excessive eulogiums profusely thrown out upon him. Twelve panegyrics of Lewis XIV. were pronounced in different towns of Italy ; an homage which was paid him neither from fear nor hope ; and these the marquis Zampieri sent to the king.

He always continued pouring his favours upon the sciences and arts : of these we have plain proofs from particular gratifications ; as about four thousand louis-d'ors to Racine, also

writings both in prose and verse, which were much admired for their purity of stile, the gaiety, galantry, and elegant turn of thinking with which they abound. He was the son of a vintner at Amiens, very amorous, and much addicted to play.

from

from the fortunes of Despreaux*, and Quinault, especially that of Lulli †, and of all the artists who devoted their labours to him. He even gave a thousand louis-d'ors to Benferade for engraving the mezzotinto plates of his Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in roundelays; a liberality badly applied, and which only shews the generosity of the sovereign. He also recompensed in Benferade the little merit which he had shewn in his ballads.

Several writers have attributed solely to M. Colbert this protection given to the arts and this magnificence of Lewis XIV. But he had no further merit in the affair than seconding the magnanimity and taste of his master. This minister, who had a very great genius for the finances, commerce, navigation, and the general police, had not in his own mind that taste and elevation which the king had: he zealously promoted, but was far from inspiring him with what nature had given.

It is not easy to discover upon what foundation certain authors have reproached this monarch with avarice. A prince, who has domains entirely independent of the revenues of the state, may be avaricious, like an individual;

* Nicholas Boileau, sieur Despreaux, is so well known by his poetical works as to need no farther description.

† John Baptist Lulli was a native of Florence, though he is stiled the father of the French musick. He was the first who introduced operas into France, and his compositions were universally admired. St. Evremont says he was a perfect master of the passions, and understood the human heart much better than the authors whose works he set to musick.

but

but a king of France, who, in reality, only distributes the treasure of his subjects, must of consequence be free from this vice. The will or care to recompense may indeed be wanting; but this is what Lewis XIV. can never be justly reproached with.

At the time that he begun to lavish so many favours upon men of talents, the use which the count de Buffi made of those he possessed was punished with the utmost severity. He was imprisoned in the Bastile in the year 1665. His writing the amours of Gaul was the pretext for his confinement. The real cause was a song in which the king was a little too freely treated; the memory of it was revived at this time, in order to ruin Buffi, the supposed author :

*Que Deodatus est heureux,
De baiser ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va !*

Beyond expression sure that bliss is,
When Deodatus fondly kisses,
That beak so delicate and dear,
Replete with charms from ear to ear.

His works were not good enough to compensate for the mischief which they brought upon him. He spoke his own language with the utmost purity : he was not destitute of merit, but his self-sufficiency was much greater than his merit, and he made no other use of it, but to create himself enemies. It would have been generous in Lewis XIV. to have pardoned him : but thus he revenged his personal injury, whilst he, in appearance, yielded to the public clamour.

The

The count de Buffi was released in about eighteen months; but he never recovered his former place in the king's favour, tho' he continued, during the remainder of his life, to profess an attachment to Lewis XIV. which neither the king nor any body else believed to be sincere.



C H A P. CXCVIII.

Continuation of REMARKABLE PARTICULARS and ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. was desirous of joining the sweets of friendship to the glory, the pleasures, the pomp, and the gallantry which brightened the first years of his reign; but to make a happy choice of friends is a difficult task for a monarch. One of those in whom he placed the greatest confidence basely betrayed him, the other made an ill use of his favour. The first was the marquis de Vardes, who was privy to the king's affection for madam de la Valiere. It is generally known that court-intrigues induced him to seek the ruin of madam de la Valiere, whose situation exposed her to the ill-will of the jealous, but whose character should have secured her from the machinations of enemies. It is known likewise, that he had the boldness, in concert with the count de Guiche and the countess of Soissons, to write a counterfeit letter to the queen, in the name of the king of Spain, her father. This letter informed the queen of what should have been concealed from her,

her, and what could not but disturb the peace of the royal family. Besides being guilty of this peace of treachery, he was malicious enough to spread a report that the duke and dutchess of Navailles, the worthiest persons at court, were at the bottom of it. These, tho' entirely innocent, were sacrificed to the resentment of the deceived monarch. The villainous proceeding of de Vardes was detected, but too late; criminal as he was, however, his punishment did not exceed that of the innocent persons whom he had accused, and who were deprived of their places, and obliged to retire from court.

The other favourite was the count of Lauzun, afterwards created duke, sometimes the king's rival in his occasional amours, sometimes his confidant, and so well known since by the marriage which he contracted in too public a manner with the king's niece, and which he afterwards renewed in secret, notwithstanding the promise he had given to his master.

The king, disappointed in his choice of favourites, declared, that where he had sought for friends he had found only intriguers. This unhappy knowledge of mankind, which is generally acquired too late, caused him likewise to say: "Whenever I give a vacant place, I make a hundred male-contents, and one ungrateful wretch." Neither the pleasures nor embellishments of the king's palaces, and of Paris, nor the care of the police, were in the least discontinued during the war of 1666.

The king danced at the balls till the year 1670. He was then thirty-two years of age. Upon seeing the tragedy of Britannicus played
at

at St. Germain, he was struck with the following verses :

*Pour mérite premier, pour vertu singulière,
Il excelle à trainer un char dans la carrière.
A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains.*

His chief desert in trifling feats to place,
To drive the chariot foremost in the race,
In low pursuits to win th' ignoble prize,
Himself expos'd a show to vulgar eyes.

From that time he ceased to dance in public, and the poet reformed the monarch. His connection with the dutchess de la Valiere still subsisted, notwithstanding the frequent breaches of his fidelity to her. These were not attended with much difficulty. He found every woman disposed to receive his addresses with transport; and he constantly returned to her, who by the mildness and goodness of her character, and even by the force of habit, had captivated his affections without art. But, in the year 1669, she perceived that madam de Montespan was gaining the ascendant: she bore this with her usual mildness; she supported the mortification of being a long time witness to the triumph of her rival: she scarce uttered a complaint, but thought herself happy in her misfortune, because she was respectfully treated by the king, whom she continued to love, and had opportunities of seeing him, though she was not now the object of his affections.

At length, in the year 1675, she had recourse to the refuge of mind replete with ten-

derness and sensibility, which can only be subdued by the most profound and affecting considerations. She thought that God alone was worthy to possess a heart which had been honoured with the affection of such a lover; and her conversion in a short time made as much noise as her passion had done formerly. She became a Carmelite at Paris, and persevered in the austerities of that order. The delicacy of a woman accustomed to so much pomp, luxury, and pleasure, was not shocked when she was obliged to cover herself with a hair-cloth, walk bare-footed, fast rigidly, and sing amongst the choir at night, in a language she did not understand. In this manner she lived, from the year 1675 to the year 1710, by the name of Sister Louisa the Penitent. A king would deserve the name of tyrant, should he punish a guilty woman with so much severity; yet many a woman has punished herself thus for having loved. There are scarce any examples of statesmen who have buried themselves in this manner; yet the guilt of politicians seems to stand more in need of expiation than the frailty of lovers; but those who govern souls have authority only with the weak.

It is generally known, that when Sister Louisa the Penitent was informed of the death of the duke of Vermandois, her son by the king, she said, "I ought to lament his birth more grievously than his death." She had a daughter, who, of all the king's children, had the nearest resemblance to her father; and afterwards married prince Armand of Conti, cousin to the great Condé.

In

In the mean time, madam de Montespan enjoyed the monarch's favour, and availed herself of it with an external pomp and pride equal to the modesty of madam de la Valiere.

Whilst madam de la Valiere and madam de Montespan continued to vie with each other for the first place in the king's affection, the whole court was taken up with love-intrigues. Louvois himself became sensible to the influence of this passion. Amongst the many mistresses of this minister, whose rough character seemed so incompatible with love, was madam du Fresnoi, wife to one of his clerks, in whose favour he, by his credit, afterwards caused a new place to be established amongst the queen's attendants: she was created lady of the bed-chamber: she had access to the queen's person upon all occasions. The king, by thus indulging the private inclinations of his ministers, thought to justify his own.

There cannot be a more striking example of the power of prepossession and custom, than married women being at that time allowed publicly to have gallants, whilst the grand-daughter of Henry IV. was refused even a husband. Mademoiselle, after having rejected so many sovereigns, and having entertained hopes of marrying Lewis XIV. was, at the age of forty-three, desirous to make the fortune of a gentleman of a noble race. She obtained leave to marry Pequelin, of the Caumont family, count of Lausun, and a captain of one of the two companies called the hundred gentlemen pensioners, which are now extinct, and for which the king had instituted the place of colonel-general of the dragoons. There were numerous

precedents of princesses who had married gentlemen: the Roman emperors often gave their daughters in marriage to senators: the daughters of the sovereigns of Asia, more powerful and more despotic than a king of France, always marry the slaves of their fathers.

Mademoiselle bestowed upon the count of Lauzun all her possessions, valued at twenty millions, four dutchies, the sovereignty of Dombes, the county of Eu, and the palace of Orleans, called Luxembourg. She retained nothing, having given herself up entirely to the pleasing idea of making the person she loved richer than any king ever made a subject. The contract was drawn up; Lauzun was for a day duke of Montpensier; nothing now remained but to sign. In a word, all things were in readiness, when the king, attacked on every side by the representations of princes, ministers, and the enemies of a man whose prosperity was too great to be borne, retracted his promise, and forbid the alliance. He had, by letter, apprised foreign courts of the intended marriage; he wrote again to inform them that it was dropt. He was censured for having permitted it; he was equally censured for having forbid it. He was afflicted at being the cause of mademoiselle's unhappiness. However, this very prince, who had been grieved at being under a necessity of breaking his word with Lauzun, caused him, in November 1670, to be confined in the castle of Pignerol, for having privately married the princess, whom he had, a few months before, given him leave to marry publicly. He was shut up during the space of ten years.

There are many kingdoms whose sovereigns have

have not so considerable a power; those that are invested with such a one, are most beloved when they decline to make use of it. Should a citizen, who does not violate the laws of the state, be so severely punished by him who represents the state? Is there not a wide difference between offending one's sovereign and betraying one's sovereign? Should a king treat a man with more rigour than the law would treat him? Those who have asserted that madam de Montespan*, who put a stop to this marriage, being irritated against the count de Lausun for the bitter reproaches he uttered against her, exacted that vengeance, have done that monarch great injustice. It would have been a proof both of tyranny and pusillanimity, to sacrifice to female resentment a brave man and a favourite, who, after being deprived of an immense fortune by his master, had been guilty of no other crime but speaking too freely of madam de Montespan.

I hope my readers will excuse these reflections, which the natural rights of mankind oblige me to make; but at the same time equity requires, that as Lewis XIV. had not been guilty of an action of that nature during the whole course of his reign, he should not be accused of so cruel a piece of injustice. He was certainly severe enough in punishing with such rigour a clandestine marriage, an innocent union, which it would have been more prudent

* This imputation, which we meet with in so many historians, derives its origin from the Segraisiana. It is a posthumous collection of some conversations of Segrais, most of them falsified. It is replete with contradiction; and all the world knows that it is unworthy of credit.

in him to pass over in silence. To withdraw his favour from Lausun was but just, to imprison him was too severe.

Those who call this private marriage in question, need only read the memoirs of mademoiselle with attention. These memoirs discover what she endeavours to conceal. It appears from them, that this princess, who had complained so bitterly to the king when her marriage was forbid, did not dare to complain of her husband's being imprisoned. She owns that she was thought to be married; she does not however assert that she was not: and, if there was no proof of it but that expression, "I neither can nor ought to change my sentiments for him," it would be conclusive.

Lausun and Fouquet were astonished at meeting in the same prison; but the latter, who in the height of his glory and power, had seen Péquillin mixed with the croud like a gentleman of no fortune from one of the provinces, thought him out of his senses when he assured him that he had been the king's favourite, and had obtained leave to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the wealth and the titles of the house of Montpensier.

After having languished ten years in prison, he was at length released; but it was not till after madam de Montespan had engaged mademoiselle to confer the sovereignty of Dombes and the county d'Eu, upon the duke of Maine, then an infant, who possessed them after the death of that princess. She made this donation merely through a hope that the duke of Lausun would be acknowledged as her husband; but she was herein deceived: the king only allowed her

to bestow on her concealed and unfortunate husband, the lands of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with other considerable revenues, which Lauzun found insufficient. In a word, she was obliged to be satisfied with being his wife in private, and to suffer herself to be neglected by him in public. This princess become unhappy at court and unhappy at home, which is the ordinary effect of violent passions, died in the year 1693*.

As for the count of Lauzun, he afterwards went over to England in 1688. Being fated to extraordinary adventures, he conducted to France the queen of James II. and her son, then

At the end of the memoirs above mentioned is printed a history of the amours of Mademoiselle and Mons. de Lauzun. It is the work of some valet de chambre. Verses are subjoined of a piece with the history, and with all the absurdities which the Dutch bookfellers have long had a sort of a privilege to impose upon the world.

We should place in the same class most of the stories concerning Mademoiselle to be met with in the memoirs of madam de Maintenon: it is there said, that in the year 1681, one of the ministers of the duke of Lorraine came disguised like a beggar, and presenting himself before Mademoiselle in church, shewed her a prayer-book upon which was written; "From the duke of Lorraine:" and that he afterwards endeavoured to prevail on her to declare the duke her heir. Vol. II. page 204. This fable is copied from the adventure of queen Clotilde, whether true or false. Mademoiselle takes no notice of it in her memoirs, in which she seldom omits little circumstances. The duke of Lorraine had no manner of pretensions to the succession of Mademoiselle: add to this, that she had in 1679 appointed the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse her heirs.

The author of these wretched memoirs says, in page 207, that the duke of Lauzun at his return looked upon Mademoiselle in no other light, but as a woman inflamed by an impure passion. She was his wife, and he himself acknowledged it. It is hardly possible to write a greater number of falsehoods in a more indecent stile.

in the cradle. He was created duke. He commanded in Ireland with but indifferent success; and returned more celebrated for his adventures than esteemed for his personal merit. We have seen him die in a very advanced age, quite forgotten, as is generally the case with those who have been concerned in important events, without having performed great exploits.

Madam de Montespan however was all-powerful at court, at the beginning of the intrigues just spoken of.

Athenais de Mortemar, wife to the marquis de Montespan, her elder sister the marchioness de Thiange, and her younger sister, for whom she obtained the abbey of Fontevraud, were the finest women of that age; and all three added the most refined and lively wit to their personal attractions. Their brother, the duke of Vivonne, marshal of France, was one of the most eminent men at court, both for taste and learning. The king happened one day to ask him, What advantage is there in reading? the duke, who was fat and of a ruddy complexion, answered, "Reading has the same effect upon the mind that partridges have upon my cheeks."

These four were universally admired for a happy turn of conversation, which united humour, simplicity, and refinement, and went by the appellation of the Mortemars wit. They all wrote with inexpressible ease and grace. This sufficiently shews the absurdity of a story which I have heard repeated over and over, that madam de Montespan was obliged to employ madam Scarron to write her letters; and that she thereby became her rival, and afterwards supplanted her.

It

It is true indeed madam Scarron, since madam de Maintenon, had more acquired knowledge, and her conversation was more agreeably insinuating. There are letters of hers extant, wherein art embellishes nature, and which are wrote with the utmost elegance of stile. But madam de Montespan had no occasion for the assistance of another's wit; and she was long possessed of the king's favour before madam de Maintenon was presented to him.

Madam de Montespan's glory was in its brightest lustre at the time of the king's journey into Flanders in 1670. The ruin of the Dutch was planned during this journey, in the midst of pleasures. It was a continual festival, attended with the utmost pomp and magnificence.

The king, who generally went upon an expedition on horseback, upon this occasion went in a coach. Post-chaifes were not invented till afterwards. The queen, madam her sister-in-law, and the marchioness de Montespan, were in this magnificent equipage, which was followed by many others; and when madam de Montespan went alone, she had four of the king's guards to attend her. Then the dauphin came with his retinue, and mademoiselle with hers: this was before the fatal affair of her marriage: she, in perfect peace of mind, partook of all these triumphs, and saw with secret satisfaction her lover, who was the king's favourite, at the head of his company of guards. The finest moveables of the crown were carried into the towns where the king passed the night. In every city the court passed through, there was either a ball or fire-works. The king was ac-

accompanied by all the troops of his household, and all his domestics went before or followed. A public table was kept at St. Germain. In this pomp the court visited all the conquered towns. The chief ladies of Brussels and Ghent came to see this magnificent procession. The king invited them to his table, and with great generosity made them presents. All the officers of the troops in garrison received gratifications. There was frequently no less than fifteen hundred *lewis-d'ors* a day spent in liberalities.

All the honours and distinctions were intended for madam de Montespan, except what duty exacted for the queen; yet that lady was not in the secret of the expedition. The king knew how to make a distinction between pleasure and state-affairs.

The king's sister, who was alone entrusted with the care of uniting two kings, and bringing about the destruction of Holland, embarked at Dunkirk aboard the fleet of the king of England, Charles II. her brother. She carried with her mademoiselle Kerowal, afterwards dutchess of Portsmouth, whose beauty was not inferior to that of madam de Montespan. She afterwards became, in England, what madam de Montespan was in France, but with greater credit. King Charles was governed by her to the last moment of his life; and though he was by no means constant to her; she always preserved her ascendant over him. No woman's beauty was ever more lasting than hers; when near the age of seventy, she had something noble and pleasing in her countenance, which years could not efface.

The

The king's sister went to see her brother at Canterbury, and returned with the glory of being successful. She had not long enjoyed it, when a sudden and painful death carried her off, at the age of twenty-six, on the 30th of June 1670. The court was seized with grief and consternation, aggravated by the manner of her death. The princess thought she had been poisoned. Montague, the English ambassador, was convinced of it, the court scarce doubted it, and it was the received opinion all over Europe. One of her husband's old domestics told me the name of the person who, as he thought, gave the poison. "This man, said he, whose circumstances were but narrow, immediately afterwards retired into Normandy, where he purchased an estate, upon which he lived a long time in opulence." The poison, added he, was a diamond reduced to powder, and strewed over strawberries, instead of sugar. The court and city were of opinion that the princess was poisoned with a glass of suctory* water; after which she felt insupportable pangs, and in a short time died in convulsions.

But the malice of mankind, and a love for the marvellous, were the sole causes of this general persuasion. There could have been no poison in the glass of water, since madam de la Fayette and another person drank the remainder of it, without being in the least affected. The

* See the history of the princess Henrietta of England, written by the countess de la Fayette, page 171. of the edition published in 1742.

powder of diamond† is no more poisonous than the powder of coral. The princess had been a long time troubled with an abscess formed in her liver. She was in a very bad state of health, and had even been brought to-bed of a child entirely putrified. Her husband, who has been but too much suspected all over Europe, was never accused of any crime of a black dye either before or after this event: and there are but few instances of criminals who have been guilty of only one inhuman action. The human species would be indeed unhappy, if atrocious deeds were as often committed as believed.

It was said that the chevalier of Lorraine, a favourite of the duke of Orleans, had recourse to this horrible vengeance, on account of his being banished and imprisoned for his ill behaviour to the princess. People do not reflect that the chevalier of Lorraine was then at Rome, and that it is difficult for a knight of Malta, of twenty years of age, to occasion, when at Rome, the death of a great princess at Paris.

It is but too true, that a weakness and indiscretion of the viscount de Turenne was what first gave rise to these invidious reports, which men take a pleasure in reviving. At the age of sixty he was the lover and the dupe of madam

* Small bits of diamond and glass might, by their sharp points, pierce and tear the coats of the intestines; but then it would be impossible to swallow them, and the person would soon be rendered sensible of the danger by the excoriation of the palate and throat. The powder, if very fine, could not do any hurt, and would rather be a remedy, like the filings of iron. Those physicians who have added diamond to the number of poisons, should have made a distinction between a diamond reduced to very fine powder, and a diamond scarcely pounded.

Coatquen, as he had been before of madam de Longueville. He discovered to that lady the secret of state, which was concealed from the king's brother. Madam de Coatquen, who loved the chevalier of Lorraine, divulged it to her gallant, who informed the duke of Orleans of it. The family of this prince was infested by the bitterest reproaches, and the most tormenting jealousies. These vexations began before the princess's voyage to England. The evil was aggravated by her return. The duke's sallies of passion, and the frequent contentions of his favourites with the friends of the dutchess, filled the house with trouble and confusion. The dutchess, a few days before her death, tenderly complained to the marchioness of Coatquen of the misfortunes which she had occasioned. That lady kneeled down by her bedside, and bathing her hands with tears, answered only by these verses from the tragedy of *Winceslaus*:

*J'allois — j'étais — l'amour a sur moi tant
D'empire
Je m'égaré, Madame, Et ne puis que vous dire.
I thought — I was — love reigns with
boundless sway —
In mazes lost — I know not what to say!*

The chevalier of Lorraine, who had caused all these dissensions, was immediately sent by the king to the prison of Pierre Encise; the count Marfan, of the house of Lorraine, and the marquis, afterwards marshal of Villerdi, were

were banished. In a word, the natural death of this unhappy princess was looked upon as the consequence of these misunderstandings.

The public persuasion of the dutchess of Orleans being poisoned, was greatly confirmed by this crime's becoming prevalent in France at that juncture. Amidst all the horrors of a civil war, this base method of revenge was never put in practice. This crime, by an unaccountable fatality, infected France at the time of its greatest glory, and of pleasures calculated to soften the manners of mankind, just as it gained ground in Rome during the most shining period of the commonwealth.

Two Italians, one of whom went by the name of Exili, laboured for a long time in conjunction with an Italian apothecary named Glaser, with a view of finding out the philosopher's stone. The two Italians, having by this project lost the little fortune they had, endeavoured to repair their folly by carrying on a criminal commerce. They secretly sold poisons. Confession, one of the greatest restraints upon human depravity, but which men frequently abuse in a persuasion that they may commit crimes, and afterwards expiate them; confession, I say, made it known to the chief penitentiary of Paris, that some persons had died by poison. He gave immediate notice of this to the government. The two Italians, who were suspected, were confined in the Bastille: one of them died there. Exili continued in confinement without being convicted; and, from the midst of a prison he spread over Paris those fatal secrets which cost the civil-lieutenant Daubrai and his family their lives, and at last gave
occasion

occasion to erecting the chamber of poisons, commonly called The fiery chamber.

Love was the original source of these shocking adventures. The marquis of Brinvilliers, son-in-law to the civil lieutenant Daubrai, lodged in his house * St. Croix, a captain in his regiment, who was remarkable for his agreeable person. His wife suggested to him the ill consequences that this might produce. The husband, however, was obstinately bent upon having the young man live in the same house with his wife, who was young, handsome, and very susceptible of love. The event was such as might have been expected; they conceived a mutual passion for each other. The civil lieutenant, father of the marchioness, was severe and imprudent enough to cause the captain to be sent to the Bastile, when it would have been sufficient to send him to his regiment. St. Croix unluckily happened to be confined in the same chamber with Exili. This Italian taught him to wreak his revenge. The consequences, which are enough to make one shudder with horror, are universally known.

The marchioness did not make any attempt upon the life of her husband, who considered with indulgence a passion of which he himself had been the cause; but her ardent desire of vengeance impelled her to poison her father, her two brothers, and her sister. Though guilty of such execrable crimes, she retained a

* In the history of Lewis XIV. published in the name of La Martiniere, he is called the Abbé de la Croix. This history, defective in every thing, confounds names, dates, and events.

sense of religion : she often went to confession ; and even when she was apprehended at Liege, a general confession written with her own hand was found upon her. This was not considered as a positive proof of her guilt, but only as a presumptive. It is not true that she made experiments of the efficacy of her powders in the hospitals, according to the popular report which has been adopted by the author of the remarkable trials, the work of a lawyer without employment, and calculated to amuse the vulgar. But it is true that both she and St. Croix had private connexions with persons since accused of the same crimes. She was burnt in 1679, her head being first cut off. But this crime continued to infect Paris from 1670, when Exili began to compose poisons, till 1680. It cannot be concealed from the world that Pennautier receiver-general for the clergy, and the friend of this woman, was accused some time after of having made use of these secrets, and that it cost him one half of his wealth to stifle the accusation.

La Voisin, la Vigoureux, a priest named le Sage, and others, dealt in Exili's secrets, under the pretext of amusing persons of curious and weak minds with the sight of apparitions. The crime was imagined to be more general than it really was. The Fiery chamber was established at the arsenal near the Bastile in 1680. Persons of the first quality were cited before it : amongst others, two nieces of cardinal Mazarin, the dutchess of Bouillon, and the countess of Soissons, mother to prince Eugene. They were not ordered into custody, as we are told in the history of Reboulet. He is not less mistaken when he asserts that the dutchess appeared before

fore her judges with so many friends, that she would have been in no danger even if she had been guilty. What friends could at that time have screened any body from justice? The dutchess of Bouillon was accused of nothing but indulging an absurd curiosity.

The countess of Soissons, who retired to Brussels, was charged with something of a more serious nature. The marshal of Luxembourg was confined in the Bastile, and underwent a long examination, after which he remained fourteen months longer in prison. It is easy to conjecture the shocking reports which these accusations gave rise to in Paris. At length upon la Voisin and her accomplices being burnt alive, these crimes and inquiries discontinued. This abomination, however, was peculiar to some individuals, and did not corrupt the refined manners of the nation: but it left in the minds of men an unhappy propensity to suspect natural deaths of being occasioned by violent means.

The same opinion which had been formed concerning the unhappy fate of Henrietta of England, dutchess of Orleans, was afterwards revived with respect to her daughter Mary Louisa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. king of Spain. That young princess set out for Madrid with regret. Mademoiselle had often said to the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, "Do not carry your daughter so often to court; she will be too unhappy elsewhere." This young princess was desirous of marrying the dauphin. "I make you queen of Spain," said the king, what more could I do for my daughter?" "Ah! returned she, you might do much more

more for your niece." She died in the year 1689, at the same age as her mother. It was looked upon as an incontestible truth that the Austrian council of Charles II. was desirous of removing her out of the way, because she loved her country, and might prevent the king her husband from declaring for the allies, against France. A sort of counter-poison was sent her from Versailles; but these remedies are very precarious, since what may cure one disorder occasioned by poison, may increase another; and there is no universal antidote. The pretended counter-poison arrived after her death. Those who have read the memoirs compiled by the marquis Dangeau, will find therein that the king said at supper, "The queen of Spain has been poisoned by eating of an eel-pye; and the countess of Pernitz, with the two attendants Zapata and Nina, eating of it after her, have lost their lives by the same poison."

After having read this extraordinary anecdote in these manuscript memoirs, which are said to have been wrote with care by a courtier, who had scarce ever quitted Lewis XIV. during the space of forty years, I still entertain some doubt: I enquired of the king's ancient domestics, whether it was true that a monarch always so reserved in his discourse had expressed himself in so indiscrete a manner. They all assured me that nothing could be more false. I asked the dutchess of St. Pierre, upon her return from Spain, whether the three persons above-mentioned had died at the same time with the queen; she gave me convincing proofs that they had all three long survived their mistress. In a word, I made a discovery that these

me-

memoirs of the marquis Dangeau were nothing more than a collection of news, wrote by one of his footmen; and this may be very easily perceived by the stile, the trifling circumstances, and the falsehoods with which it abounds. After all these dismal ideas, to which the death of Henrietta of England has led us, we must now return to those events by which her loss was followed at court. The princess-palatine succeeded her a year after, and was mother to the duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom. She was under the necessity of abjuring Calvinism, in order to marry the duke of Orleans; but she always retained a secret veneration for her own religion, which is not easily shaken off, when it has been impressed upon the mind from infancy.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the queen's maids of honour in 1673, gave rise to a new institution. This misfortune is well known by the sonnet of the abortion, which has been so frequently cited.

*Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,
Et que l'honneur defait par un crime à son tour,
Funeste ouvrage de l'amour,
De l'honneur funeste victime, &c.*

O thou! who dy'st imperfect and unborn,
Sad compound of creation and decay,
Embrio unform'd, deny'd the light of day,
Of blank and being the reproach and scorn,
Produc'd by guilty love's impetuous tide,
By guilty honour in its turn destroy'd,
The fatal work of love by stealth enjoy'd,
The hapless victim of stern honour's pride:

O let

O let me calm the tempest of my breast;
For thou in dark oblivion's shade at rest
Feel'st not these horrors of internal strife.
In thee two rival pow'rs their empire prove,
Love in despite of honour gave thee life;
But honour slew thee in despite of love.

The dangerous situation of maid of honour in a gay and voluptuous court, occasioned twelve ladies of the bed-chamber to be substituted in the room of the twelve maids of honour; and this regulation has ever since continued in the queen's household. This institution rendered the court more numerous and magnificent, by fixing there the husbands and relations of these ladies, which increased the number of those who attended the court, and made it more brilliant.

The princess of Bavaria, who had espoused the dauphin, at this time added lustre and vivacity to the court. The marchioness of Montespan always attracted the chief attention: but at last she ceased to please; and her violent emotions of grief by no means conciliated the almost alienated affection of the monarch. However, her connection with the court always continued, as she was possessed of a considerable place there, being superintendant of the queen's household. Her connexion with the king subsisted likewise, by means of the children he had by her, the force of habit, and the ascendant she had acquired.

She retained all the outward shew of esteem and friendship, but that was no consolation to her; and the king afflicted at being the occasion of her frequent inquietudes, and inspired by

by another passion, began already to find a pleasure in conversing with madame de Maintenon, which he no longer enjoyed with his former mistress. He found himself at once divided between madame de Montespan, whom he could not forsake, mademoiselle Fontagne, whom he loved, and madame de Maintenon, whose conversation was become necessary to his distracted mind. The rivalry of these three kept the whole court in suspense. It reflects great honour upon Lewis XIV. that none of these intrigues had any influence upon public affairs; and that love, which disturbed the court, never caused the least disturbance in the kingdom. There cannot, in my opinion, be a better proof that the soul of Lewis was as great as it was tender.

I should even look upon these court-intrigues, which have no sort of connexion with state-affairs, as undeserving of a place in this history, if the name of Lewis XIV. did not render every thing interesting, and if the veil had not been removed from those mysteries by several historians, who have for the most part disfigured them.

CHAP.

C H A P. CXCIX.

Continuation of the Private MEMOIRS and
ANECDOTES.

THE youth and beauty of mademoiselle de Fontagne, the birth of a son, whom she bore to the king in 1680, and the title of dutchess with which she was graced, all conspired to prevent madame de Maintenon from obtaining the first place; to which, as yet, she durst not aspire, and which she afterwards possessed: but the dutchess of Fontagne and her son died in 1681.

The marchioness de Montespan, having now no declared rival, was no longer able to preserve a heart, wearied with her and her eternal complainings. When men are past the vigour of youth, they almost all require the company of an agreeable woman: the weight of public affairs, especially, renders such a relaxation extremely necessary. The new favourite, madame de Maintenon, who perceived the secret power she was daily acquiring, conducted herself with that artful address which is so natural to the female sex, and is by no means displeasing to the male. She one day wrote to madame de Frontenac, her cousin, in whom she reposed the most perfect confidence, "When he leaves me, he is always in affliction; but never in despair." While her interest was thus increasing, and that of madame de Montespan drawing towards an end, the two rivals saw each other every day, sometimes with a secret uneasiness, and sometimes with a transient familiarity, which the necessity of conversing together, and the fatigue of per-

perpetual constraint, obliged them to assume. They both agreed to write Memoirs of all that passed at court*. The work was never brought to any degree of perfection. Madame de Montespan was wont, in the latter years of her life, to divert herself in reading some of these memoirs to her friends. That spirit of devotion, which mingled itself in all these secret intrigues, contributed still more to strengthen the influence of madame de Maintenon, and to weaken that of madame de Montespan. The king began to reproach himself for his attachment to a married woman, and felt this scruple the more sensibly as he no longer felt the power of love. Things continued in this state of perplexity until 1685, a year rendered memorable by the revocation of the edict of Nants. Scenes of a very different nature were then presented to the public view: on the one hand, the despair and flight of a part of the nation; on the other, new feasts at Versailles, Trianon and Marli built, Nature forced in all these beautiful spots, and gardens formed

* The Memoirs, published under the name of Mad. de Maintenon, relate, that she said to madame de Montespan, in speaking of her dreams, "I dreamed that we were on the grand stair-case of Versailles: I was ascending, you was descending; I mounted to the clouds, you went to Fontevraut." This story is borrowed from the famous duke d'Epemon, who met the cardinal de Richelieu on the stair-case of the Louvre in 1624. The cardinal asked him, "What news?" "None, said he, except that you are going up, and I am coming down." But the beauty of the allusion is destroyed by adding, that from a stair-case one could mount to the clouds. It is to be remarked, that in most books of anecdotes, in the *xix*th, the authors always ascribe to their speakers things that have been said a century, or even several centuries before.

with

with all the taste and elegance that art could bestow. The marriage of the grandson of the great Condé with mademoiselle de Nantes, the king's daughter by madame de Montespan, was the last triumph of that mistress, who now began to retire from court.

The king afterwards disposed in marriage of other two children, whom he had by the same lady; to wit, mademoiselle de Blois to the duke de Chartres, whom we have since seen regent of the kingdom; and the duke de Maine to Louisa Benedicta de Bourbon, grand-daughter of the great Condé, and sister to the present duke, a princess distinguished by her wit, and her taste for the polite arts. Those who have ever approached the royal palace, or the palace de Sceaux, know that all the popular reports relating to her marriage, and retained in so many histories, are absolutely false and groundless. You will find it reported in more than twenty different volumes, that the house of Orleans and the house of Condé rejected the proposals with indignation: you will find it written, that the princess, the duke de Chartres's mother, threatened her son; nay, that she even beat him. The anecdotes of the Constitution relate, with a very serious air, that the king having employed the abbe du Bois, sub-preceptor to the duke de Chartres, to negotiate the match, the abbe found great difficulty in succeeding; and that he asked the cardinal's hat as a reward for his labour. Whatever relates to the court is written with as little regard to truth in several of our modern histories.

Before the marriage between the duke and mademoiselle de Nantes was celebrated, the marquis

quis de Seignelai gave the king an entertainment worthy of that monarch in the gardens de Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre with as much taste and elegance as those of Versailles; and the entertainment was embellished by a representation of the *l'Idylle de la Paix*, composed by Racine. There was another carousal at Versailles; and, after the marriage, the king displayed a scene of uncommon magnificence, of which cardinal Mazarin had given the first specimen in 1656. There were placed in the hall of Marli four shops, filled with all the richest and most exquisite curiosities that the industry of the Parisian artists could produce. These four shops were so many superb decorations, representing the four seasons of the year. Madame de Montespan kept one of them with the Dauphin: her rival kept another with the duke de Maine. The two new-married noblemen had each his shop; the duke with madame de Thiange; and the dutchess, who, on account of her youth, could not decently keep a shop with a man, was with madame de Chevreux. The ladies and gentlemen, who were named for this excursion, drew by lot the jewels with which these shops were adorned. Thus the king made presents to all his court, in a manner worthy of himself. The lottery of cardinal Mazarin was neither so ingenious, nor so brilliant. These lotteries had formerly been used by the Roman emperors; but none of them ever thought of heightening their magnificence by such an air of gallantry.

After the marriage of her daughter, madame de Montespan appeared no more at court. She continued to live at Paris with great dignity. She had a large annuity settled upon her for life;

the king ordered a pension of a thousand louis-d'ors to be paid her every month. She went yearly to drink the waters at Bourbon; and married the young women in the neighbourhood, to whom she gave portions. She was now past the age when the imagination, struck with lively impressions, sends people to a nunnery. She died at Bourbon in 1707.

About a year after the marriage of mademoiselle de Nantes with monsieur the duke, the prince of Condé died at Fontainbleau, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His death was occasioned by a disease, which was rendered more violent by a journey he took to visit the dutchess, who was seized with the small-pox. From this anxious concern for the safety of the dutchess, which cost him his life, one may easily judge whether he had any aversion to the marriage of his grandson with the daughter of the king and of madame de Montespan, as has been reported by all those lying gazettes with which Holland was then over-run. We even find, in a history of the prince of Condé, produced from the same repositories of ignorance and imposture, that the king took a pleasure in mortifying that prince on all occasions; and that, at the marriage of the princess of Conti, daughter to madame de la Valiere, the secretary of state refused him the title of High and Mighty Lord, as if that were a title commonly given to princes of the blood. But how could the author, who composed the history of Louis XIV. in Avignon, partly from these wretched memoirs, be so ignorant of the world, and of the custom of our court, as to relate the like falsehoods?

Mean while, after the marriage of the dutchess, and the total eclipse of the mother, madame de Maintenon, victorious over all opposition, gained such an ascendant, and inspired Lewis XIV. with so much love, and so many scruples of conscience, that, by the advice of father de la Chaise, he married her privately in the month of January, 1686, in a little chapel, which stood at the end of the apartment that was afterwards possessed by the duke of Burgundy. There was no contract, nor any articles of marriage. Harlai de Chamvalon, archbishop of Paris, assisted by the confessor, gave them the nuptial benediction. Montchevreuil †, and Bontems, first valet de chambre, were present as witnesses. It is no longer possible to suppress this fact, which has been mentioned by so many authors, who have been mistaken, however, with regard to the names, the place, and the dates. Lewis XIV. was then in his forty-eighth year, and the lady he married in her fifty-second. This king, already covered with glory, was desirous of mingling the innocent pleasures of a private life with the cares of state. The marriage did not en-

† And not the chevalier de Fourbin, as the Memoirs of Choisy assert. None are intrusted with such a secret but faithful domestics, and people attached by their places to the person of their master. There was no formal act of celebration: that is only employed to prove the reality of the wedding; but the present marriage was a marriage of conscience. How could any one have the impudence to report, that after the death of Harlai, archbishop of Paris, which happened in 1695, almost ten years after the marriage, his lackeys found the form of the marriage ceremony in his old breeches? This story, which is even too mean for lackeys, is only to be found in the Memoirs of Maintenon.

gage him in any thing unworthy of his rank; and it was always a doubtful point at court, whether madame de Maintenon was married or not. She was respected as the choice of the king; but never treated as queen.

We are apt to consider the fate of this lady as something very surprising, though history supplies us with many instances of greater and more distinguished fortunes, which had a meaner and lower origin. The marchioness de St. Sebastian, married to Victor-Amadeus, king of Sardinia, was not superior to madame de Maintenon; Catherine, empress of Russia, was greatly inferior; and the first wife * of James II. king of England, was far beneath her, according to the prejudices of Europe, unknown in other parts of the world.

She was of an ancient family, and granddaughter to Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné, gentleman of the bed chamber to Henry IV. Her father, Constant d'Aubigné, having formed a design of settling in Carolina, and having applied to the English for that purpose, was thrown into prison in the castle Trompette; from whence he was delivered by the daughter of the governor, whose name was de Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Constantius d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1627, and carried her along with him to Carolina: but returning to France, in a few years after, they were both committed to custody, at Niort in Poitou, by order of the

* What! was the daughter of the great earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and prime minister to king Charles II. inferior in rank to the widow of poor Scarron the burlesque poet? Sure our author has forgot himself on this occasion.

court. It was in this prison of Niort that Frances d'Aubigné was born in 1635: a woman destined by heaven to suffer all the hardships, and to enjoy all the favours of fortune. Carried to America at three years of age; left on the shore by the negligence of a servant, where she was on the point of being devoured by a serpent; brought back an orphan at ten years of age; educated with great severity in the house of madame de Neuillant, her relation, and mother to the dutchess de Navailles. She was so happy as to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, who lived near her in Hell-street. Scarron was of an ancient family belonging to the parliament, and illustrious by its great alliances; but the character of a wit, and of burlesque writer, which he bore, lessened his dignity, at the same time that it made him more generally beloved. It was, however, a very lucky incident for mademoiselle d'Aubigné to get this man for a husband, deformed and impotent as he was, and possessed of but a small fortune. Before her marriage, she abjured the Calvinistical religion, which was her own as well as that of her ancestors. Her beauty and her wit were such, that she soon began to be distinguished. Her acquaintance was eagerly courted by the best company in Paris; and this part of her youth was doubtless the happiest time of her life *. After her husband's death, which hap-

* It is said, in the pretended Memoirs of Maintenon, tom. i. p. 216, that for a long time she lay in the same bed with the celebrated Ninon Lenclos, according to the hearsay reports of the abbé de Chateaufneuf, and of the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. But there is not a syllable of such an anecdote to be found in the author of the Age of

gage him in any thing unworthy of his rank; and it was always a doubtful point at court, whether madame de Maintenon was married or not. She was respected as the choice of the king; but never treated as queen.

We are apt to consider the fate of this lady as something very surprising, though history supplies us with many instances of greater and more distinguished fortunes, which had a meaner and lower origin. The marchioness de St. Sebastian, married to Victor-Amadeus, king of Sardinia, was not superior to madame de Maintenon; Catherine, empress of Russia, was greatly inferior; and the first wife * of James II. king of England, was far beneath her, according to the prejudices of Europe, unknown in other parts of the world.

She was of an ancient family, and granddaughter to Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné, gentleman of the bed chamber to Henry IV. Her father, Constant d'Aubigné, having formed a design of settling in Carolina, and having applied to the English for that purpose, was thrown into prison in the castle Trompette; from whence he was delivered by the daughter of the governor, whose name was de Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Constantius d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1627, and carried her along with him to Carolina: but returning to France, in a few years after, they were both committed to custody, at Niort in Poitou, by order of the

* What! was the daughter of the great earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and prime minister to king Charles II. inferior in rank to the widow of poor Scarron the burlesque poet? Sure our author has forgot himself on this occasion.

court. It was in this prison of Niort that Frances d'Aubigné was born in 1635: a woman destined by heaven to suffer all the hardships, and to enjoy all the favours of fortune. Carried to America at three years of age; left on the shore by the negligence of a servant, where she was on the point of being devoured by a serpent; brought back an orphan at ten years of age; educated with great severity in the house of madame de Neuillant, her relation, and mother to the dutchess de Navailles. She was so happy as to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, who lived near her in Hell-street. Scarron was of an ancient family belonging to the parliament, and illustrious by its great alliances; but the character of a wit, and of burlesque writer, which he bore, lessened his dignity, at the same time that it made him more generally beloved. It was, however, a very lucky incident for mademoiselle d'Aubigné to get this man for a husband, deformed and impotent as he was, and possessed of but a small fortune. Before her marriage, she abjured the Calvinistical religion, which was her own as well as that of her ancestors. Her beauty and her wit were such, that she soon began to be distinguished. Her acquaintance was eagerly courted by the best company in Paris; and this part of her youth was doubtless the happiest time of her life *. After her husband's death, which

hap-

* It is said, in the pretended *Memoirs of Maintenon*, tom. i. p. 216, that for a long time she lay in the same bed with the celebrated Ninon Lenclos, according to the hearsay reports of the abbé de Chateaufneuf, and of the author of the *Age of Lewis XIV.* But there is not a syllable of such an anecdote to be found in the author of the *Age of*

happened in 1660, she continued long to solicit the king for a small pension of fifteen hundred livres, which Scarron had enjoyed. At last, after some years had elapsed, the king gave her a pension of two thousand; addressing her at the same time in the following strain, "Madam, I have made you wait long; but you have so many friends, that I was determined to have all the merit of this action to myself."

This anecdote I had from the cardinal de Fleury, who took a pleasure in frequently repeating it, because he said that Lewis XIV. paid him the same compliment when he gave him the bishopric of Frejus.

And yet it appears, from the letters of madame de Maintenon herself, that she was indebted to madame de Montespan for this small supply, which delivered her from extreme poverty. She was taken farther notice of some years after, when there was a necessity for educating privately the duke de Maine, whom the king had in 1670 by the marchioness de Montespan. It was not surely until the year 1672 that she was chosen to superintend this private education. She says, in one of her letters, "If the children are

Lewis XIV. nor in the remaining works of the abbé de Chateaufneuf. The author of Maintenon's Memoirs quotes only at random. This circumstance is mentioned no where, except in the Memoirs of the marquis de la Fare, p. 190, Amsterdam edition. It was a custom, it is true, for people to share their beds with their friends; and this custom, which is now extinct, was very ancient, even at court. We find, in the History of France, that Charles IX. in order to save the count de Brissac from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, advised him to sleep at the Louvre in his bed; and that the duke of Guise and the prince of Condé lay together for a long time.

the

the king's, I will chearfully undertake the task; but I would not willingly take the charge of madame de Montespan's children: the king must therefore give me orders: this is my last word." Madame de Montespan had not two children until 1672, the duke de Maine, and the count de Vexin. Hence it is evident, that the dates of madame de Maintenon's letters in 1670, in which she speaks of those two children, one of whom was not yet born, must necessarily be false. Almost all the dates of these printed letters are equally erroneout. This inaccuracy would give one reason to suspect the authenticity of these letters, did we not discover in them such strong marks of truth and ingenuity as it is almost impossible to counterfeit.

It is a matter of no great consequence to know in what particular year this lady undertook the care of the natural children of Lewis XIV. but the attention given to these minute circumstances may serve to shew with what scrupulous exactness we have related the principal events in this history.

The duke de Maine was born with a deformed foot. The first physician, d'Aquin, who was in the secret, advised to send him to the waters of Barege. Strict search was made for a person of integrity, who might be intrusted with this precious charge. The king mentioned madame Scarron*. M. de Louvois went privately to Paris to make the proposal to her. From that time

* The author of the romance, intituled the Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, makes her say, upon seeing the Chateau Trompette, "There is the place where I was educated, &c." This is evidently false: she was educated at Niort.

she had the care of the duke de Maine's education, being appointed to that employment by the king, and not by madame de Montespan, as has been reported. She immediately wrote to the king, who was greatly charmed with her letters. Such was the beginning of her good fortune: her merit completed the rest.

The king, who at first could not endure her company, passed by degrees from aversion to confidence, and from confidence to love. His letters, which still remain, are a much more precious treasure than is commonly imagined: they discover that mixture of religion and gallantry, of dignity and weakness, which is so frequently to be found in the human mind, and which filled the soul of Lewis XIV. The mind of madame de Maintenon seems, at once, to be inspired with a true ambition, and a true devotion. Her confessor, Gobelin, approves equally of both: he is alike a director and a courtier. His penitent, though guilty of ingratitude to madame de Montespan, still continues to dissemble her crime. The confessor encourages the illusion; and she calls in religion to the assistance of her superannuated charms, in order to supplant her benefactress, who is now become her rival.

This strange mixture of love and scruples on the part of the king, and of ambition and devotion on the part of the new mistress, seems to have continued from 1680 to 1686, which was the æra of their marriage.

Her elevation was only a retreat. Shut up in her apartment, which was on the same floor with that of the king, she confined herself to the company of two or three ladies, who had retired like

like herself; and even these she saw but seldom. The king went to her chamber every day after dinner, and before and after supper, and tarried with her until midnight. He there deliberated with his ministers; while madame de Maintenon employed herself in reading, or in needle-work; never discovering the least forwardness to talk of state-affairs; frequently seeming to be ignorant of them; carefully avoiding every thing that might have the least appearance of cabal or intrigue; more desirous of pleasing him that governed, than of governing herself; and husbanding her interest with the greatest oeconomy, by never employing it without extreme circumspection. She did not avail herself of her place, to make all the dignities and great employments fall into her family. Her brother the count d'Aubigné, though an old lieutenant-general, was not even a marechal of France. A blue ribbon*, and some appropriation in the farms of the public revenues, were his only fortune: hence it was that he said to the marechal de Vivonne, brother to madame de Montespan, "that he had received his marechal's staff in ready money †."

The marquis de Villette, her nephew, or her cousin, was only a commodore. Madame de Cailus, daughter to the same marquis de Villette, had but a very small portion given her in marriage by Lewis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, when she married her niece d'Aubigné to the

* The badge of a knight of the order of the Holy Ghost.

† See his Letters to his brother: "I beseech you, says he, to live sparingly, and to husband the eighteen thousand livres we have gained: we shall get more money when that is done."

son of the first marechal de Noailles *, gave her but two hundred thousand livres; the king made up the rest. She endeavoured to make the public excuse her elevation, in favour of her disinterestedness. The wife of the marquis de Villette, and who was afterwards lady Bolingbroke, could obtain nothing from her. I have frequently heard her say, that she upbraided her cousin with the little service she did her family; and that she told her in a passion, " You obstinately persist to act up to your moderate plan, and your family must be the victim of your moderation." Madame de Maintenon forgot every thing, when she was in the least apprehensive of offending Lewis XIV. She had not even the courage to support cardinal de Noailles against father Le Tellier. She had a great friendship for Racine; but that friendship was not strong enough to protect him against a slight resentment of the king. One day being deeply affected with the eloquence with which he represented the calamities of the people in 1698, calamities which are always exaggerated, but which have since been carried to a deplorable pitch, she prevailed upon her friend to draw up a memorial, pointing out the evil and the remedy. The king having read it, and shewn himself dissatisfied with the contents, she had the weakness to name the author, and to promise not

* The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs says, tom iv. p. 200, " Rousseau, a venomous viper towards his benefactors, composed some lampoons upon the marechal de Noailles." This is false: we ought not to calumniate any one. Rousseau, who was then very young, did not know the first marechal de Noailles. The lampoon was written by a gentleman of the name of Cabonat, who openly acknowledged himself to be the author.

to defend him. Racine, still weaker, if possible, than her, was seized with excessive grief, which brought him to the grave*.

The same disposition that rendered her incapable of doing a service, made her likewise incapable of doing an injury. The abbé de Choisy relates, that the minister Louvois fell on his knees before Lewis XIV. in order to dissuade him from marrying the widow Scarron. If the abbé de Choisy knew this fact, madame de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; and yet she not only forgave that minister, but she even appeased the first transports of passion into which the blunt behaviour of the marquis de Louvois sometimes threw his master †.

Hence

* This fact is related by the son of the illustrious Racine, in his Life of his father.

† Who would imagine, that, in the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. iii. p. 237, it should be said that this minister was afraid of being poisoned by the king. Strange! that at Paris we should publish horrid falsehoods at the end of so many ridiculous fables.

This stupid and shocking story is founded on a common report, which was spread abroad after the death of the marquis de Louvois. This minister was using the waters, which Seron his physician had prescribed to him, and which La Ligerie his surgeon made him drink. This is the same Ligerie who gave the public the remedy which is now called the Poudre des Chartreux. This La Ligerie hath frequently told me, that he apprized M. de Louvois of the great risk he ran by labouring while he drank the waters. The minister, however, continued to attend upon business as usual. He died suddenly on the 16th of July, 1691; and not in 1692, as the author of these false Memoirs asserts. La Ligerie opened his body, and found no other cause of his death than what he had foretold. Some people took it into their heads to suspect that the physician Seron had poisoned a bottle of these waters. We have seen how common these

Hence it appears, that Lewis XIV. in marrying madame de Maintenon, only gave himself an agreeable submissive companion. The only public distinction that discovered her private elevation was, that at mass she occupied one of those little pulpits, or gilded canopies, which seemed to be made for the king and queen. The devotion with which she had inspired the king, and which had contributed to facilitate her marriage,

injuriously suspicions then were. It was pretended, that a neighbouring gentleman, whom Louvois had greatly provoked and abused, bribed the physician Seron. Some of these anecdotes are to be found in the *Memoirs of the marquis de Fare*, p. 249. The family of the marquis de Louvois did even imprison a native of Lavay, who was a menial servant in the house; but this poor man, who was perfectly innocent, was soon released. But if people suspected, though very unreasonably, that a prince, who was an enemy to France, endeavoured to take away the life of a minister of Lewis XIV. this surely could never be a reason for suspecting Lewis himself of the same crime.

The same author, who, in the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, hath collected such a heap of falsehoods, alleges, in the same place, that the king said, that he had got rid in one year of three men whom he could not endure; the marechal de la Feuillade, the marquis de Seignelai, and the marquis de Louvois. In the first place, M. de Seignelai did not die in 1691, but in 1690. In the second place, to whom did Lewis XIV. who always spoke with great circumspection, and like a gentleman; to whom did he address these imprudent and hateful words? To whom did he discover such a cruel and ungrateful heart? To whom could he say, that he was glad he had got rid of three men who had served him with so much zeal and fidelity? Is it lawful thus to blacken, without the least proof, without the least appearance of probability, the memory of a king, who was always known to speak with great prudence? Every sensible reader beholds with contempt and indignation these collections of lies, with which the public is crowded.

became by degrees a real and deep sense of religion, which was greatly strengthened by age and weariness. She had already acquired, both with the king and the court, the character of a foundress, by assembling at Noisi a number of young ladies of quality; and the king had appropriated the revenues of the abbey of St. Denis to this rising community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park of Versailles in 1686. She gave this settlement a complete form, composed the regulations of it with Godet Desmarêts, bishop of Chartres, and was herself the superior of the convent. She frequently went thither to pass a few hours; and when I say that melancholy determined her to follow these amusements, I only repeat her own words. Read what she wrote to madame de la Maisonfort, of whom mention is made in the chapter of Quietism.

“Why cannot I give you my experience? Why cannot I make you sensible of the melancholy that devours the Great, and of the difficulty they have to dispose of their time? Do you not see that I die of lowness of spirits, though possessed of a more splendid fortune than ever I could have hoped to obtain? I have been young and handsome; I have tasted pleasures; I have been universally beloved. In a more advanced age, I have passed some years in the participation of intellectual pleasures: I am now arrived at the summit of fortune; and I assure you my dear, that every condition leaves a horrid void in the soul *.”

* This letter is authentic; and the author saw it in MS. before the son of the great Racine caused it to be printed.

Could any thing undeceive men with regard to the pleasures of an exalted station, this letter certainly would do it. Madam de Maintenon, who had no other cause of uneasiness than the uniformity of her life in the company of a great king, said one day to the count d'Aubigné her brother, "I can bear it no longer, I wish I were dead." The answer which her brother gave her is well known. "You have then got a promise," said he, of being married to the Almighty."

Upon the king's death, she retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is surprising is, that the king left her no fixed salary. He recommended her to the duke of Orleans. She only desired a pension of eighty thousand livres. This annuity was regularly paid her till her death, which happened on the fifteenth of April 1719. The author of her epitaph has affected too much to forget the name of Scarron: this name is not a disgrace, and the omission of it serves only to make one think that it is so.

The court became less gay and more serious, from the time that the king began to lead a retired life with madam de Maintenon; and the severe fit of sickness he had in 1686, contributed still more to destroy his taste for those splendid feasts which he had hitherto celebrated almost every year. He was seized with a fistula in ano. The art of surgery, which under this reign had made greater progress in France than in all the rest of Europe, was not yet sufficiently acquainted with this distemper. The cardinal de Richelieu had died of it for want of proper treatment. The king's danger alarmed the whole nation. The churches were filled with crowds

crowds of people, who, with tears in their eyes, implored the recovery of their sovereign. This expression of universal pity and lamentation was somewhat a-kin to that which happened in the present age, when his successor's life was in danger at Metz in 1744. These two epochas will serve as perpetual monuments to remind kings of what they owe to a people who love them with such a warmth of affection.

As soon as Lewis XIV. felt the first attacks of his disease, his chief surgeon Felix went to the hospitals to search for such patients as were in the same condition. He consulted the best surgeons; and, in conjunction with them, he invented some new instruments which abridged the operation, and rendered it less painful. The king suffered the operation without complaining: he caused his ministers to hold a council at his bedside the very same day; and that the news of his danger might occasion no change of measures in the courts of Europe, he gave audience to the foreign ambassadors next day. To this fortitude of mind may be added the generosity with which he rewarded Felix, to whom he gave an estate which was then worth fifty thousand crowns.

After this the king went no more to the public shews. The dauphiness of Bavaria, being seized with a deep melancholy, and oppressed with a lowness of spirits, which brought her to the grave in 1690, refused to join in any party of pleasure, and obstinately persisted to immure herself in her chamber. She was fond of learning: she had composed some verses; but in her melancholy she was fond of nothing but solitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr that revived the taste for the polite arts. Madame de Maintenon entreated Racine, who had renounced the theatre for the court and Jansenism, to write a tragedy that might be acted by her pupils; and she desired the subject might be taken from the Bible. Racine composed *Esther*. This piece, having been first represented in the convent of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted several times at Versailles before the king in the winter 1689. The prelates and Jesuits were eager to obtain a permission of seeing this remarkable play.

It is somewhat surprising that this piece was, at this time, universally approved; and that, two years after, *Athaliah*, which was acted by the same persons, was as universally condemned. The case was quite the reverse when these pieces were played at Paris, long after the author's death, and when all party-distinctions were utterly abolished. *Athaliah* was represented in 1717, and was received, as it deserved, with great applause; and *Esther*, which was acted in 1721, excited no other feeling in the breasts of the spectators than languor and weariness, and never appeared more. But there were now no courtiers so complaisant as to recognize *Esther* in madame de Maintenon, and so malicious as to discover Vashti in madame de Montespan, Haman in M. de Louvois, and especially the Hugonots, who were persecuted by that minister, in the proscription of the Jews. The impartial public could discover nothing in that piece but a plot without probability, and incapable of interesting the affections; and a frantic king, who had lived six months with his wife without knowing who she was, and who having, without the

the least pretext, given orders for butchering a whole nation, afterwards caused his favourite to be hanged with as little reason. But, notwithstanding the imperfection of the plot, thirty lines of *Esther* are of more value than many tragedies which have met with great success. These ingenious amusements were revived in order to forward the education of *Adelaide of Savoy*, dutchess of *Burgundy*, who was brought to France at eleven years of age.

It is one of the many contradictions in our manners, that theatrical exhibitions should be branded with a mark of infamy, and yet be considered as an amusement the most noble and most worthy of persons of royal birth. A little theatre was built in the apartment of *Madame de Maintenon*, on which the dutchess of *Burgundy* and the duke of *Orleans* played with such persons of the court as were most remarkable for their wit and abilities. The famous actor *Baron* gave them lessons, and played with them. Most of the tragedies of *Duché*, valet de chambre to the king, were composed for this theatre; and the abbe *Genet*, almoner to the dutchess of *Orleans*, wrote some plays for the dutchess of *Maine*, which that princess and her court represented.

These amusements formed the taste, and enlivened society. How could the marquis de la *Fare* say in his memoirs, that "after the death of the dauphiness, all was play, confusion, and impoliteness?" The courtiers frequently played in their excursions to *Marli* and *Fontainebleau*; but never in the apartment of *madame de Maintenon*; and the court hath always been considered as the standard of the most perfect politeness.

liteness. The dutchess of Orleans, then dutchess of Chartres, the dutchess of Maine, the princess of Conti, and Madame the dutchess, disproved by their conduct what the marquis de la Fare asserts. This man, in the social intercourses of life, discovered the greatest sweetness of temper, and yet his writings may almost be considered as a satire. He was dissatisfied with the government: he passed his time in a society of men who made a merit of condemning the court; and this society converted a man of a most amiable disposition into an historian who is sometimes unjust.

But neither he, nor any of those who have censured Lewis XIV. with so much severity, can deny that, till the battle of Hochster, he was the most powerful, the most magnificent, and the greatest man in the world: for tho' there have been heroes, such as John Sobieski and the kings of Sweden, who have eclipsed him as a warrior, no one has ever been able to eclipse him as a monarch. It must likewise be owned, that he supported and repaired his losses. He had failings; he committed faults; but would those who condemn him have been able to equal him had they been in his place? *

The dutchess of Burgundy improved daily in beauty and in merit. The praises bestowed upon her sister in Spain inspired her with an emula-

* If greatness of soul consists in a love of pageantry, an ostentation of fastidious pomp, a prodigality of expence, an affectation of munificence, an insolence of ambition, and a haughty reserve of deportment; Lewis certainly deserved the appellation of Great. Qualities which are really heroic, we shall not find in the composition of his character.

tion, which redoubled her talent of pleasing. She was not a perfect beauty; but she had a countenance like that of her son, an air of grandeur, and a majestic stature. These advantages were greatly embellished by her wit, and still more by her extreme desire of meriting the praises of all the world. She was, like Henrietta of England, the idol and the pattern of the court, and possessed of a still higher rank, as she was on the point of ascending the throne. France expected from the duke of Burgundy such a government as the sages of antiquity have figured to themselves, but whose austerity would be softened by the virtues and accomplishments of this princess, which were of a nature to be more sensibly felt than the philosophy of her husband. Every body knows how these hopes were frustrated. It was the fate of Lewis XIV. to see all his family perish in France by premature deaths; his wife in the forty-fifth year of her age; his son in the fiftieth*; and in

* The author of the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, tom. iv. in a chapter intitled, *Mademoiselle Choin*, says, that the dauphin was in love with one of his own sisters, and that he afterwards married mademoiselle Choin. These popular reports are known to be false by every sensible man. One should not only be a cotemporary, but ought likewise to be furnished with proofs before he ventures to advance such anecdotes as these. There never was the least evidence of the dauphin's having married mademoiselle Choin. To revive, after the expiration of sixty years, these common reports, so vague, so improbable, and so generally condemned, is not to write history; it is to compile at random, the most scandalous falsehoods, in order to gain money. Upon what foundation has this writer the impudence to advance in page 244, that the dutchess of Burgundy said to the prince her husband, "If I were

in a year after he had lost his son, he saw his grandson the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the dauphiness his wife, and their eldest son the duke of Brittany, carried to St. Denis in the same funeral car, in the month of April 1712; while the youngest of their children, who afterwards mounted the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The duke of Berry, brother to the duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the same time, was carried from her cradle to her grave.

These lamentable losses made such a deep impression on the minds of men, that I have seen several persons in the minority of Lewis XV. who could not mention them without tears: but amidst so many untimely deaths, the fate of him who seemed likely to fill the throne in a short time, was most to be lamented.

The same suspicion which prevailed at the death of Madame, and at that of Maria-Louisa, queen of Spain, were now revived with double fury. The excess of the public grief might almost have excused the calumny, could any thing have excused it. It was unreasonable to suppose that any one would have taken off, by a violent death, so many royal persons, and yet have left alive the only one that could avenge them. The disease of which the dauphin of Burgundy and his wife and son died, was an epidemical purple fever. This distemper de-

were dead, would you compose the third volume of your family?" He makes Lewis XIV. and all the princes and ministers talk as if he had heard them. There is hardly a page in the memoirs that is not filled with such barefaced lies, as justly excite the indignation of every virtuous person.

stroyed

stroyed more than five hundred persons in Paris in the space of a month. The duke of Bourbon, grandson to the prince of Condé, the duke de la Tremouille, madame de la Vrilliere, and madame de Liffenai, were seized with it at court. The marquis de Gondrin, son to the duke of Antin, died of it in two days. His wife, afterwards Countess of Thoulouse, was at the point of death. This disease over-ran all France. It carried off in Lorraine the eldest son and daughter of Francis, that duke of Lorraine who was destined by heaven to be, one day, emperor, and to raise the house of Austria from its state of depression.

Mean while it was sufficient that a physician called Bouden, a debauched, forward, and ignorant fellow, used the following expression: "We do not understand such diseases." This, I say, was sufficient to make calumny rage without controul.

The prince had a laboratory, and studied chemistry, as well as several other arts; this was an unanswerable proof. The clamour of the public was so terrible, one must have been a witness of it in order to believe it. Several pamphlets, and some wretched histories of Lewis XIV. would eternize these suspicions, did not men, who have had better opportunities of information, take pains to destroy them. I will venture to say, that as I have long been sensible of the injustice of mankind, I have made several inquiries to come at the truth; and the following account has been frequently repeated to me by the marquis de Canillac, one of the most worthy men in the nation, and intimately connected with the suspected prince, of whom
he

he had afterwards just reason to complain. The marquis de Canillac, amidst all this public clamour, went to visit him in his palace. He found him stretched at full length on the ground, bathed in tears, and frantic with despair. His chemist Homberg ran to the Bastille, to surrender himself a prisoner; but no orders had been given to receive him, and accordingly he was not admitted. The prince himself (who would believe it!) in the excess of his grief, desired to be taken into custody, and to have an opportunity of clearing his innocence by a formal trial; and his mother joined him in demanding this cruel justification. The *lettre de cachet* was made out, but was not signed; and the marquis alone, amidst this general fermentation, preserved so much presence of mind as to perceive the dangerous consequences of such a desperate measure. He prevailed upon the prince's mother to oppose this ignominious *lettre de cachet*. The monarch who granted it, and the prince who demanded it, were equally unhappy*.

C H A P.

* The author of the Life of the duke of Orleans was the first that mentioned these cruel suspicions. He was a Jesuit of the name of La Motte, the same that preached at Rouen against this prince during his regency, and who afterwards took refuge in Holland under the name of La Hode. He was acquainted with some public facts. He says, tom. i. pag. 112, that the prince who was so unjustly suspected, offered to surrender himself a prisoner; and this is very true. La Motte had no opportunity of knowing how M. de Canillac opposed this step, which was so injurious to the prince's innocence. All the other anecdotes he relates are false. Reboulet, who copied him, says pag. 143, tom. viii. the youngest child of the duke

CHAP. CC.

Continuation of ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. concealed his grief from the world, and appeared in public as usual : but in private the pain of so many misfortunes pierced him to the heart, and threw him into
con-

duke and dutchess of Burgundy was saved by the counter-poison of Venice. There is no counter-poison of Venice that is thus given at random. Physic knows no general antidotes that cure a disease, the cause of which is unknown. All the stories which were spread abroad in the world at that unhappy time are no more than a collection of popular errors.

It is a falshood of little consequence in the compiler of the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon to say, that the duke of Maine was then at the point of death. It is a childish calumny to say, that the author of the age of Lewis XIV. rather confirms than destroys the credit of these stories.

Never was history disgraced with more absurd falshoods than in these pretended memoirs. The author pretends to have wrote them in 1753. He takes it into his head to suppose that the duke and dutchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son, died of the small-pox. He advances this falshood to give himself an opportunity to speak of inoculation ; an experiment that was not tried till the month of May 1756. Thus in the same page we find him speaking in 1753, of what happened in 1756 ; and he expresses himself thus. " This 24th of April 1753, I was interrupted ; an order came from the king to tear me from my family and myself." He then relates, how he was thrown into prison ; and accuses persons who never saw him of having informed the government against him. The same man, in the edition of the age of Lewis XIV. which he published at Frankfort in 1752, had attacked, in his notes, the memory of the duke of Orleans, pag. 346 and 347, tom. ii of this spurious edition.

Learning hath been infected with so many kinds of defamatory libels, and the Dutch have published so many
false

convulsions. He met with all these domestic losses towards the conclusion of an unsuccessful war, before he was sure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when famine laid waste the kingdom; and yet he was never seen to sink under his afflictions.

The remaining part of his life was unhappy. The disordered state of the finances, which he was unable to rectify, alienated the minds of the people. The unbounded confidence he placed in father Le Tellier, a man of too violent passions, completed the disgust. It is very remarkable, that the public, who freely forgave him his love to his mistresses, could never forgive him his attachment to his confessor. He lost, during the last three years of his life, in the minds of most of his subjects, all the respect and esteem he had gained by his great and memorable actions.

Deprived of almost all his children, his love, which was now redoubled to the duke of Maine and the count of Thoulouse, his legitimared sons, carried him to declare them heirs to the crown, them and their descendants, in default of princes of the blood, by an edict that was registered without opposition in 1714. He thus tempered, by the law of nature, the severity of positive laws, which deprive children born out of marriage, of all right of succeeding to their father's estate: but kings dispense with this law. He thought he might safely do for his own blood what he had done for several of his sub-

false memoirs, and injurious aspersions on the government and people, that it is the duty of every faithful historian to caution the reader against the imposture.

jects.

jects. He imagined, particularly, that he might make the same establishment for two of his children, which he had caused to be made in parliament for the princes of the house of Lorraine. He afterwards raised them to the same rank with princes of the blood in 1715. The suit commenced by the princes of the blood against the legitimated princes is well known. The latter preserved for themselves and their children, the honours conferred upon them by Lewis XIV, but the fate of their posterity must depend on time, on merit, and on fortune. Lewis XIV. was seized about the middle of August in 1715, on his return from Marli, with the disease that brought him to the grave. His legs were swelled; a mortification began to appear. The earl of Stairs, the English ambassador, laid a wager, according to the custom of his country, that the king would not outlive the month of September. The duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had no attendants, had now the whole court about him. An empiric, in the last days of the king's illness, gave him an elixir which revived his spirits. He eat, and the empiric affirmed he would recover. The crowds which surrounded the duke of Orleans began to diminish apace. "If the king eats a second time, said the duke of Orleans, I shall not have a single person in my leveé." But the disease was mortal. Measures were taken for giving the regency, with an absolute authority, to the duke of Orleans. The king by his will, which was deposited with the parliament, had left it to him under great limitations; or rather had only appointed him the head of a council of regency, in which he would only have had the casting

vote : and yet he said to him ; “ I have preserved to you all the rights to which you are intitled by your birth” *. The reason was, that he did not believe there was a fundamental law in the kingdom which gives, during a minority, an absolute power to the presumptive heir of the crown. This supreme authority, which may be easily abused, is no doubt dangerous ; but a divided authority is still more dangerous. He imagined, that having been so faithfully obeyed during his life, he would be equally so after his death, not remembering that the will of his father had been violated.

Every body knows with what greatness of soul he beheld the approach of death. He said to Madame de Maintenon, “ I imagined it was more difficult to die ;” and to his servants, “ Why do you weep ? did you think me immortal ?” He gave orders about several things, and even about the funeral solemnity. Whoever has many witnesses of his death, always dies with courage. Lewis XIII. in his last illness, set to music the psalm *De Profundis*, which was to be sung at his funeral. The fortitude of mind with which Lewis XIV. beheld his end, was divested of that glare of ostentation which covered the rest of his life. He

* In the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. v. pag. 194, it is said, that Lewis XIV. intended to make the duke of Maine lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A man should be furnished with authentic proofs before he ventures to advance a thing of such extraordinary and important nature. The duke of Maine would, in that case, have been above the duke of Orleans,, which would have turned the kingdom topsy-turvy ; and hence we may infer that the assestion is false.

had the courage even to acknowledge his errors. His successor hath always kept under his pillow the remarkable words which that monarch spoke to him as he sat up in his bed and held him in his arms. These words are not such as has been represented in all former histories. The following is a faithful copy.

“ You are soon going to be the king of a great kingdom. What I would chiefly recommend to you, is never to forget the obligation you are under to God. Remember that you are indebted to him for all that you are. Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war; in this do not follow my example any more than in my too expensive manner of living. Take counsel in every thing. Endeavour to distinguish what is best, and always take care to pursue it. Relieve your subjects as much as you can, and do what I have been so unhappy as not to be able to do myself, &c.”

This speech contains nothing of that meanness of spirit which is ascribed to him in some memoirs. He has been reproached for carrying some relics about him during the latter years of his life. His sentiments of religion were noble and elevated; but his confessor, who was of a different character, had subjected him to some practices little consistent with these sentiments, and now disused, in order to subject him the more absolutely to his direction.

Though the life and death of Lewis XIV. were certainly glorious, yet was he less lamented than he deserved. The love of novelty; the approach of a minority, in which every one hoped to make a fortune; the dispute about

the constitution, which then exasperated the minds of the people; all conspired to make the news of his death be received with something more than indifference. We beheld the same people, who, in 1686, had importuned heaven with tears and sighs for the recovery of their sick monarch, follow his funeral procession with demonstrations of a very different nature. It is pretended, that the queen his mother said to him when he was very young : " My son, imitate your grandfather and not your father." The king having asked the reason ; " because, said she, the people wept at the death of Henry IV. and laughed at that of Lewis XIII."

Notwithstanding he has been reproached with littleness of mind in his zeal against the Janse-nists, with too much haughtiness to foreigners in his prosperity, with too great indulgence to several women, and too great severity in personal concerns, with wars undertaken without sufficient reason, with the burning of the Palatinate, and the persecution of the protestants, yet his great qualities and glorious actions being placed in the scale, have at last more than counterpoised all his imperfections. Time, which rectifies the opinions of mankind, has stamped his reputation with the seal of immortality; and in spite of all that has been written against him, his name will never be mentioned without respect, or without reviving the idea of an age for ever memorable. If we consider him in his private character, we shall find him indeed too full of his own greatness; but withal affable, refusing his mother a share in the administration, but performing to her all the duties of a son, and observing the strictest rules of decency and decorum

decorum in his behaviour to his wife; a good father, a good master, always decent in public, laborious in the cabinet, exact in the management of his affairs, thinking justly, speaking fluently, and amiable with dignity.

I have elsewhere * remarked, that he never spoke the words which have been ascribed to him, when the first gentleman of the bed-chamber and the grand-master of the wardrobe were disputing about the honour of serving him: "What does it signify which of my valets serve me?" Such a coarse expression could never be used by a man so polite and so considerate as Lewis XIV. and agreed but ill with what he afterwards said to one of these gentlemen when talking of his debts: "Why do you not speak to your friends?" Words of a very different meaning, and of great importance, being accompanied with a present of fifty thousand crowns.

Nor is it true, that he wrote to the duke de la Rochefoucault: "I make you my compliments as your friend, with regard to the post of grand-master of the wardrobe, which I give you as your king." The historians have done him the honour of this letter, not remembering how very indelicate and even cruel it is to tell a man, whose master you are, that you are his master. This would be very proper were a sovereign writing to a rebellious subject; and Henry IV. might justly enough have said it to the duke of Mayenne before a reconciliation was ef-

* All this is extracted from anecdotes printed among the miscellanies of the same author, and founded upon this history.

fectcd. Rose, secretary of the closet, wrote the letter; but the king had too much good sense to send it. It was the same good sense that made him suppress the pompous inscriptions which Charpentier of the French academy affixed to the paintings of Le Brun in the gallery of Versailles: "The incredible passage of the Rhine; the marvellous taking of Valenciennes, &c." The king thought that the taking of Valenciennes, and the passage of the Rhine, were more expressive. Charpentier was in the right to adorn with inscriptions in our language the monuments of our country; flattery alone spoiled the execution.

Some smart answers, and witty expressions of this prince have been collected, which are reduceable to a very small number. It is pretended that when he formed the design of abolishing Calvinism in France, he said, "My grandfather loved the Hugonots, and did not fear them; my father feared them, but did not love them; for my own part, I neither love nor fear them."

Having given in 1658, the place of first president of the parliament of Paris to M. de Lamignon, then master of requests, he said to him, "Had I known a worthier man, or a better subject, I would have chosen him." He used much the same expression to the cardinal de Noailles, when he gave him the archbishopric of Paris. What constitutes the merit of these words is, that they were true, and inspired a principle of virtue.

It is said, that a foolish preacher having one day pointed him out at Versailles (a rashness that is not allowable towards a private man, and

and far less towards a king) Lewis XIV. contented himself with saying to him, "Father, I like well enough to take my share of a sermon; but do not chuse to be made the subject of it:" whether he used this expression or not, it may serve as a lesson.

He always expressed himself with majesty and precision, studying in public to speak as well as to act like a sovereign. When the duke of Anjou was setting out on his journey to ascend the throne of Spain, he said to him, in order to mark the union which would for the future unite the two nations: "Remember there are now no Pyrenees."

Nothing surely can set his character in a clearer light than the following memorial, written intirely with his own hand*.

"Kings are frequently obliged to do many things contrary to their inclination, and which shock the natural humanity of their temper. They ought to take a pleasure in doing favours, and they are often forced to punish, and even to ruin those to whom they naturally wish well. The interest of the state should hold the first place. They must force their inclinations: they must act in every matter of importance, so as to have no cause to reproach themselves with the thought of having been able to do better: but some private interests prevented me from following this course, and engrossed that attention which I ought to have employed in promoting the grandeur, the happiness, and the power of the state. There are many circum-

* It was deposited in the king's library some years ago.

stances that create uneasiness; there are some so intricate that it is difficult to unravel them. We have confused ideas; and while that is the case, we may remain long without coming to any determination; but the moment we have formed our resolution, and are convinced that it is the best, we ought to carry it into execution. It is to the observance of this maxim that I have frequently owed my success in several of my undertakings. The errors I have committed, and which have given me infinite pain, have been owing to complaisance, and to a too ready compliance with the advice of others. Nothing is so dangerous as weakness of every kind. To be able to command others we must raise ourselves above them; and after having heard the opinions of all parties, we must fix upon that which we judge to be best, without prejudice or partiality, always careful not to order or execute any thing unworthy of ourselves, of the character we bear, or of the grandeur of the state. Princes who have good intentions, and some knowledge of their own affairs, whether by experience, study, or intense application, find so many ways of discovering their natural disposition, that they ought to take a particular care of themselves and of all round them. We ought constantly to be on our guard against ourselves, our inclinations, and our natural propensities. The employment of a king is grand, noble, and agreeable, especially when he finds himself able to perform his duty; but it is not exempted from pain, fatigue, and inquietude. Uncertainty sometimes occasions despair; when, therefore, he has employed a reasonable time in examining an affair,

affair, he ought to come to a determination, and to pursue the course which he thinks most adviseable *.

“ When he labours for the state, he labours for himself; the welfare of the one constitutes the glory of the other. When the former is great, happy, and powerful, he who is the cause of all these advantages is glorious, and of consequence ought, both on his own account and that of his subjects, to enjoy a greater share of all that is most pleasant and agreeable in life. When he has committed an error, he ought to repair it as soon as possible, and should allow no consideration to hinder him, not even good-nature itself.

“ In 1671 there died a man who had the post of secretary of state, being charged with the department of foreign affairs. He was a man of capacity, but not without faults. He filled that important post with great ability.

“ I was some time in considering to whom I should commit this weighty charge; and, after mature deliberation, I found that a man who had long served me in the character of an ambassador, was most likely to fill it with success.

* The abbe Castel de St. Pierre, author of several strange performances, in which there are many things of a philosophical, but very few of a practical nature, has left behind him some political annals, from 1658 to 1739, which are probably suppressed. He, in several places, condemns the administration of Lewis XIV. with great severity; and will not, by any means, allow him the title of Lewis the Great. If by Great he means perfect, this title to be sure does not belong to him; but from these memoirs written with the hand of that monarch, it appears that he had as good political principles at least as the abbe de St. Pierre.

“ I ordered him to return home : all the world approved of my choice, which is not always the case. On his return I put him in possession of the post. I knew him only by report, and by the commissions with which I had charged him, and which he had executed with great fidelity ; but the employment I had now given him was too great and too extensive for his narrow capacity. I have not availed myself of all the advantages I might have obtained, and this has always been owing to my complaisance and good-nature. At last I was obliged to order him to retire, because all that passed thro’ his hands, lost that air of grandeur and importance which ought ever to attend the execution of the orders of a king of France. Had I been so wise as to have removed him sooner, I should have prevented many of the misfortunes which afterwards beset me, and should have had no cause to reproach myself with allowing my indulgence to him to hurt the state. These particulars I have thought proper to mention, in order to confirm the truth of what I advanced above.”

This precious and hitherto unknown monument, will serve to convince posterity of the integrity of his heart, and the greatness of his soul. We may even say, that he judges himself with too much severity ; and that he has no cause to reproach himself with regard to Mr. de Pomponne, since the great services and reputation of that minister determined the prince’s choice, which was likewise confirmed by the general approbation of the public ; and if he condemns himself for his choice of Mr. de Pomponne, who at least had the happiness to
serve

serve during a glorious period, what ought he to say with regard to Mr. de Chamillard, whose ministry was so unfortunate and so universally condemned?

He had written several memoirs in this stile, either with a view of keeping an account of his own conduct, or for the instruction of the dauphin duke of Burgundy. These reflexions succeeded the events: he would have attained nearer to perfection, to which his merit intitled him to aspire, had he been able to form to himself a philosophy superior to the politics and prejudices of the times. Philosophy which, in the space of so many centuries, we have seen practised by so few sovereigns, and which kings are very excuseable for not understanding, since it is understood by so few private men.

The following are a few of the many instructions which Lewis XIV. gave to his grandson Philip V. when he was setting out on his journey for Spain. He wrote them in haste, and with a negligence that discovers the soul much better than a studied discourse. We behold in them the father and the king.

“ Love the Spaniards, and all your subjects who are attached to your crown and person. Don't prefer those that flatter you most; esteem such as, for the public good, will run the risk of displeasing you: these are your true friends.

“ Promote the happiness of your subjects; and with this view never undertake a war until you are forced to it, and until you have fully weighed and examined the reasons for and against it in your council.

“ Endeavour to lower your taxes; take care of the Indies, and of your fleets; give

great attention to commerce, and live in a perfect union with France, nothing being so advantageous for both kingdoms as this union, which no power can resist *.

“ If you are obliged to make war, put yourself at the head of your army.

“ Endeavour to re-establish your troops upon their former footing in all your dominions, and begin with those of Flanders.

“ Never neglect business for pleasure; but form to yourself a kind of plan which will allow you proper times for amusements and diversion.

“ Of these there are hardly any more innocent than hunting, and the pleasures of a country-house, provided you are not too expensive in your decorations.

“ Give great attention to business when any one talks to you on that subject; hear much at first, without making any decision.

“ When once you have acquired more knowledge, remember that it is your province to decide; but whatever experience you may have, be always sure to hear the opinions and reasonings of your council before you come to a decision.

“ Exert your utmost sagacity and penetration, in order to find men of the greatest abilities, that so you may properly employ them.

“ Take care that your viceroys and governors be always Spaniards.

“ Treat every body well; never say a disagreeable thing to any one; but distinguish people of quality and merit.

“ Shew the grateful sense you have of the kindness of the late king, and of all those who

* He was greatly mistaken in this conjecture.

have concurred in chusing you for his successor.

“Place great confidence in cardinal Porto-Carrero, and let him know how much you are pleased with the conduct he has pursued.

“I think you ought to do something considerable for the ambassador who had the happiness to invite you into the kingdom, and to salute you first in the quality of a subject.

“Do not forget Bedmar, who is a man of merit, and is capable of serving you.

“Place an unreserved confidence in the duke of Harcourt: he is a man of capacity and of honour, and will never give you any advice but what is for your interest.

“Keep all the French in order.

“Use your domestics well; but never admit them into too great a degree of familiarity, and far less of confidence. Employ them as long as they behave well; but send them back on the least fault they commit; and never support them against the Spaniards.

“Have no intercourse with the queen-dowager, but such as you cannot dispense with. See that she quit Madrid; but let her not go out of Spain. Wherever she is, observe her conduct, and never allow her to interfere in any affairs of state. Suspect the fidelity of those who have too much intercourse with her.

“Always love your relations: remember the pain it cost them to part with you: preserve a constant intercourse with them, as well in small as in great things. Ask from us freely whatever you either want or desire to have, that is not to be found in your own country, and we will use the same freedom with you.

“Never

" Never forget that you are a Frenchman, nor what may possibly befall you. When you have secured the succession of Spain by children, visit your kingdoms, go to Naples and Sicily, pass over to Milan, and come to Flanders *. This will give you an opportunity of paying us a visit. Mean while visit Catalonia, Arragon, and other places. See what improvements may be made at Ceuta.

" Throw some money to the people when you are in Spain, and especially when you enter Madrid.

" Don't seem to be shocked at the strange figures you may see. Ridicule nothing: every country has its particular manners; and you will soon be familiarized to what at first may appear most surprising.

" Avoid, as much as possible, the granting of favours to those who give you money in order to obtain them. Give with discretion and liberality; and never receive any presents, unless they be trifles. If it should sometimes happen that you are obliged to receive them, be always sure, in a few days after, to return more considerable presents to those who gave them.

" Have a strong box, in which you may deposit any thing particular, and keep the key of it yourself.

" I shall conclude with one of the most important advices I can give you. Do not suffer yourself to be governed. Be master yourself. Have

* This circumstance alone may serve to confound the many historians, who, on the faith of spurious memoirs written in Holland, have mentioned the pretended treaty, (signed by Philip V. before his departure) by which he ceded to his grandfather Flanders and the Milanese.

no favourite, nor prime minister. Hear and consult your council ; but decide yourself. And God, who hath made you a king, will give you such degrees of light and knowledge as are necessary for you, in proportion to the rectitude of your intentions *."

Lewis XIV. was more remarkable for a just and noble manner of thinking, than for brilliant sallies of wit. Besides, we do not expect that a king should say memorable things, but that he should do them. What is necessary for every man in power is, that he should never suffer any one to leave his presence in a bad humour ; but to render himself agreeable to all who approach him. We cannot always say generous actions ; but we can always say obliging things. Lewis had acquired this excellent habit. Between him and his court there was a perpetual interchange of all the graces that majesty could shew, without being degraded ; and all the arts which eagerness to serve, and solicitude to please, could shew without abasement. In the company of the ladies especially, he discovered a politeness and com-

* The king of Spain profited by these wholesome advices : he was a virtuous prince.

The author of the *Memoirs of madame de Maintenon*, tom. v. p. 200, &c. accuses him of having had " a scandalous supper with the princess of Ursino the day after the death of his first wife," and of having intended to marry that lady, whom he loads with the most bitter invectives. It must be observed, that the princess of Ursino, who had been maid of honour to the deceased queen, was then in the sixtieth year of her age. These popular reports, which ought to be buried in oblivion, become calumnies that deserve the most severe punishment, when people have the impudence to print them, and endeavour to fally the most respectable names without the least proof.

plaisance

plaisance which increased that of his courtiers; and with the men he never missed an opportunity of saying such things as flattered their self-love, at the same time that they excited their emulation, and left a deep impression on the mind.

One day the dutchess of Burgundy, when she was very young, observing an officer at supper, who was remarkably disagreeable, began to jest on his ugliness with great freedom, and in a very high tone: "I think him, madam," said the king, in a still higher tone, "one of the handsomest men in my kingdom; for he is one of the bravest."

A general officer, a man of a blunt address, and who had not polished his manners even in the court of Lewis XIV. had lost an arm in an engagement, and was making his complaints to the king, who, however, had rewarded him as much as the loss of an arm could be recompensed: "I wish, said he, I had lost my other arm likewise, that so I might never serve your majesty more." "I should have been extremely sorry for that, said the king, both on your account and my own;" and immediately granted him a considerable favour. He was so far from saying disagreeable things, which in the mouth of a prince are deadly arrows, that he never indulged himself, even in the most innocent and harmless raileries, while private men daily use the most severe and cruel.

He frequently diverted himself, and even excelled in those ingenious things called impromptues, and agreeable songs; and he sometimes composed, extempore, little parodies on the songs most in vogue, such as this:

Chez

*Chez mon cadet de frère,
Le chancelier Serrant
N'est pas trop nécessaire ;
Et le sage Boifrant
Est celui qui fait plaire.*

There's Phil, my younger brother,
With chancellor Serrant
He seldom makes a pother ;
He likes wife Boifrant
Much better than the other.

And this other, which he made one day in dismissing the council :

*Le conseil à ses yeux à beau se présenter ;
Si-tôt qu'il voit sa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle :
Rien ne peut l'arrêter,
Quand la chasse l'appelle.*

The council in vain at his elbow appears,
When his bitch comes across, from all business
he'll fly ;
Nought else he minds, or sees, or hears,
When once the hounds are in full cry.

These trifles servē at least to shew, that the charms of wit composed one of the pleasures of his court ; that he partook in these pleasures ; and that he was as capable of living like a private man, as of acting the great monarch on the theatre of the world.

His letter to the archbishop of Rheims, concerning the marquis de Barbesieux, though wrote in a very careless stile, does more honour to his heart than the most ingenious thoughts could have done to his head. He had given this youth
the

the post of secretary at war, which had been formerly possessed by his father, the marquis de Louvois: but being soon dissatisfied with the conduct of his new secretary, he resolved to correct him, without giving him too great mortification. With this view he applied to his uncle, the archbishop of Rheims, and desired him to advise his nephew; and shews himself a master informed of every thing, while he had all the tenderness of a father.

“ I know,” says he, what I owe to the memory of M. de Louvois; but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, I shall be obliged to do what I shall be sorry for; but there will be a necessity for it. He has talents; but does not make a good use of them. He spends too much time in giving entertainments to the princes, instead of minding business: he neglects the public affairs for his pleasures. He makes the officers wait too long in his antichamber; he speaks to them with haughtiness, and even sometimes with rudeness.”

This is all that I remember of this letter, which I once saw in the original. It plainly shews, that Lewis XIV. was not governed by his ministers, as has been reported; but that he knew how to govern them.

He was fond of praises; and it were to be wished that kings were more fond of them, that so they might endeavour to deserve them. But Lewis XIV. did not always swallow them, when they were too strong and excessive. When our academy, which always gave him an account of the subjects it proposed for prizes, shewed him the following, “ Which of all the virtues of the king deserve the preference?” the king blushed, and

and would not allow the subject to be treated of. He suffered, it is true, the prologues of Quinault; but it was in the height of his glory, and at a time when the intoxication of the people was some apology for his; Virgil and Horace, from a principle of gratitude, and Ovid, from the most contemptible meanness of spirit, loaded Augustus with praises far more extravagant, and, if we consider the proscriptions, much less deserved.

Had Corneille said to any of the courtiers in cardinal de Richelieu's chamber, "Tell the cardinal that I understand poetry better than him," the minister would never have forgiven him; and yet this is the very thing that Despreaux said openly to his majesty, in a dispute that happened about some verses which the king thought good, and Despreaux condemned. "He is in the right," said the king; he understands the subject better than I do."

The duke de Vendôme had in his retinue a person called Villiers, one of those men of pleasure who make a merit of talking with a cynical freedom. He lodged at Versailles in the duke's apartment: he was commonly called Villiers Vendôme. This man openly condemned the taste of Lewis XIV. in music, in painting, in architecture, in gardening, and in every thing else. If the king planted a grove, furnished an apartment, or built a fountain, Villiers found it to be ill-contrived, and expressed his disapprobation in very indiscreet terms. "It is strange," said the king, that Villiers should have chosen my house to laugh at every thing I do." Having one day met him in the garden, "Well," said he to him, shewing him at the same time one of his new per-

performances, "has not that the good fortune to please you?" "No," said Villiers. "And yet, replied the king, there are several people who do not dislike it." "That may be, returned Villiers; every one has his own way of thinking." The king replied, with a smile, "It is impossible to please all the world."

One day Lewis XIV. playing at tick-tack, had a doubtful throw. A dispute arose, and the courtiers remained in the most profound silence. At that instant the count de Grammont arrived. "Decide this question," said the king to him. "Sire, said the count, your majesty is in the wrong." "How, replied the king, can you accuse me of being in the wrong before you know what the question is?" "Because, said the count, had the matter been in the least doubtful, all these gentlemen would have given it for your majesty."

The duke of Antin distinguished himself in this age by a singular art, not of saying flattering things, but of doing them. The king went to pass a night at Petitbourg, when he found fault with a long alley of trees, which concealed the view of the river. The duke caused them to be cut down in the night. Next morning the king was surprised at not seeing the trees with which he had found fault. "It is, replied the duke, because your majesty found fault with them, that you no longer behold them."

We have elsewhere remarked, that the same man observing that a pretty large wood at the end of the canal of Fontainebleau displeased the king, at the minute when his majesty went to take a walk in it, every thing being ready for the purpose, he ordered the trees to be cut down, and
in

in a moment they were levelled with the ground. These are the strokes of an ingenious courtier, and not of a flattering sycophant.

Lewis XIV. has been accused of intolerable pride, for suffering the base of his statue in the Place des Victoires to be surrounded with slaves in fetters: but neither this statue, nor that in the Place de Vendôme, were erected by him. The statue in the Place des Victoires is a monument of the greatness of soul of the first marechal de la Feuillade, and of his gratitude to his royal master. He expended on this statue five hundred thousand livres, amounting nearly to a million of our present money; and the city added as much more, to render the place regular. It seems equally unjust to impute to Lewis XIV. the pride of this statue, and to find nothing but vanity and flattery in the magnanimity of the marechal.

Nothing was talked of but the four slaves; tho' they rather represent vices subdued than nations conquered, duelling abolished, and heresy destroyed; for so the inscriptions import. They likewise celebrate the junction of the sea, and the peace of Nimeguen: they talk of nothing but benefits; and none of the slaves has the least resemblance to the people conquered by Lewis XIV. Besides, it is an ancient practice among sculptors to place slaves at the feet of the statues of kings. It would be better, indeed, to represent there free and happy subjects. But, to conclude, we see slaves at the feet of the merciful Henry IV. and of Lewis XIII. at Paris: we see them at Livourne under the statue of Ferdinand de Medicis, who never, sure, enslaved any nation; and we see them at Berlin under the statue
of

of an elector, who repulsed the Swedes, but made no conquests.

The neighbours of France, and even the French themselves, have, with great injustice, made Lewis XIV. answerable for this custom. The inscription, *Viro immortali*, "to the immortal Man," has been accused of idolatry; as if that expression meant any more than the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani, on his house at Florence, *Ædes à Deo data*, "the house given by God," would be still more idolatrous. It is no more, however, than an allusion to the surname, *Dieu-donne*, and to the verse of Virgil, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*.

With regard to the statue in the Place de Vendôme, it was erected by the city. The Latin inscriptions, on the four sides of its base, discover a more gross kind of flattery than the statue in the Place des Victoires. We there read, that Lewis XIV. never took arms but with reluctance. To this adulation he solemnly gave the lie on his death-bed, by those words, which will be remembered longer than these inscriptions, unknown to him, and produced by the meanness of spirit of some men of letters.

The king had set apart the houses of this square for his public library. The place was too large: it had at first three sides, which were those of an immense palace. The walls were already built, when the calamities that happened in 1701 obliged the city to build private houses on the ruins of the palace, which was already begun. Thus the Louvre was never finished. Thus the fountain and the obelisk, which Colbert intended to raise opposite to the gate of Perrault, never appeared but in embryo. Thus the beautiful

tiful gate of St. Gervais remained in obscurity ; and most of the monuments of Paris fill us only with sorrow.

The nation wished that Lewis XIV. had preferred his Louvre and his capital to the palace of Versailles, which the duke de Crequi called a favourite without merit. Posterity admires, with the most grateful remembrance, the great and noble things he did for the public welfare ; but our admiration is mixed with censure, when we behold all the magnificence and defects that Lewis XIV. has introduced into his house in the country.

From all we have said it appears, that Lewis XIV. loved grandeur and glory in every thing. A prince who should perform as great things as Lewis XIV. and yet be modest and humble, would be the first of kings, and Lewis only the second.

If he repented, on his death-bed, of having undertaken war without just reason, it must be owned that he did not judge by events ; for, of all his wars, the most just, and the most indispensable, that in * 1701, was the only unfortunate one.

He had by his queen, besides the Dauphin, two sons and three daughters, who died in their infancy. His amours were more successful. There were only two of his natural children that died in the cradle : eight of them were legitimated, and five of them had children. He had likewise by a lady, who lived much

* It was so far from being just, that it derived its immediate source from an open violation of treaties, and his embracing a measure which undoubtedly endangered the liberties of Europe.

with madame de Montespan, a daughter, whom he never acknowledged, and whom he married to a gentleman near Versailles, of the name of La Queue.

Some people suspected, and not without reason, that a certain lady in the abby of Moret was his daughter. She was very brown, and resembled him in other respects *. The king, when he placed her in the convent, gave her a portion of twenty thousand crowns. The opinion she had of her birth gave her an air of pride, of which the superiors of the convent loudly complained. Madame de Maintenon, in a journey to Fontainbleau, went to the convent of Moret; and, willing to inspire this nun with more modest sentiments, endeavoured to banish the idea that nourished her pride. "Madam, said the nun, the trouble which a lady of your rank takes to come on purpose to tell me that I am not the king's daughter, fully convinces me that I am."

This anecdote the nuns of Moret remember to this day.

Such a particularity of circumstances would be irksome to a philosopher; but curiosity, that weakness so incident to mankind, ceases almost to be a weakness, when it is employed about times and personages which attract the attention of posterity.

* The author saw this lady in company with Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, who had a right of entering into the inner apartments of the convent.

C H A P. CCI.

Of the Interior Government, Commerce, Police, Laws, Military Discipline, Marine, &c.

THIS justice we owe to persons of a public character who have done good to the age they have lived in, that we should view the point from which they have set out, in order to form a just idea of the changes they have produced in their own country. Posterity is eternally indebted to them for the examples they have given, even though these are surpassed. This just glory is their only recompense. It is certain that the love of such glory animated Lewis XIV. when beginning to govern by himself, he had resolved to reform his kingdom, embellish his court, and perfect the arts.

He not only imposed it as a law upon himself, to labour regularly with each of his ministers, but every man that was but known might obtain a particular audience of him, and all citizens had a liberty of presenting their requests and projects; the petitions were received at first by a master of requests, who marked them on the margin, and they were afterwards sent to the offices of the ministers. The projects were examined in council, when they deserved it, and their authors were admitted more than once to discuss the points they contained with the ministers, in presence of their master. Thus we see a correspondence subsisting between the throne and the nation, notwithstanding absolute power.

Lewis XIV. formed and accustomed himself to labour; and this was so much the more painful, as it was new to him, and the seduction of pleasures might easily distract him. He wrote the first dispatches himself to his ambassadors. The most important letters were often afterwards minuted with his own hand, and there was none written in his name which he did not cause to be read to him.

Scarcely had Colbert, after the fall of Fouquet, re-established order in the finances, before the king remitted to his people all the arrears due on the imposts from 1647 till 1656, and especially three millions of *taille* or excise. The enormous duties were abolished for five hundred thousand crowns a year. Thus the abbé de Choisy seems either to have been very ill informed, or to be guilty of very great injustice, when he says, that the public receipt was not diminished; for it is certain that it was lessened by these indulgent remissions, and increased by good order.

The care of the first president Bellievre, assisted by the liberalities of the *dutcheſs d'Aiguillon*, and several citizens, had established the general hospital. The king augmented it, and caused the like edifices to be erected in all the principal towns of the kingdom.

The great roads, till that time impassable, were not neglected, and by degrees they have become what they are now, under the reign of Lewis XV. the admiration of foreigners. On whatever side you come out of Paris, you travel at present from about fifty to sixty leagues, and in some places of the neighbourhood, through close alleys bordered with trees. The roads
made

made by the ancient Romans were more durable indeed, but not so spacious nor so beautiful.

Colbert's genius turned chiefly towards commerce, which was but weakly cultivated, and its grand principles were not yet known. The English, and the Dutch still more, carried on in their own bottoms almost the whole traffic of France. The Dutch especially loaded with our merchandises in our ports, and distributed them all over Europe. The king began, from the year 1662, to exempt his subjects from an impost called the duty of freight, which all the vessels of foreigners payed; and he granted the French the indulgence of transporting their merchandise themselves at less expence. It was then that maritime commerce had its birth. The council for that department, which at present continues, was established, and in it the king presided every fifteenth day.

Dunkirk and Marseilles were declared free ports; and soon afterwards this advantage drew the trade of the Levant to Marseilles, and that of the North to Dunkirk.

In 1664 was formed a West-India company, and that of the East-Indies was established the same year. Before this time France paid tribute for her luxuries to the Dutch. The partisans of the ancient oeconomy, who were timid, ignorant, and had contracted views, declaimed in vain against a commerce in which a continual exchange was made of money that would not perish for effects which do. They did not reflect that these merchandises of India, which were become necessary, would be more dearly

paid for by foreigners. We carry indeed to the East Indies more kinds of goods than we bring home from thence; and by that means Europe is impoverished. But these kinds come from Peru and Mexico; they are the price of our goods carried to Cadiz, and there remains more of this money in France than the East Indies absorb of it.

The king gave more than six millions of our present currency to the company. He invited rich people to embark in it. The queens, the princes, and all the court, furnished two millions of the coin of that time. The superior courts gave twelve hundred thousand livres, the financiers two millions, the body of merchants six hundred and fifty thousand livres. So that the whole nation seconded their king.

This company has always subsisted; for though the Dutch had taken Pondicherry in 1694, and the commerce of the Indies has languished ever since, it has recovered in our days new strength: Pondicherry has become a rival to Batavia: and this India company, founded with extreme difficulty by the great Colbert, and re-established in our days by singular revolutions, is now become one of the greatest resources of the kingdom. The king likewise erected a company of the North, in the year 1669: he lodged funds in it, as he did in that of the Indies. It was then very plain that commerce is no disgrace to any, since the greatest houses interested themselves in these establishments, after the example of the monarch.

The West India company was no less encouraged than the others. The king furnished the tenth part of all the funds.

He

He granted thirty francs per ton for exportation, and forty for importation. All those who had vessels built in the ports of the kingdom, received five livres for each ton they contained.

Yet one cannot forbear being very much surpris'd, that Abbé Choisy has censured these establishments, in his memoirs, which must not be read without some diffidence *. We are sensible in our days of all that the minister Colbert did for the benefit of the kingdom; but at that time we were entirely ignorant of it: he worked for ungrateful people. They were much more disgusted with him at Paris for the suppression of certain rents on the town-house, purchased at a cheap rate since the year 1656, and for the discredit into which the notes of the king's privy treasury fell, that were squandered under the preceding minister, than they were sensible of the general good which he did. In this affair were concerned more burghesses than good citizens. Few people had an eye to the public advantage. It is well known what a fascinating power interest has upon the

* The Abbé Castel de St. Pierre expresses himself thus, p. 105, of his manuscript entitled *Annales Politiques*. "Colbert, the great pains-taker, by neglecting the companies of maritime commerce, that he might employ the more care about the curious sciences and fine arts, took the shadow for the substance." But Colbert was so far from neglecting maritime commerce, that it was he alone who established it. No minister ever took less the shadow for the substance than he did.

This note was written in August 1756.

eyes, and how it contracts the mind; I do not mean this only concerning the interest of a single trader, but that of a company, and even a town. The clownish answer of a merchant called Hazon, (who upon being consulted by this minister, told him, "You have found the carriage upset on one side, and have overturned it on the other.") was still obsequiously quoted in my young days: and this anecdote is to be met with in Moreri. The philosophic spirit introduced very late into France, reformed the prejudices of the people, so as to make them at length do entire justice to the memory of this great man. He had the same exactness as the duke of Sully; but withal, he had views which were much more extensive. The one was acquainted only with oeconomy, but the other knew how to form grand establishments.

Almost every thing was either repaired or created in his time. The reduction of interest on the twentieth denier, on the loans given to the king, and particular persons, was a sensible proof of an abundant circulation in the year 1665. His meaning was, both to enrich and people France. Marriages in the country were encouraged by an exemption from the taille during the space of five years, for such as would settle themselves at the age of twenty; and every father of a family who had ten children, was exempted all his life-time, because he gave more to the state by the labour of these, than he could possibly have done in paying the taille. This regulation ought to have continued for ever unrepealed.

From

From 1663 till 1672, each year of this ministry was distinguished by the establishment of some manufacture or other. The fine cloths, which before had been brought from England and Holland, were fabricated in Abbeville. The king advanced to the manufacturer, for each working loom, two thousand livres, besides considerable gratifications. In the year 1669, about forty-four thousand and two hundred woollen looms were reckoned to be in the kingdom. The silk manufactures, when brought to perfection, produced a commerce of above fifty millions currency of that time : and the advantage drawn from these was not only very much above the prime cost of the silk necessary in their fabrication, but the cultivating of mulberry-trees put the manufacturers into a condition of dispensing with foreign silk for the woof of their stuffs.

From the year 1666 they began to make as fine glasses as at Venice, which city had always before furnished the whole consumption thro'out Europe ; and they soon made pieces of this kind, which, for largeness and beauty, could never be imitated in any other place. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were surpassed at la Savonnerie : the tapestry-hangings from Flanders were inferior to those of the Gobelins ; which vast enclosure was filled at that time with upwards of eight hundred workmen, and of these three hundred were lodged in it. The best painters had the direction of the work, either from their own designs, or those of the ancient masters of Italy. Besides the tapestry hangings, was made an admirable

hind of Mosaic, and the art of inlaying was carried to its highest perfection.

Besides this fine manufactory of tapestry in the Gobelines, another was set up at Beauvais. The first manufacturer had six hundred workmen in this town; and the king made him a present of sixty thousand livres.

Sixteen hundred young girls were employed in lace-works, and thirty principal workwomen in this way were brought from Venice, and two hundred out of Flanders, who had thirty-six thousand livres given them for their encouragement.

The manufactory of the cloths of Sedan, and that of the tapestry-hangings of Abusson, degenerated and fallen into decay, were re-established. The rich stuffs, in which silk is mixed with gold and silver, were fabricated at Lyons and Tours, with an industry which had not been seen before.

It is a thing well known, that the ministry purchased in England the secret of that ingenious machine by which stockings are made ten times faster than with needles. Tin-plates, steel, fine delft-ware, and Morocco-leather, which was always brought from abroad, were made in France. But the Calvinists, who had the secret of making tin-plates and steel, carried it away with them in the year 1686, and imparted this advantage, with several others, to foreign nations.

The king every year expended about four hundred thousand livres upon the different works of taste which were fabricated in his kingdom, of which he made presents.

Paris

Paris was then very different from what it is at present; for it wanted light, security, and cleanliness. It was necessary to make provision for the continual cleansing of the streets, for lighting of them, which is done by means of 5000 lamps burning every night, for paving the city quite through, building two new gates, and repairing the old ones, and causing a continual guard on foot and on horseback to keep watch for the security of the citizens. The king took the whole upon himself, allotting funds for these necessary expences. In 1667 he created a magistrate solely for taking care of the police. The greatest part of the large cities of Europe did not follow these examples till a long time after; and none have equalled them: so that no city is paved like Paris; and Rome itself is not lighted at all.

Every thing began to have so great a tendency to perfection, that the second lieutenant of police which Paris had, acquired in that post a reputation which set him in the rank of those who have done honour to this age: such was the capacity of this man for every thing. He was afterwards in the ministry, and he had been a good general. The place of lieutenant of the police was below his birth and merit, yet it gained him a much greater name than the inconsiderable post in the ministry which he obtained near the end of his days.

Here we ought to observe, that Mr. d'Argenson was by no means the only person, of the ancient nobility, who had been in the public magistracy. France is almost the only country of Europe, where the ancient nobility have

often taken to the long robe. All other nations, merely from the remains of Gothic barbarism, are still ignorant, that there is dignity in this profession.

The king still carried on the buildings at the Louvre, St. Germain, and Versailles, from the year 1661. Particular persons, after his example, erected in Paris a thousand superb and commodious edifices. Of these the number was so increased, that after the building of the environs of the Palais Royal, and those of St. Sulpice, there were formed in Paris two new towns, very much superior to the old one. It was at this time, that they invented the magnificent conveniency of coaches adorned with glasses and hung upon springs; so that a citizen of Paris could convey himself through this large city with more pomp than the first Romans displayed in their triumphal processions, to the Capitol. This custom was soon after received throughout Europe; and being now very common, it is no longer a piece of luxury.

Lewis XIV. had a taste for architecture, gardening, and sculpture; and this shewed itself in all these to be great and noble. From the time that the comptroller-general Colbert had, in the year 1664, the direction of the buildings, which is properly the office of the arts, he applied* himself to second the schemes

* The abbot St. Pierre, in his *Annales Politiques*, page 104 of his manuscript, says, "That these things plainly shew the number of lazy lubbards, as also their taste for laziness, which sufficiently serves to maintain and cherish other kinds

schemes of his master. The first necessary work was, to finish the Louvre. Francis Mansard, one of the greatest architects which France had produced, was fixed upon to construct the vast edifices that were projected. He would not undertake this task, unless he had liberty given him to rectify whatever should appear to him defective in the execution. This diffidence of himself, which had drawn a train of too much expence after it, was the reason for excluding him. The chevalier Bernini was therefore, sent for from Rome, an artist whose name was famous on account of the colonnade which surrounds the portal of St. Peter's church, the equestrian statue of Constantine, and the Navonne fountain. Equipages were furnished him for his journey. He was conducted to Paris as a man who came to do honour to France. He received, besides five lewis-d'ors a-day, for the eight months that he staid there, a present of fifty thousand crowns, with a pension of two thousand more, and one of five hundred for his son.

kinds of dronish fellows; and yet this is the condition of the Italian nation at present, where these arts are carried to an high degree of perfection; for they are beggars, lazy, heavy, vain poltroons, occupied about impertinencies, &c.

These rude reflections, wrote in language equally rude, are void of justice. The time in which the Italians succeeded best in these arts was under the Medicis, while Venice was in its most warlike and opulent state: then it was that Italy produced great warriors and illustrious artists of all kinds. And it was also in the flourishing years of Lewis XIV. that the arts have been carried to the greatest perfection. The abbot St. Pierre has mistaken a great number of things, and has given grounds for regretting, that reason has not always seconded his good intentions.

This generosity of Lewis XIV. to Bernini, was much greater than the munificence of Francis I. to Raphael. Bernini, by way of acknowledgment, made since that time at Rome the equestrian statue of the king, which is to be seen at Versailles. But when he came to Paris with so much parade, as the only person worthy of being employed by Lewis XIV. he was very much surpris'd to see the design of the front of the Louvre on the side of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, which soon after, when completed, became one of the most august monuments of architecture in the world. Claude Perrault had given this design, which was executed by Lewis le Vau and d'Orbay. He invented the machines with which the stones of fifty-two feet in length were rais'd, that form the pediment of this majestic edifice. Sometimes there is fetch'd from afar what is to be met with at hand among ourselves. No palace of Rome has an entrance comparable to that of the Louvre, for which we are indebted to this Perrault*, whom Boileau has attempted to render ridiculous. Travellers allow that the most celebrated villas of Italy are not superior to the castle of Maisons, which Francis Mansard had built at so little expence. Bernini was magnificently recompens'd, but did not deserve it; he only gave designs which were not executed.

* Claude Perrault was a member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and bred a physician, though he did not practise that art. He made some noble designs in architecture, and was allowed to be a man of genius by all the world but Boileau, who, from private pique, has satirized both him and his brother Charles; a want of candour in Boileau, which greatly detracts from the merit of his genius.

The king, when the works at the Louvre were carrying on, the completing of which was so much desired; when making a town at Versailles, near this palace, which has cost so many millions; when building Trianon and Marli, and ordering so many other edifices to be embellished, caused the observatory to be erected, which was begun in 1666, after the time that he established the academy of sciences. But the most glorious monument for its utility, grandeur, and the difficulties encountered in the execution, was the canal of Languedoc, which joins the two seas, and falls into the port of Cette, constructed for the receiving of its waters. These works were begun in the year 1664; and continued without interruption till 1681. The founding of the hospital of invalids, and the chapel of that structure, the finest in Paris, the establishment of St. Cyr, the last of so great a number of works constructed by this monarch, are alone sufficient to render his name revered. Four* thousand soldiers, and a great number of officers, who find in one of these grand asylums comfort in their old age, and relief for their wounds and wants; two hundred and fifty daughters of noblemen, who receive an education worthy of them in the other, are so many voices that celebrate the praises of Lewis XIV. The establishment of St. Cyr will be surpassed by that which Lewis XV. has just formed for the education of five hundred gentlemen; but far from causing St. Cyr to be forgot, it makes it to be remembered. This

* The abbot de St. Pierre censures that establishment which almost every nation has followed.

is the art of doing good, brought to perfection.

Lewis XIV. was at the same time desirous to perform greater things, and those of a more general utility, but more difficult in the execution; and that was to reform the laws. In this he employed the labours of the chancellor Seguier, Lamoignon, Talons, Bignons, and more especially the chancellor of state, Pussort. He himself sometimes assisted at their assemblies. The year 1667 was at the same time the epocha of his first laws, and first conquests. The civil ordonnance appeared first; next the code of the waters and forests; then the statutes for all the manufactures; the criminal ordonnance; the code of commerce, and that of the marine. All these followed nearly one year after another. There was likewise a new jurisprudence, established in favour of the negroes of our colonies, a sort of men who had not yet enjoyed the privileges of humanity.

A profound knowledge of the civil law is not to be acquired by a sovereign. But the king was acquainted with the principal laws; he possessed the spirit of them, and knew how, either to maintain or mitigate them properly. He often decided the causes of his subjects, not only in the council of the secretaries of state, but in that called the *Conceil des parties*. There are two celebrated determinations of his, in which he decided against himself.

In the first, which was given in 1680, the case was in a process between him and certain inhabitants of Paris, who had built upon his ground. He decided, that the houses should remain

remain to them, with the land belonging to himself, and which he ceded to them.

The other related to a Persian merchant, called Rouppli, whose goods had been seized by the commissaries of his farms, in the year 1687. His decision was, that all should be restored to him, and the king added a present of three thousand crowns. Rouppli carried his admiration and gratitude with him into his own country; and when Mehemet Rizabeg was afterwards at Paris, we found him acquainted with this fact by common report.

The abolition of duels was one of the greatest services which he did to his country. These combats had been formerly authorised even by the parliament, and by the church; and though they had been prohibited from the time of Henry IV. yet this fatal custom prevailed more than ever. The famous combat of the la Frettes, four against four, in 1663, was that which determined Lewis XIV. not to pardon it any longer. His happy severity corrected, by degrees, our own nation, and even the neighbouring nations, who conformed themselves to our wise customs, after having adopted our bad ones. There are in Europe an hundred times fewer duels at this day, than in the time of Lewis XIII.

He was the legislator both of his people, and of his armies. It was strange, that, before his time, uniforms among the troops was a thing not known. It was he, who in the first year of his administration, ordered, that each regiment should be distinguished, either by the colour of their clothes, or by different marks;

marks ; a regulation which was adopted soon after by all nations. It was he* also who instituted Brigadiers, and put the corps, of which the household troops of the king are formed, upon the footing they are on at present. He formed a company of musqueteers out of the guards of cardinal Mazarine, and fixed at five hundred men, the number of the two companies, to which he gave the cloathing they still retain.

Under him were made no constables, and after the death of the duke d'Epemnon no colonel-generals of the infantry ; those were become too much masters ; this he would have himself to be, and so he ought. Marshal Gramont, who was only camp-master of the French guards, under the duke d'Epemnon, and took orders from that colonel-general, for the future took them only from the king, and was the first who had the title of colonel of the Guards. He himself installed those colonels at the head of their regiments, by giving them, with his own hands, a gilt gorget and pike, and afterwards a spontoon, or a kind of half pike, when the use of the former weapon was abolished. He instituted the grenadiers, at first to the number of four in each company of the king's regiment, which is of his own creation ; afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each regiment of foot ; he gave two companies of them to the French guards, which at

* The abbot de St. Pierre, in his annals, speaks only of this institution of brigadiers, and forgets all that Lewis XIV. did for the military discipline.

present have three. He very much augmented the corps of dragoons, and gave them a colonel-general. We must not forget the establishment of studs for breeding of horses, in the year 1667, which had been absolutely set aside before that time, and were afterwards a great resource for remounting the cavalry.

The use of the bayonet at the end of the gun is an institution of the king's. Before his time it was used occasionally, and some companies only had this weapon; there was no uniform usage nor exercise with it: all was left to the general's discretion. The pike was looked upon as the most formidable weapon. The first regiment which had bayonets, and was trained to this exercise, was that of the fusiliers, established in the year 1671.

The manner in which the artillery is managed at present is entirely owing to him. He founded schools for this purpose at Douay, afterwards at Metz and Strasburgh; and the regiment of artillery was at length filled with officers, almost all of them capable of conducting a siege. All the magazines of the kingdom were stored, and every year furnished with eight hundred thousand weight of powder. He formed a regiment of bombardiers, and one of hussars, a kind of horsemen which, before his time, were known only among our enemies.

In 1688, he established thirty regiments of militia, furnished and equipped by the communities of the kingdom. These corps of militia, exercised themselves in war, without neglecting the cultivation of the lands.

Companies of cadets were entertained in most parts of the frontiers: there they learned

the mathematics, designing, and all the exercises, and did also the duty of soldiers. This institution lasted ten years. At length they were tired of these youths, as it was too difficult a matter to discipline them; but the corps of engineers, which the king formed, and to which he gave the regulations still followed by them, is an establishment that will last for ever. Under him the art of fortification was carried to perfection by marshal Vauban* and his pupils, who surpassed count Pagan. He constructed or repaired an hundred and fifty fortified places.

In order to maintain the military discipline, he created inspectors-general, afterwards directors, who gave an account of the state of the troops; and from their reports it was seen, whether the commissaries of war had done their duty.

He instituted the order of St. Lewis, an honourable recompence, often courted more than fortune. The hotel of invalids crowned the cares which he took for meriting to be well served.

It was owing to such cares as these, that, from the year 1672, he had an hundred and fourscore thousand regular troops; and that by augmenting his forces in proportion as the number and power of his enemies increased, he had at length to the amount of four hundred and

* Anthony le Prêtre, chevalier, count de Vauban, is so well known as the greatest engineer of his time (if Coehorn does not contest that prebeminence) that we need not dwell upon the particulars of his character.

fifty thousand men in arms, including the troops of the marine.

Before his time, no such strong armies had been seen. His enemies hardly opposed to him any of equal force; tho' there was a necessity for a close union among them. He shewed what France alone could do; and he had always either great success or great resources.

He was the first, who, in time of peace, gave a perfect idea and complete lesson of war. In 1698 he assembled at Compeigne seventy thousand men, where he performed all the operations of a campaign; and this was in order to instruct his three grandsons. But this military academy became a school of luxury.

The same attention which he shewed in forming of numerous and well disciplined land-armies, even before he was engaged in any war, he likewise exerted in acquiring the empire of the sea. First, the few vessels which cardinal Mazarin had suffered to rot in the harbours, are repaired; some others are bought in Holland and Sweden; and after the third year of his government, he sends his maritime forces to make an attempt at Gigeri, on the coast of Africa. The duke of Beaufort clears the sea of pirates, in the year 1665, and two years after France has in its ports sixty ships of war.

This is only a beginning. But, whilst new regulations and new efforts are making, he already feels all his force. He was unwilling to consent that his ships should strike their flag to that of England. The council of king Charles II. in vain insisted upon this right, which
force,

force, industry, and time, had given to the English. Lewis XIV. writes thus, to the count d'Estlade, his ambassador: "The king of England and his chancellor may see what my forces are; but they do not see my heart. I regard my honour more than all other things."

He said no more than what he was resolved to maintain; and, in fact, the usurpation of the English gave way to natural right, and the firmness of Lewis XIV. Every thing was equal between these two nations at sea. But, while he would have an equality kept up with England, he maintains his superiority over Spain. He obliges the Spanish admirals to strike to his flag, by virtue of the solemn precedency agreed upon in 1662.

Pains however are used on all sides for the establishment of a marine capable of justifying those high sentiments. The town and port of Rochefort are built at the mouth of the Charente. Sailors are enrolled and ranked by classes, who are to serve at one time in merchant-ships, and at another in the royal navy. And soon there are found to be sixty thousand of these actually registered.

Councils of construction are established in the ports, for giving of vessels the most commodious form. Five marine arsenals are built at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace. In 1672 there are sixty ships of the line, and forty frigates. In the year 1681, an hundred and eighty ships of war, including the tenders, and thirty galleys, are in the harbour of Toulon, either equipped or
ready

ready to be so. Eleven thousand regular troops serve on board the ships; and the galleys have three thousand. There are an hundred and sixty-six thousand men registered by classes, for all the different services of the marine. The following years there were reckoned to be in the service a thousand gentlemen, doing the duty of soldiers on board the ships, and learning in the ports whatever might qualify them for the art of navigation, and the working of a ship: these are the marine guards: they were upon sea what the cadets were upon land; and were instituted in the year 1672, but in small numbers. This corps has been the school which has produced the best officers for the service of the navy.

There had not been yet marshals of France in the corps of the marine; and this evinces, how this essential part of the forces of France had been neglected. John d'Estree was the first marshal, in 1681. It appears, that one of the great objects of attention in Lewis XIV. was to inspire all ranks with that emulation, without which every thing languishes.

In all the naval fights in which the French fleets were engaged, the advantage was always on their side, till the battle of la Hogue, in 1692, when the count de Tourville, following the orders of the court, attacked with forty-four sail a fleet of ninety English and Dutch ships: there was no standing against numbers; fourteen capital ships, of the first rate, were lost; which, being run a-ground, were burnt, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Notwithstanding this defeat, the maritime forces

sup-

supported themselves; but they declined in the following war. They did not begin to be well re-established till 1751, during an happy peace, the only proper time for establishing a good marine, for the accomplishment of which there is neither leisure nor power while a war lasts.

These naval forces were of use to protect commerce. The colonies of Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, before in a languishing condition, now flourished: not indeed to such a height of prosperity as we see them now arrived at, but with an advantage which till then had not been hoped for; for, from the year 1635 to 1665, these colonies had been a certain burthen to the state.

In 1664 the king sent a colony to Cayenne, and soon after another to Madagascar. He tries all methods for repairing the loss and misfortune which France had laboured under for a long time by neglecting the sea, whilst her neighbours had erected empires for themselves at the extremities of the earth.

From this general view, we see what changes Lewis XIV. introduced into the state; changes indeed advantageous, as they still subsist. His ministers had an emulation among themselves, who should second him best. The whole detail, the whole execution, is undoubtedly owing to them, but the general disposition to him. It is certain that the magistrates would not have reformed the laws; the finances would not have been put again in order; discipline introduced into the armies; general police into the kingdom; that there would have been no fleets; the arts would not have been encouraged: and all

this

this in concert, and at the same time, with perseverance, and under different ministers; if there had not been found a master who had in general all these grand views, with a will determined to accomplish them.

He did not separate his own glory from the advantage of France, nor look upon the kingdom with the same eye as a lord does upon his lands, from which he draws all he can, that he may live luxuriously. Every king who loves glory, loves the public good. He had no longer Colbert and Louvois when, towards the year 1698, he ordered, with a view to the instruction of the duke of Burgundy, that each intendant should give a circumstantial description of his respective province; by which means an exact account might be obtained of the kingdom, and the true number of its inhabitants ascertained. The work was useful, though all the intendants had not the capacity and attention of Mr. Lamoignon de Baville. Had the views of the king been so fully answered, with regard to each province, as they had been by this magistrate in the enumeration of the people of Languedoc, this collection of memoirs would have been one of the finest monuments of the age. Some of them are well done; but a plan was wanting by which all the intendants were to be subjected to the same order. It had been a thing much to be desired, that each had given in columns a state of the number of inhabitants in every province, also that of the nobles, citizens, labourers, artificers, works of art, the beasts of every sort, the good, middling, and bad lands, the whole clergy, regular and secular,

lar, their revenues, with those of the towns and companies.

All these objects are confounded in the greatest part of the memoirs which have been given ; the matters in them are not canvassed thoroughly, and are done with little exactness. You are often obliged to seek with pain for the proper lights you want, and which a minister ought to find ready under his hand, and catch up by a single glance, that he may easily discover the several forces, wants, and resources contained therein. The project was excellent, and an uniform execution of it would have been of the greatest utility.

This then in general is what Lewis XIV. did and attempted, that he might render his own nation more flourishing. It seems to me, that one cannot behold all these labours and all these efforts without some acknowledgment, and being animated with the love of the public good, which inspired them. Let us but represent to ourselves what the state of the kingdom was in the days of the Fronde, and what it is at present. Lewis XIV. did more good to his own nation than twenty of his predecessors put together, and yet it falls infinitely short of what might have been done. The war, which was ended by the peace of Ryswick, began the ruin of that commerce which his minister Colbert had established, and the succeeding war completed it.

Had he employed for the embellishing of Paris and finishing the Louvre, those immense sums expended on the aqueducts, and the works of Maintenon for conveying of water to Versailles, works indeed interrupted and become useless ; had he laid out at Paris the fifth
part

part of what that cost, in order to force nature at Versailles, Paris would be throughout its whole extent as beautiful as it is on the side of the Tuilleries and the Pont-royal, and would have been the most magnificent city in the world.

It is a great deal to have reformed the laws ; but chicane could not be crushed by justice. The government once thought of making jurisprudence uniform : it is so already in criminal affairs, in those of commerce, and the forms of process ; it might be so likewise in the laws which regulate the fortunes of the subject. It is a great inconvenience, that the same tribunal has more than an hundred different customs to give decisions upon. The duties arising from lands, either equivocal, or burthen some to society, still continue, as the remains of the feudal government, which itself subsists no longer. These are the remains of a Gothic building, now no more.

Not that it is pretended these different orders of the state ought to be subjected to the same law. For one is very sensible that the usages of the noblesse, the clergy, the magistrates, and those who cultivate the earth, should be different. But it is undoubtedly to be wished for, that each order should have its uniform law throughout the kingdom, that what is just and true in Champagne may not be looked upon as false in Normandy. Uniformity in all sorts of administrations is a virtue ; but the difficulties of this great work have scared people from attempting it.

Lewis XIV. might have more easily dispensed with the dangerous resource of the farmers of

the taxes, to which he was compelled by the constant anticipation of the receipt of his revenues, as may be seen in the chapter of the finances.

Had he not believed that he was sufficiently able, merely by his own authority, to oblige a million of men to change their religion, France had not lost so many subjects. This country *, however, notwithstanding its various shocks and losses, is at present the most † flourishing on the face of the earth, because all the good which Lewis XIV. did is still subsisting, and the evil, which it was difficult for him to avoid in turbulent times, has been repaired. In fine, posterity, who pass judgment on kings, and whose judgment these ought always to have before their eyes, will allow, upon weighing the virtues and foibles of this monarch, that, tho' he had been too much praised in his life-time, he deserved to be so for ever; and that he was worthy of the statue erected to him at Montpellier, with the Latin inscription to this effect: "To Lewis the Great, after his death."

All the changes which we have just now seen pointed out in the government, and in all the orders of the state, must necessarily have produced a very considerable one in the manners of the people. The spirit of faction, fury, and rebellion, which possessed the nation from the time of Francis II. became a spirit of emulation for serving the prince. The lords, who possessed great estates, being no longer cantoned upon them, the governors of provinces having no more posts

* See the Chapter of Calvinism.

† This is an assertion to which no British subject will subscribe.

of honour to bestow, each individual studied to deserve no other favours than those of the sovereign; and the state became one regular whole, every line of which terminated in the center.

This was what delivered the court from factions and conspiracies, which had always troubled the state during a course of so many years. Under the administration of Lewis XIV. there was but one plot, in 1674, which was contrived by la Truamont, a gentleman of Normandy ruined by debauchery and debt: he was joined by one of the house of Rohan, who, by a like conduct, had been reduced to the same indigent circumstances. In this plot were concerned only the chevalier de Preaux, nephew to la Truamont, who, seduced by his uncle, also seduced his mistress, madam de Villiers. Their aim and hopes neither were, nor could be, to form a party in the kingdom. They only intended to sell and deliver up Quillebeuf to the Dutch, and introduce the enemy into Normandy. This was rather a base treason ill-planned than a conspiracy. The punishment of all the criminals was the only event which this mad and fruitless affair produced, of which there is hardly at present any remembrance left.

If there were any seditions in the provinces, these were only feeble tumults of the people, which were easily repressed. Even the Huguenots were always quiet, till the time that their churches were demolished. At length the king succeeded so far as to make, out of a nation till then turbulent, a peaceable people, who were dangerous only to the enemy, after having been

so to themselves for above an hundred years. Their manners were softened, without hurting their courage.

In the houses which the nobility built, or bought in Paris, their ladies lived with dignity, and formed schools of politeness, which drew by degrees the young people from a life spent at the taverns, which had been the prevailing mode for a long time before, and only served to inspire those who frequented them with an insolent debauchery. Manners depend on such trifles, that the custom of riding on horseback in Paris kept up a disposition for quarrels, which ceased as soon as this usage was abolished. Decorum, for which we are principally obliged to the fair sex, who assembled company at their houses, rendered conversation more agreeable, and, by reading, came in time to be more solid. Treasons and great crimes, which do not disgrace mankind in times of faction and confusion, were hardly known any longer. The villainies of Brinvilliers and Voisins were only transitory storms, under a sky otherwise serene: and it would be equally unreasonable to condemn a whole nation on account of the glaring crimes of some individuals, as to canonize it on account of the reformation of La Trappe.

All the different states of life were, in former times, easily known by the faults which characterized them. Those of a military turn, and the young people who designed themselves for the profession of arms, had an over-hasty vivacity; those belonging to the courts of justice, a stern, forbidding

bidding gravity; to which the custom of going always in a long robe, even to court, did not a little contribute. And it was the same case with regard to the universities, and to physicians. Merchants still wore little robes whenever they met together, and when they went to wait on the ministers; also the most considerable tradesmen were at that time persons of rustic manners. But the houses, the theatres, and the public walks, in which they began to meet together, in order to enjoy the pleasure of a social life, gradually rendered the exterior appearance of all these people nearly alike. One may see at this day, even in tradesmen's shops, that politeness has gained ground upon all ranks. The provinces have in time also felt the effects of these changes.

At length people no longer place luxury in any thing but taste and convenience. The croud of pages and servants in livery has disappeared, to make way for more freedom in the houses of the great; vain pomp and outward pride have been left to those nations, among whom the people still know no more than to shew themselves in public, and who are ignorant of the art of living.

The extreme easiness introduced into the intercourse of the world, affability, simplicity, and the cultivation of the mind, have rendered Paris a city, which for the conveniences of life enjoyed there, probably very much surpasses Rome and Athens in the height of their splendor.

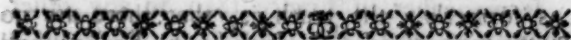
That great number of helps always ready, always open for the whole circle of the sciences,

all the arts, particular tastes and wants, so many solid advantages uniting with such a number of agreeable things, joined to that openness peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris; all these together induce vast numbers of strangers to travel, or take up their residence in this social city. If some natives quit it, they are either such as being called elsewhere on account of their talents, are an honourable testimony to their country, or else the refuse of the nation, who try to make their advantage of the consideration it has acquired.

Complaints are made, that no longer is to be seen at court so much grandeur and dignity as formerly: the truth is, that there are no petty tyrants, as in the days of the Fronde, and under the reign of Lewis XIII. and in the preceding ages. But true greatness is now to be met with in those crowds of nobility, who were formerly debased for so long a time by serving subjects grown too powerful. There are seen gentlemen, and also citizens, who would have thought themselves honoured in former days to be the domestics of these lords, become now their equals, and very often their superiors in the military service: and the more this service prevails over titles, the more flourishing is any state.

The age of Lewis XIV. has been compared to that of Augustus. Not that the power and personal events in both can be compared: for Rome and Augustus were ten times more considerable in the world than Lewis XIV. and Paris. But we must call to mind that Athens was equal to the Roman empire in all things which do not derive their value from
force.

force and power. We must further consider, that if there is nothing at present in the world like ancient Rome and Augustus, yet all Europe together is much superior to the whole Roman empire. In the time of Augustus there was but one nation, and at this day there are several who are well regulated, warlike, and enlightened, who are possessed of arts which the Greeks and Romans were utter strangers to: and among these nations there are none which has been more illustrious for its renown in every kind for about an age past than that formed in some measure by Lewis XIV.



C H A P. CCL.

OF the FINANCES.

IF we compare the administration of Colbert with all the preceding ones, posterity will be fond of this man, whose body the frantic populace after his death would have torn to pieces. The French certainly owe to him their industry and their commerce; and consequently that wealth, the sources of which are sometimes diminished in war, but are always opened again with an abundant flow in peace. Yet in 1702 people had still the ingratitude to throw the blame upon Colbert, for the languor which began to be perceivable in the sinews of the state. A financier of Normandy published about that time an account of the revenues of France, in two small volumes, in which he pretends that every thing was in a declining state

from the year 1660. But so far from this being the case, it was quite the reverse. France had never been so flourishing as since the death of cardinal Mazarin, down to the war of 1689: and even in that war, the body of the state, tho' beginning to be out of order, supported itself by means of the vigour which Colbert had diffused through all its members. The author of this detail pretended, that from 1660, the lands of the kingdom had diminished in value fifteen hundred millions. But nothing was more false, nor less probable. These captious arguments, however, persuaded such as would be persuaded to believe this ridiculous paradox.

It was easier in France than in any other country to decry the ministry of the finances in the minds of the people. This ministry is the most odious, because the imposts are always so: besides, there prevailed in general as much prejudice and ignorance in the finances, as there did in philosophy.

It was so long before people received better information, that even in our days we find in 1718 the parliament in a body telling the duke of Orleans, "That the intrinsic value of the silver mark is twenty-five livres:" as if there was any other real intrinsic value than that of the weight and the standard: and the duke of Orleans, with all his penetration in other respects, had not enough of it in this to remove that mistake of the parliament.

It is true, Colbert had not done all that he could, and still less than he would have done. Men were not then sufficiently enlightened; and in a great kingdom there are always great abuses. The arbitrary taille, the multiplicity
of

of duties, the different customs of the provinces, which makes one part of the inhabitants of France strangers and even enemies to the other; the little resemblance there is between the measures of one town and those of another; with twenty other maladies of the body politic, could not be remedied.

Colbert, in order to furnish at once the expence of the war, for buildings, and pleasures, was obliged to re-establish towards the year 1672 what at first he intended to have abolished for ever; namely, imposts on places, rents, new offices, and the augmentation of salaries: in short, that which supports the state for some time but involves it in debt for many years.

He was carried beyond his intended measures; for by all the instructions remaining of his, we see he was persuaded that the riches of a country consist only in the number of its inhabitants, the cultivation of the lands, the industry of the people, and commerce. We see, that the king, possessing very few domains, and being only the administrator of the goods of his subjects, cannot indeed be rich but by imposts easy to bear and equally assessed.

He feared so much giving up the state to the farmers of the king's revenue, that some time after the dissolution of the chamber of justice, which he had caused to be erected against them, he got an arret of council passed, which made it death for those who should advance money upon the new imposts. His meaning by this menacing arret, which was never printed, was to cure the avidity of undertakers. But soon after he was obliged to make use of them, without even revoking the arret:

for the king was pressing, and there was a necessity to find prompt means to satisfy him.

This invention, brought from Italy into France by Catherine of Medicis, had so much corrupted the government, by the facility with which it procured supplies, that after having been suppressed in the glorious days of Henry IV. it appeared again throughout the reign of Lewis XIII. and greatly infected the latter times of Lewis XIV.

Six years after the death of Colbert, in 1686, France was precipitated into a war, which she was obliged to maintain against all Europe, without having any funds in reserve. The minister le Pelletier believed that it would be sufficient to diminish luxury. An ordonnance was accordingly made, that all the moveables of solid plate, which were to be seen at that time in pretty considerable quantities in the houses of the great, and were a proof of opulence, should be carried to the mint. The king set the example: he parted with all those silver tables, branched chandeliers, grand canopy-couches of massive silver, and all the other moveables, which were master-pieces, chased by the hand of Balin, the greatest artist in his way, and all done from designs of le Brun. They had cost ten millions, but produced only three. The wrought plate belonging to private persons yielded three millions more. The resource was inconsiderable.

Towards the years 1691 and 1692, the finances of the state appeared sensibly out of order. Those who attributed the diminution of the public revenue to the profusion of Lewis XIV. upon his buildings, the arts, and his

pleasures, were not aware, that on the contrary the expences which encourage industry, enrich a state. It is war that necessarily impoverishes the public treasury, unless the spoils of the vanquished can fill it again. Since the time of the ancient Romans, I know of no nation that has enriched itself by victories. Italy, in the sixteenth century, was rich only by commerce. Holland would not have subsisted long had she confined herself to the taking the plate fleet of the Spaniards, and were not the East Indies the support of her power. England has always impoverished herself by war, even in destroying the French fleets*: and commerce alone has maintained her. The Algerines, who have hardly any more than what they gain by piracy, are most miserably poor.

Among the nations of Europe, war, at the end of some years, renders the conqueror nearly as unhappy as the conquered. It is a gulph in which all the streams of abundance are absorbed. Ready money, that principle of all good and all evil, raised with such difficulty in the provinces, terminates in the coffers of an hundred stock-jobbers and farmers of the revenue, who advance the sums wanting by the state, and who buy by virtue of these advances, the right of pillaging the nation in the name of the sovereign. The people, in consequence of this, looking on the government as their enemy,

* If the French are turbulent, and encroach upon their neighbours, it would seem that destroying the means by which their insolence is most likely to be exerted with effect, namely, their fleet, will in the end enrich rather than impoverish the English nation.

conceal their wealth; and the want of circulation brings a languor on the kingdom.

No sudden remedy can supply a fixed and permanent establishment of long standing, which provides at a distance against any unforeseen wants. The capitation* was established in 1695. It was suppressed at the peace of Ryswick, and re-established afterwards. The comptroller-general Pontchartrain sold patents of nobility for two thousand crowns, in 1696: five hundred persons bought them. But the resource was transitory, and the shame permanent! The nobles, both ancient and modern, were obliged to register their coats of arms, and to pay for the permission of sealing their letters with them. The farmers bargained for this tax, and advanced the money: so that the ministry had hardly ever recourse to any but petty resources, in a country which could have furnished much greater.

They durst not impose the tenth penny till 1710. But this tenth penny, raised after so many other burthenfome taxes, appeared so hard, that they durst not exact it with rigour. The government did not draw from it twenty-five millions a-year, at forty franks to the mark.

Colbert had made few attempts to change the nominal value of money. But it is better

* In Vol. IV. p. 136, of Maintenon's Memoirs, we find that the capitation "Brought in beyond the hopes of the farmers." But there has never been any farm of the capitation. It is said, that "The lacqueys of Paris went to the town-house to beg that they might be put into the capitation. This ridiculous story destroys itself; for masters always payed for their domestics.

not to change it at all. Silver and gold, those standards of exchange, ought to be invariable. He raised the nominal value of the silver mark, which was twenty-six franks in his time, only to twenty-seven and twenty-eight; and after his death, in the last years of Lewis XIV. this denomination was extended as far as forty imaginary livres: a fatal resource, by which the king was relieved for a moment, in order to be ruined afterwards; for instead of a silver mark, he had only given him little more than the half of it. He who owed twenty-six livres in 1668, gave a mark; and he who owed forty livres, gave little more than this same mark in 1710. The diminutions which followed disconcerted the little commerce that remained, as much as the raising had done.

A real resource might have been found in paper-credit; but this ought to be established in a time of prosperity, that it may maintain itself in times that are otherwise.

The minister Chamillard, began in 1706 to pay in bank notes, notes of subsistence, and free quarters: but as this paper money was not received into the king's coffers, it was destroyed almost as soon as it appeared. The government was reduced to the necessity of continuing to borrow heavy loans, and use by anticipation four years of the revenues of the crown.

We are told, in the history written by la Hode, and put under the name of la Martiniere, that it cost seventy-two per cent for exchange in the wars of Italy, which is an absurdity. The matter of fact is this, that M. de Chamillard, in order to pay the armies, made use
of

of the credit of the chevalier Bernard. This minister believed, through an old prejudice, that money must not go out of the kingdom; as if such money were given for nothing, and as if it were possible that one nation indebted to another, and which does not discharge itself by mercantile effects, ought not to pay in ready money. This minister gave the banker eight per cent. in the profits, upon condition that foreigners were paid without making the money go out of France. Besides this, he paid the exchange, which amounted to five or six per cent loss: yet the banker, notwithstanding his promise, was obliged to pay his accounts with the foreigners in money; and this produced a considerable loss.

The comptroller-general, Desmarets, nephew to the celebrated Colbert, having succeeded Chamillard in 1708, could not cure an evil which every thing rendered incurable.

Nature conspired with fortune to distress the state. The severe winter of 1709 obliged the king to remit to the people nine millions of taxes at the time when he had not wherewithal to pay his soldiers. The scarcity of provisions was so excessive, that it cost forty-five millions for provisions to the army; and the king's ordinary revenue scarce produced forty-nine. The expences of this year 1709, amounted to two hundred and twenty one millions. There was then a necessity for ruining the state, that the enemy might not make themselves masters of it. The disorder grew to such a head, and was so little repaired, that for a long time after the peace, at the beginning of the year 1715, the king was obliged to cause thirty-two millions of notes to be negociated, in order to have eight

millions in specie. In short, at his death, he left a debt of two thousand six hundred millions, reckoning twenty-eight livres to the mark, the rate to which the coin was then reduced: and this makes about four thousand five hundred millions* of our current money in 1750.

It is astonishing, but true, that this immense debt would not have been a burthen impossible to bear, had there been at that time a flourishing commerce in France, a paper credit established, and substantial companies, which would have answered this credit, as is the case in Sweden, England, Venice, and Holland: for when a powerful state is indebted only within itself, credit and circulation are sufficient to make payments. But a great deal was wanting for France to have at that time a sufficient number of springs to set a-going so vast and complicated a machine, the weight of which crushed it.

Lewis XIV. in his reign expended eighteen thousand millions; which amounts, one year with another, to three hundred and thirty millions of the present currency, by compensating interchangeably with each other, the nominal raisings and lowerings of the coin.

Under the administration of the great Colbert, the ordinary revenues of the crown rose only to an hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty-seven livres, and afterwards twenty-eight livres to the silver mark. Thus the whole surplus was always furnished by extraordinary methods. Colbert was obliged, for example, to raise

* Four thousand millions, amounting to above one hundred and eighty millions sterling.

four hundred millions in six years time, in the war of 1672. The king had but very few ancient domains of the crown left. These are declared unalienable by all the parliaments of the kingdom; and yet almost all of them are alienated. The king's revenue consists at present in the wealth of his subjects, and is a perpetual circulation of debts and payments. His majesty owes the people more nominal millions a-year, under the name of annuities of the town-house, than any king ever drew from the domains of the crown.

In order to form an idea of this prodigious increase of taxes, debts, riches, circulation, and at the same time the embarrassments and trouble which have been experienced in France and other countries, it is to be considered, that at the death of Francis I. the state owed about thirty millions of livres to the town-house, and that at present it owes upwards of forty-five millions a-year.

Those who have compared the revenues of Lewis XIV. with those of Lewis XV. have found, by only keeping to the fixed and current revenue, that Lewis XIV. was by much, richer in 1683, at the time of Colbert's death, with an hundred and seventeen millions of revenue, than his successor was in 1730, with nearly two hundred millions: and this will appear, by considering only the fixed and ordinary revenues of the crown. For an hundred and seventeen nominal millions, with the mark at twenty-eight livres, are a much greater sum than two hundred millions at forty-nine livres, which was the amount of the king's revenue in 1730: and moreover, we must reckon

reckon the charges increased by the loans of the crown. But the revenues of the king, that is, of the state, have since been accumulated; and the knowledge of the finances has been brought to such a state of perfection, that in the ruinous war of 1741, there was no stagnation of credit. We have begun to form funds of mortgages, as among the English: it was necessary to adopt a part of their system of finances, as we have done of their philosophy: and if in a state purely monarchical, these circulating notes could be introduced, which at least double the wealth of England, the administration of France would acquire its last degree of perfection †.

In 1683, there were about five hundred nominal millions of silver coin in the kingdom; and about twelve hundred of the present currency. But the denomination in our days is almost double what it was in Colbert's time. It therefore appears, that France is only about one sixth part richer in circulating specie, since the death of that minister. It is much more so in materials of silver and gold worked and used for service and luxury. In 1690 it had not however four hundred millions of our present coin; and at this day we have as much as there is circulating specie. Nothing shews more plainly, how commerce, the sources of which Colbert opened, has been increased,

* The abbot of St. Pierre, in his *Journal Politique*, on the article *System*, says, that in England and Holland there are no more notes than specie: but it is certain that the former greatly exceed the latter and do not subsist but by credit.

when

when a free course has been given to its channels, that were shut close by the wars. Industry has been brought to perfection, notwithstanding the emigration of so many artists, which the revoking of the edict of Nantz has dispersed: and this industry still increases every day. The nation is capable of as great things, and even still greater, than it was under Lewis XIV. because genius and commerce always gain new strength wherever they are encouraged.

To see the affluence of individuals, the number of agreeable houses built in Paris and in the provinces, the multitude of equipages, the conveniences and refinements of luxury, you would think that our opulence is twenty times greater than it was formerly. All this is the fruit of ingenious labour rather than of riches. At this day it costs but little more for an agreeable lodging, than it did for a bad one in the reign of Henry IV. A beautiful sort of glass of our own manufacture adorns our houses, at a much less expence than the little glasses which were brought from Venice: our fine and showy stuffs are cheaper than those which we brought from foreign countries, and which were not of equal worth with them. In effect, it is not silver and gold that procure a commodious life, but genius. A people possessed only of these metals would be miserable: whereas, on the other hand, a people without these metals, but who can happily employ all the productions of the earth, would be the truly wealthy people. France has this advantage, with a great deal more specie than is necessary for circulation.

Industry being brought to perfection in the towns, grew up and increased in the country. There will always be complaints raised about the condition of the labourers of the ground: you hear them in all countries of the world; and such murmurings are generally produced from indolent people of fortune, who condemn the government more than they bemoan the people. It is true that in almost every country, if such as pass their days in rural labours had leisure to murmur, they would rise up against the exactions which take from them a part of their substance. They would detest the necessity of paying such taxes as they had not laid upon themselves, and of bearing the burthen of the state without participating of the advantages enjoyed by other citizens. It does not belong to the province of history to examine how the people may be taxed without being oppressed, and to mark the precise point so difficult to be found out between the execution of the laws and the abuse of them; between impost and rapine. But history ought to shew, that it is impossible for a town to be flourishing, unless the country round it enjoys plenty; for certainly the produce of its fields supports their inhabitants. We hear on particular days, in all the towns of France, the reproaches of those who by their profession are allowed to declaim in public against all the different branches of consumption to which the name of luxury is given. It is evident that the nourishment for this luxury is furnished no otherwise than by the industrious labour of the tillers of the ground: a labour which is always dearly paid for.

More

More vineyards have been planted, and better cultivated. New wines have been made, that were not known before, like those of Champaign, the makers of which have been well acquainted with the methods of giving them the colour, flavour, and strength of the Burgundy wines, and which they vend among foreigners to a great advantage. This increase of wines has produced that of brandies. The cultivation of gardens, of pulse, and fruit hath received a prodigious improvement; and the commerce in provisions with the colonies of America has from thence been augmented. The loud complaints which have been made in all times about the misery of the country, have now ceased to have any foundation. Besides, in these vague complaints there is no distinction made between the planters, the farmers, and the mechanics. These last live only by the labour of their hands; and the case is alike in all the countries of the world, where the bulk of the people, or the greater number, should subsist by that means: but there is scarcely a kingdom in the universe in which the planter and the farmer are more at ease than in France; and England alone may dispute this advantage with it. The proportional land-tax, instead of that, substituted at discretion, has still contributed for about thirty years past to render more stable the fortunes of such husbandmen as have ploughs, vineyards, and gardens. The handy-craftsman, or workman, must be restrained to necessities for labour: such is the nature of man. For though the greatest part of mankind should be poor, there is no necessity for their being miserable.

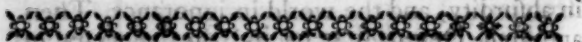
The

The middling sort have enriched themselves by industry. The ministers and the courtiers are less wealthy, because money having been raised nominally near half its value, their appointments and pensions have continued the same; and the price of goods has rose more than half. This is what has happened in all the countries of Europe. The several dues and fees have every where remained on the ancient footing. An elector of the empire, who receives the investiture of his states, pays no more than what his predecessors paid in the time of the emperor Charles IV. in the fourteenth century: and in this ceremony there is only a crown due to the emperor's secretary.

What is much stranger is, that tho' all things have been raised, the nominal value of coin, the quantity of materials in gold and silver, and the price of merchant goods, yet the pay of a soldier has continued at the same rate it was two hundred years ago. A foot soldier has five nominal sous, the same as he had in the time of Henry IV. None among the great number of ignorant men who sell their lives at so cheap a rate, know, that since the over-rating of the specie, and the dearnefs of merchandise, he receives about two thirds less than the soldiers of Henry IV. did. If he knew it, and demanded a pay two thirds greater, it must have been granted him. From thence it must happen, that as the powers of Europe would keep on foot two-thirds fewer troops, their forces would be ballanced in the same proportion; the cultivation of the ground and the manufactures would profit by this measure.

We

We must farther observe, that the profits of commerce, being augmented, and the appointments for all the great offices diminished in their real value, there is found to be less wealth among the great than formerly, and more among the middling rank of people: and this circumstance has put men more upon a level. In former days there was no resource for the little but to serve the great. At present industry has opened a thousand ways, which were not known an hundred years ago. In short, in whatever manner the finances of the state may be administered, France possesses in the labour of twenty millions of inhabitants an incalculable treasure.



C H A P. CCIII.

Of the SCIENCES.

THIS happy age, which has seen a revolution produced in the human mind, did not seem destined to it. To begin with philosophy, there was no appearance in the time of Lewis XIII. that it should have emerged out of the chaos into which it was plunged. The inquiry of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, had linked the errors in philosophy to the tenets of religion: the civil wars in France, and the disputes of Calvinism were not more adapted to cultivate human reason than was the fanaticism of Cromwell's time in England. Though a canon of Thorn renewed the ancient planetary system of the Caldeans, which had been exploded for so long a time, this truth was con-

condemned at Rome; and the congregation of the holy office, composed of seven cardinals, having declared not only heretical but absurd the motion of the earth, without which there is no true astronomy, (the great Galilæo having asked pardon at the age of seventy for being in the right,) there was no appearance that the truth would be received in the world.

Chancellor Bacon had shewn, but at a distance, the tract which might be followed. Galileo had made some discoveries on the descent of bodies; Torricelli began to ascertain the gravity of the air which surrounds us; and some experiments had been made at Magdeburg. Notwithstanding these essays, all the schools continued in absurdity, and the world in ignorance. Then appeared Descartes; he did the contrary of what ought to have been done; instead of studying nature, he wanted to guess at her. He was the greatest geometrician of his age; but geometry leaves the mind as she finds it. That of Descartes was too much addicted to invention. The prince of mathematicians made scarcely any more than romances of philosophy. A man who scorned experiments, never cited Galilæo, and was for building without materials, could erect no more than an imaginary edifice.

That which was romantic in it succeeded; and the few truths, mixed with these new chimeras, were at first contested; but at last these few truths broke out by the help of the method which he himself introduced. For before his time there was no thread for this labyrinth; and at least he gave one, of which an use was made after he had bewildered himself. It was a great deal to destroy the chimeras of Peripateticism,

ticism, tho' by means of other chimeras. These two phantoms combated each other. They fell successively; and reason raised itself at length upon their ruins. There was at Florence an academy for experiments, under the name del Cimento, established by cardinal Leopold de Medicis, about the year 1655. They were already aware in this country of the arts, that it was not possible to comprehend any thing about the grand fabric of nature, but by examining her minutely. This academy, after the days of Galilæo, and from the time of Torricelli, performed signal services.

Some philosophers in England, under the gloomy administration of Cromwell, met together for the discovery of truth, at a time when it was oppressed by the severity of enthusiasm. Charles II. being called home to the throne of his ancestors, by the repentance and inconsistency of his own nation, gave letters patent to this infant and rising academy; but this was all that the government gave. The royal society, or rather the free society of London, laboured to promote useful knowledge. It was from this illustrious body, that in our days proceeded the discoveries on light, the principle of gravitation, the motion of the fixed stars, and an hundred other inventions, which in that respect might give occasion to the calling of this age, the age of the English as well as that of Lewis XIV.

In 1666 Colbert, jealous of this new kind of glory, was desirous that the French should partake of it; and, at the entreaty of some learned men, prevailed on Lewis XIV. to condescend to the establishment of the academy
of

of sciences. It was free till 1699, like that of England and the French academy. Colbert drew from Italy, Dominico Cassini*, and Huygens from Holland, by means of large pensions. They discovered the satellites and ring of Saturn. The world is indebted to Huygens for pendulum-clocks. By degrees knowledge was acquired in all the parts of true physics, by rejecting systems. The public was surprised to see a chemistry, in which researches were made neither for the grand secret nor for the art of prolonging life beyond the bounds of nature; an astronomy which did not predict the events of the world; and a medicine independent of the phases of the moon. Putrefaction was no longer the parent of animals and plants. There were no more prodigies, from the time that nature came to be better known; for she was studied in all her works.

Geography received astonishing improvements. No sooner had Lewis XIV. built the observatory, than he caused a degree of the meridian to be measured in 1669, by Dominic Cassini, and Picart; which was continued towards the

* John Dominico Cassini was one of the most able astronomers that ever Italy produced. He flourished in the seventeenth century, and in his youth was appointed professor of astronomy at Bologna: but he was invited into France by Colbert to be member of the Royal Academy of Sciences; and there he spent the remaining part of his life, which was happily extended to extreme old age. He explained the nature and revolutions of comets: he discovered that the planet Mars revolved upon its own axis, in twenty-four hours, and forty minutes: he discerned the spots on the body of Venus: he demonstrated that Saturn had five satellites, instead of one, which was all that Huygens had discerned; and he measured a degree of the meridian in the south of France.

North in 1683, by la Hire; and at last Cassini prolonged it in 1700, as far as the extremity of Roussillon. This is the finest monument of astronomy, and is sufficient to eternize this age.

In 1672, natural philosophers were sent to Cayenne, in order to make useful observations. This voyage gave rise to the discovery of a new law of nature, which the great Newton has demonstrated, and has paved the way for those more famous voyages which have since given a lustre to the reign of Lewis XV.

In 1700, Tournefort was sent to the Levant, to collect there the plants necessary to enrich the royal garden, which was formerly neglected, but at that time was restored to its due honour, and is now become worthy of the curiosity of Europe. The royal library, already well stocked, was enriched under Lewis XIV. with upwards of thirty thousand volumes; and this example is so well followed in our days, that it contains at this time more than an hundred and eighty thousand. He caused the law-school to be opened, which had been shut for an hundred years past. He established in all the universities of France a professor of the French law. One would imagine that there should be no other here, and that the good Roman laws incorporated with those of the country, should form but one body of the laws of the nation.

Under him literary journals were established. 'Tis well known, that the journal des Scavans, which begun in 1665, is the first of all the works of this kind with which Europe is at this day filled, and into which too many abuses have crept, as commonly happens in things of the greatest utility.

The academy of the belles lettres, composed at first, in 1663, of some members of the French academy, for transmitting to posterity, by medals, the actions of Lewis XIV. became useful to the public, from the time that it was no longer solely employed about the monarch, and that they applied themselves to researches into antiquity, and a judicious criticism upon opinions and facts. It produced nearly the same effect in history, as the academy of sciences did in natural philosophy: it dispelled errors.

The spirit of discernment and criticism, which encreased by degrees, insensibly destroyed superstition. It is to this dawn of reason that we owe the declaration of the king in 1672, which forbids the tribunals to admit simple accusations of sorcery. This was a matter which durst not be attempted under Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. And if, since 1672, there have been accusations of enchantment, the judges have not condemned the persons accused, excepting where profanation of religion, or the use of poison, was proved against them*.

It

* In 1609 six hundred forcerers were condemned in the jurisdiction of the parliament of Bourdeaux, and most of them burnt. Nicholas Remi, in his *Demonolatri*, gives an account of nine hundred arrets, passed in fifteen years against forcerers in Lorrain only. The famous curate, Lewis Guaffredi, burnt at Aix in 1611, had publicly owned that he was a forcerer, and the judges believed him.

It is shameful that father le Brun, in his treatise of *Superstitious Practices*, still admits of the decision of doubtful matters by casting lots. He even goes so far as to say, page 524, that the parliament of Paris acknowledged it; but he is mistaken: the parliament indeed owned that there were profanations and enchantments, but

It was formerly very common, to try forcerers by plunging them in water, being first bound with cords; and if they floated on the surface, they were convicted. Several judges in the provinces had ordered such trials to be made; and these methods still continued for a long time among the people. Every shepherd was a forcerer; and amulets and studded rings were used in the towns. The effects of a hazel-wand, with which it was believed that springs, treasures, and thieves, could be found out, were looked upon as certain; and have still a great deal of credit given them in more than one province of Germany. There was hardly any body but who had his nativity cast; and nothing was talked of but magical secrets. All ranks were infected with the delusion. Learned men and magistrates had writ seriously upon these matters. A set of authors was distinguished by the name of *Dæmonographi*. There were rules for discerning true magicians, and true demoniacs, from the false. In fine, even to our time, there was hardly any thing adopted from antiquity but errors in every kind. Superstitious notions were so rooted among men, that people were frightened by a comet in 1680; and scarce any one dared to combat this popular fear. James Bernoulli, one of the greatest mathematicians in Europe, in his answer to those who maintained the ominous nature of comets, says, that its head cannot be a sign of the divine

no supernatural effects produced by the devil. The book of don Calmet *Sur les vampires & sur les apparitions*, has been looked upon as the work of a disordered brain, but it plainly shews how much the mind of man is addicted to superstition.

wrath,

wrath, because that head is eternal; but that the tail may very well be so. However, neither the head nor tail are eternal. It was then necessary that Bayle should write against vulgar prejudices, a book, famous at that time, which the progress since made by reason, has now rendered useless.

One would not believe that sovereigns had obligations to philosophers. It is however true, that this philosophic spirit, which has gained ground among all ranks except the lower class of people, has very much contributed to give a due weight to the rights of princes. Disputes which would have formerly produced excommunications, interdicts, and schisms, have caused none of these things. It has been said, that the people would be happy had they philosophers for their kings; it is equally true, that kings are the more happy, when many of their subjects are philosophers.

It must be allowed, that the reasonable spirit, which begins to preside over education in the large towns, has not been able to cure the frenzy of the fanatics in the Cevennes, nor prevent the inferior people of Paris shewing their folly at the tomb to St. Medard*, nor quiet the dis-

* Miracles said to be performed at the tomb of the abbé Paris, in the year 1730. As this abbé was a professed Jansenist, the Jesuits would not allow him to be a saint, and found means to interest both the clergy and the government against his pretensions to this title. The archbishop of Paris published a mandamus, condemning the new miracles of this beatified Jansenist. The life of the abbé, which had been published at Brussels, was pronounced heretical by the holy congregation of the office, and burnt by the hands of the hangman: but the reputation of the
defunct

disputes, as violent as they are frivolous, which arise between men who ought to be wiser. But before this age, such disputes had caused troubles in Europe: the miracles of St. Medard were believed by the most considerable citizens; and fanaticism, which had been confined within the mountains of the Cevennes, diffused itself into the towns.

All kinds of science and literature were exhausted in this age; and so many writers have extended the powers of the human understanding, that those, who at other times would have been thought prodigies, pass'd undistinguished in the croud. Their glory is lessened on account of their number; but the glory of the age is greatly exalted.

defunct flourished under this persecution. His tomb was surrounded by crowds of devotees, the lame were cured, the blind were restored to sight; so that the catalogue of miracles daily increased, until the burying-ground of St. Medard was shut up by the king's express arrêt, and then the saint being deprived of his retinue, sunk into oblivion.

END of the Eighth VOLUME.

dispute, as violent as they are frivolous, which
their brethren who ought to be wiser. But
before this age, such disputes had created troubles
in Europe; the murders of St. Michael were
caused by the most considerable causes; and
the religion which had been confined within the
provinces of the Church, diffused itself into
the towns.

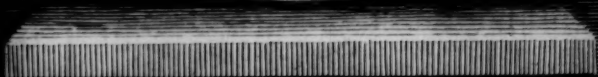


extended in the age, and to many writers
have extended the powers of the human under-
standing. This age, who as other times would
have been content with the present, past, and future
of the world, have now begun to look at the
whole of it, and to see the connection of all things.

ADVERTISEMENT.

VOL. IX. will complete VOLTAIRE's
UNIVERSAL HISTORY, including the AGE
OF LEWIS XIV. and VOL. X. will begin
his DRAMATIC WORKS, which are translated
by the Rev. Mr. FRANCKLIN.





RACINE.

H. Regnaud fecit.

J. M. de la Haye fecit.

14. A. A. i

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
Notes, Historical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.
T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

LONDON,

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON,
S. CROWDER, T. DAVIES, J. COOTE, G. KEARSLEY,
and B. COLLINS, at Salisbury.

MDCCLXI.

CONFIDENTIAL

OF THE

NINTH VOLUME

COAST GUARD

07-11-1910

CHAP. CCV. CHICAGO.

CH 1000

28 A. 2, 2001

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
NINTH VOLUME.

CHAP. CCIV.	
<i>Of the Polite Arts.</i>	1
CHAP. CCV.	
<i>Sequel of the Arts.</i>	26
CHAP. CCVI.	
<i>Ecclesiastical Affairs: Memorable Disputes.</i>	31
CHAP. CCVII.	
<i>Of Calvinism.</i>	48
CHAP. CCVIII.	
<i>Of Jansenism.</i>	82
CHAP. CCIX.	
<i>Of Quietism.</i>	119
CHAP. CCX.	
<i>Disputes upon the Ceremonies of the Chinese.</i>	134
CHAP.	

C O N T E N T S.

C H A P. CCXI.

A Recapitulation of the whole of the foregoing History, with the Point of Light in which it ought to be considered. 142

C H A P CCXII.

Of the Polite Arts in Europe, at the Time of Lewis XIV. 152

C H A P. CCXIII.

A List of the Children of Lewis XIV. The Sovereign Princes contemporary with him. His Generals and Ministers. 163

C H A P. CCXIV.

A Catalogue of most of the French Writers who flourished in the Age of Lewis XIV. to serve towards the literary history of that Age. 181

C H A P. CCXV.

Of Celebrated Artists. 306

MODERN HISTORY

CONTINUED.

CHAP. CCIII.

Of the POLITE ARTS.

TRUE philosophy made not so considerable a progress in France as in England and Florence; and though the academy of sciences was particularly serviceable to human nature, it did not set the character of France above that of other nations; all the noblest inventions and great truths had their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, poetry, and polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French must be considered as the legislators of Europe. There was no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was every where unknown; religion was ridiculously delivered from the pulpit; and the pleadings at the bar were as bad. Virgil and Ovid were quoted by

VOL. IX.

B

the

the preachers; St. Jerom and St. Augustine by the lawyers. No man had yet appeared of genius sufficient to polish the French tongue, to enrich it with harmony, propriety of expression and dignity. That it was capable of grandeur and force, was indeed evident from some verses of Malherbe; but this was all. President de Thou, chancellor de l'Hopital, and other celebrated writers, who had expressed themselves to such advantage in the Latin language, made but a poor figure in their native tongue; it was too much for them to manage. The French was as yet only valuable for a certain air of simplicity, in which solely consisted the merits of Joinville, Amiot, Marot, Montagne, Ragner, and the satire Menippee; nor was this simplicity unincumbered by irregularity and rusticity. John de Lingendes, bishop of Macon, at present unknown, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who declaimed with sublimity. His sermons and funeral orations, though something obscured by the rust of the time in which he lived, were models for those by whom he was imitated and surpassed. In 1630, he pronounced the funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed, in his own country, the Great. It abounded with such fine strokes of eloquence, that Flechier long after took from thence the exordium, text, and many considerable passages, to adorn his famous funeral oration upon the viscount de Turenne.

It was about this time that Balsac gave measure and harmony to prose. His letters are, it is true, often bombastic. He writes to the first cardinal de Retz, "You are come from taking

the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses." Speaking of perfumed waters, in a letter from Rome to Bois Robert, "I have escaped by swimming in my chamber through the midst of perfumes." With all these faults he charms the ear: such power has eloquence over the mind of man, that Balzac was now admired for having found out that small portion of this art, so necessary, yet so little known, which directs an harmonious choice of words; and he was even praised for having often misplaced them.

Voiture gave some idea of the light graces of that epistolary stile, which is by no means the best, because it consists only of pleasantry. It is owing to a trifling imagination, that in his two volumes of letters not one of them is instructive, or seems to come from the heart. None of them depict the manners of the times, the characters of men. They are rather an abuse than exercise of genius.

The language was refined by degrees, and obtained something of a fixed form. We are for this obliged to the academy of sciences, and particularly to Vaugelas. The first well written book was his translation of Quintus Curtius, which was published in 1646; and wherein, even now, there are but few obsolete phrases and expressions. Oliver Patru, who follows next, contributed much to regulate and refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, we owe to him order, perspicuity, and elegance of harangue, merits absolutely unknown at the bar. The little collection of maxims written by Francis duke of Rochefoucault, was one of the works that contributed to form the taste of the nation, to com-

municate a spirit of precision and propriety: though in this book there is scarcely more than this one truth: "Self love is the *primum mobile* of all our actions." Yet this one thought appears in such various lights, that it is always striking. It is rather a collection of materials to adorn a book than a book itself. It was read with eagerness; it accustomed us to think, and to comprise our thoughts in a spirited, determinate, delicate turn of phrase. No other writer in Europe could boast this merit since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius that appeared in prose was the collection of Provincial Letters in 1654. Herein may be found every species of eloquence: though an hundred years are past since that publication, not a single word occurs in it favouring of that change and alteration to which living languages are so very liable. With this work then we may fix the epocha when our language obtained a settled form. The bishop of Luçon, son to the celebrated Bussi, told me, that having asked Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, what work he would have chosen to be the author of, setting his own performances out of the question, he answered, the Provincial Letters.

The fine taste which runs through the whole of this book, and the strength of the last letters, were not yet of force sufficient to correct that dispirited, diffuse, incorrect, harsh stile, which had been so long in use with our writers, preachers, and lawyers.

A new light arose in 1668. This was father Bourdaloue; he was the first who maintained in the pulpit a noble uniformity of eloquence. Other orators have since appeared in the pulpit,

as Maffillon, bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue: In his stile, more nervous than florid, without appealing to fancy for expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing than inflaming; and he never labours to please. Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so long debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon one text. In reality, to speak for a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary one's self in accommodating the whole discourse to that single line, seems to be a play on words little suiting the gravity of a divine. The text is a kind of device or enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of letters, and has been made sacred by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three points things that in themselves require no division, as morality; or that require to be more minutely divided, as controversy, is an arbitrary custom which this great preacher found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterwards so great a man, was at first intended for the bar, and contracted when very young to mademoiselle Desvieux, a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence, whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relations and

friends resolved to bequeath him rather to the church. Mademoiselle Desvieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending with him her life. In 1662, he being yet very young, he preached before the king and the queen-mother; this was long before father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been delivered at court with any marks of sublimity; and they were so well received, that the king caused a letter to be written in his own name to Bossuet's father, the intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, monsieur Bossuet was no longer esteemed the first preacher when father Bourdaloue appeared. The former had applied himself to the composing funeral orations; a species of eloquence that admits of being adorned by imagination, and requires a majestic grandeur bordering upon poetry, from which it must borrow somewhat, though restricted when it aims at the sublime. In 1667, he pronounced the funeral oration of the queen-mother, and it procured him the bishopric of Condom: it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed; nor were his sermons. The funeral elegium upon the queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he delivered in 1669, is allowed to be a master-piece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the personages whom they celebrate. It is in these pieces of writing as in tragedy, where we are interested for the principal characters, in proportion as their

their misfortunes encrease. His funeral oration upon the dutchess of Orleans, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and may be said to have expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears: he was obliged to stop at these words: "Oh! disastrous night! night teeming with horror and confusion, in which the astonishing news of madame is dying; she is already dead, burst upon us like a clap of thunder." His auditors were filled with grief; and the voice of the orator was for some time lost in their tears and their sighs.

The French only succeeded in this kind of eloquence. A new one was soon after invented by the same man, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the charms of oratory to history itself; the simplicity of which seems to exclude such assistance. His discourse upon universal history, written for the use of the dauphin, is without model or imitation. If he has been opposed by the learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology to that of other nations, nevertheless his stile has been universally admired. The world was astonished at that majestic force with which he describes manners and government, the rise and fall of vast empires, and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints the manners, and judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honour upon this age were of a species unknown to antiquity. Among them is *Telemachus*. This extraordinary book, in which at once unite the powers of romance and poetry, the stile of which is a measured prose bordering upon versification,

sification, was composed by Fenelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet; though afterwards, much against his will, he became his rival and his enemy. One would think Fenelon had a mind to treat romance as the bishop of Meaux had done history, by enduing it with dignity and charms before unknown; but more especially by drawing from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed he composed this work to serve as themes of instruction to the duke of Burgundy, and the two other children of France, he being their preceptor, as Bossuet had formed his universal history to help the education of the dauphin: but I was assured of the contrary by the marquis de Fenelon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocou. Nor does it indeed seem probable that the first lessons furnished by a priest to the children of France should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was after he received orders to retire to his diocese of Cambray that he composed this performance. Well read in the ancients, and blest with a strong and glowing imagination, he formed a style peculiar to himself, and he wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript; there are not ten blots in the whole. It is pretended that the first impression was from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be the case, the archbishop owes all the reputation which he has acquired to this breach of trust; but to the same cause he is indebted for being ever after out of favour at court.

court. Some people have imagined they could trace in Telemachus an indirect critique upon the government of Lewis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who confirmed the reign of luxury in Salentum, and neglected œconomy, were thought striking portraits of that monarch: yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity without an extraordinary cultivation of the most essential and necessary arts. His minister Louvois was found by the malecontents in the character of Protefilaus, who is represented as vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to those great generals who chose to serve the state and not the minister.

The allies, who in the war of 1688 united against Lewis XIV. and who in 1701 shook his throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbours. These allusions made the deeper impression, because of the harmony of the stile, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind thro' a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable: I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, the malignity of mankind ceased to point out those pretended allusions which censured his conduct; and judges of the correctest taste have treated Telemachus with severity. They blamed it as tedious and circumstantial; they alledged that there was too little connection

tion in the adventures; that his descriptions of a country-life occur too often, and are too much of a piece; yet the book has been always esteemed a fine monument of a flourishing age.

Among these may be always counted the Characters of la Bruiere. We have no copies of such a work among the ancients, no more than of Telemachus. A stile rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions animated and picturesque; an entire new use of language, without infringing any established rules, now first struck the eye of the public, and the allusions, which every where occur in the course of the work, confirmed its success. When la Bruiere shewed his work in manuscript to Malefieux, "It will procure you (said he) many readers and many enemies." The reputation of this book was lowered in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. Telemachus has had some imitators; la Bruiere's characters many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

The happy art of associating the graces with philosophy was a new thing, of which the Plurality of Worlds was the first specimen; it was indeed a dangerous one, because the native dress of philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, and truth above all. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked among our classics by posterity, but that it was partly founded upon Cartesius' chimerical doctrine of the vortices. To these literary novel-

ties may be added Bayle's new kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first work of this sort, whence a man may be taught to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of indifferent books such articles as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe, that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honour upon the age of Lewis XIV. though he was banished into Holland, I only conform to the decree of the parliament of Thoulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigour of the laws, expressly says, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of genius as characterise and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this æra comes near the Roman orator, the three pleadings of Pellisson composed for Fouquet must take the place. They, like many of Tully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters, solidly handled with the finest yet scarcely discernible art, and the most affecting charms of oratory.

We have had historians, but none equal to Livy. The conspiracy of Venice may rank with Sallust: that he was the abbe de St. Real's model is evident, perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking seem to have been of a new creation. And

it is this that so peculiarly distinguishes and characterizes the age of Lewis XIV. for the sixteenth and seventeenth ages both have produced learned men and commentators, but true genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works of which we have taken notice had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry: yet such has been the fate of human nature in all nations, that verse has every where appeared as the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with men in general as in particular. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When every body had by heart some of Malherbe's stanzas, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely the genius of prose writers had never been known, without the aid of Peter Corneille.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him, and inasmuch as these bad models were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been shut out of the road of success; and, the more to augment his discouragement, they had a fast friend in Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded well the most miserable scriblers, who are commonly sycophants; and his natural haughtiness of soul, which on other occasions might have been nobly exerted, induced him to endeavour humbling men of real genius, which he viewed not without repining, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It seldom happens that a man of power is a sincere patron of the arts, when he himself is an artist.

Corneille had to struggle with the times, his rivals, and the cardinal. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about the Cid; let it suffice that the academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scudery, had too much complaisance for his eminence, and therefore condemned the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in tragedy, the principal business of which is to pourtray the struggles of the human heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic art was now entirely unknown. Nor was the Cid the only one of his works which the cardinal strove to injure; the abbe Polignac tells us that Polienctes also incurred his displeasure. The Cid after all was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of Guillain de Castro. I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of Cinna, the great Condé being then only twenty years old, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers;

Je le suis, je veux l'être. O siècles! ô mémoire!

Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire.

Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux,

De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu'à vous.

Soyons amis, Cinna; c'est moi qui t'en convie.

I'm now the world's great master and my own—

I am—I will be—memory and time

Shall this last, greatest victory record.

I triumph over wrath too justly rous'd,

And latest age the conquest shall applaud—

Cinna, let us be friends—'tis I who ask it.

These were the tears of an hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé is a most celebrated epocha in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself which he afterwards published will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man, no more than the blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought the sublimest of poets. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into considerable errors.

Corneille formed himself; but Lewis XIV. Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen on the king's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation increased every day, that of Corneille diminished, but not much. The reason is plain, Racine in all his performances subsequent to Alexander, is always correct, elegant, and natural; he speaks to the heart. The other too often infringes upon these duties. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and he carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest pitch possible. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length severe judges of what their first masters produced. In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of seeing into the faults of the Cid; and in 1702, when Athaliah, that master-piece of dramatic writing, was

was performed before the dutchess of Burgundy, the courtiers thought themselves sufficient critics to condemn it. Time has avenged this insult for the author; but that great man died without sharing in any part of the success of this admirable composition.

There was ever a numerous party, which made a point of doing injustice to Racine. Madame de Sevigné, the first epistolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expressing the merest trifles with grace, always said that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as she did of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which she said the public would soon be undeceived. Time is requisite to ripen reputations.

It was the particular fate of these days, that Moliere should be cotemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is false that Moliere at his first appearance found the stage utterly void of good comedies. Corneille had produced his *Liar*, a piece taken from the Spanish, and fraught with spirit, character, and intrigue, and Quinault's *Coquet-mother*, a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue had been exhibited, when only two of Moliere's most capital pieces were presented. It made its appearance in 1664; and is the first comedy in which appears the character of a species of men called *marquisses*. Most of Lewis XIV's highest courtiers endeavoured to imitate the grandeur, splendour, and dignity of their sovereign. Those of an inferior class copied the exalted air of the nobility; and there were not wanting many, who carried their conceit and predominant desire of being held in
a much

a much higher light, than their pretensions to the most ridiculous height of affectation.

This humour prevailed long. It was often attacked by Moliere, and it was to him principally the public owed their being freed from these consequential men of no consequence; as well as from the affectation of prudes; the pedantry of female learning; and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Moliere was, if one may be permitted to use the expression, the law-giver of politeness to the world. I only here speak of the services he did the age; every body knows sufficiently his other merits. This was an æra worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Moliere, the musical compositions of Lully, so very new to the nation (for we only speak here of the arts) and the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Lewis XIV. a dutchess of Orleans, remarkable for the most finished taste, a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that croud of illustrious men, of every sort, that now appeared. Those times will never return, wherein a duke de la Rochefoucault, author of the Maxims, shall quit the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, to discourse at the theatre with Corneille. It was by his fine epistles, so instructive to posterity, and above all by his Art of Poetry, whence even Corneille might have deduced improvement, and not by his Satires, that Boileau raised himself to a rank with so many great men; for what have future generations to do with the Confusion of Paris, or the names of Cossaignes, and Cotin?

La Fontaine, less chaste in his stile, less correct in his language, but inimitable in that sprightliness, and those graces peculiar to himself, which raised him by the simplest narrations, nearly to an equality with those sublime geniuses.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its being apparently the more easy, richly deserves a place amongst these his illustrious cotemporaries. The injustice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to sacrifice to the graces; and it was in vain, that he all his life sought to humble a man who was their most intimate acquaintance. The greatest praise that can be given to a poet is to remember and repeat his verses. Whole scenes of Quinault are in every body's mouth, an advantage at which the Italian opera could never arrive. French music has remained in a state of simplicity, which is no longer the taste of any nation; but those simple and refined strokes of nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please, in every part of Europe, those who are masters of the French tongue and a polished taste. Had we found such poems as an Armida, or an Atys, among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been read! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and protected by Lewis XIV. La Fontaine was not of the number. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he never, indeed, once thought of appearing. The duke of Burgundy found him out; and, in his old days,

days, he received many favours from that prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Puget, one of the fathers of the oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this innocent, this artless man, as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the queen of Navarre. If loose ideas are dangerous, be it remembered that they are not inspired barely by pleasant sallies of wit, or a lively imagination. One may apply to la Fontaine, his admirable fable of the beasts sick of the plague, where the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned every thing, and an innocent animal is devoured for having eaten a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Poussin, Le Sueur, Le Brun, Le Moine, and Vanloo.

But towards the end of Lewis XIV's reign, two men rose superior to the run of indifferent geniuses, and acquired a great degree of reputation: the one was La Motte-Houdart, rather of a more solid and extensive than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical; but in his poetry he often wanted that fire and elegance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favour of the sublime. He has however given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet
the

the many beautiful pieces he has left us of more than one kind are sufficient to set him above authors of the lowest class. In him is proved that in the art of writing some may rank as seconds. The other was Rousseau, who with less genius, less art, and facility than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were subsequent to La Motte; but they are more beautiful, deversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better, finished than those of Marot. He had less success in opera, which requires sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gaiety is necessary. In these two characters he failed; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because they were foreign to his genius.

Had the antiquated stile of Marot, which he used in his serious works been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue; but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken above two hundred years before, did not long keep its footing. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but neither so easy in the expression, nor so clear in the conception; nor are his truths obvious: truth only is amiable.

He lost himself in foreign countries: whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or whether his principal merit consisted in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he might have found at home.

Ex-

Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his misfortunes that he was no longer under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents; but we only consider him here as a writer who has done no small honour to letters.

We have had few great geniuses since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists; and nature seemed as it were to repose herself some time before the death of Lewis the Great.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this age, because untrodden; it is now open to every one, and become a common highway. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of finished pieces have given us a kind of satiety for literary productions.

The age of Lewis XIV. had in every thing therefore the fate of Leo X. of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius, had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow progressive fruitfulness, and of the long sterility that ensued. The true reason is, that among the nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and
public

public favour lavished upon these new efforts excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius, must, if he has any genius himself, know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to such arts, and which agree to the nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

The Abbe du Bos, a man of great good sense, who, in 1714 composed a treatise upon poetry and painting, found not in the whole history of France one real subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the league by Henry the Great. He ought to have added, that the ornaments of the epopæa adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and by Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, sorceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded, the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a genius springs up who possesses himself of all the embellishments suitable to the times, subject, and nation, and carries into execution * what has

* Here the author alludes to his own poem, intituled, *La Henriade*. We cannot however subscribe to his opinion or that of the critics, who suppose the epopæa depends so much

has been attempted, those who follow him will find the task performed.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiments can be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting: every thing has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different with regard to true comedy; there is not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. The abbe Du Bos, not having genius in himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of characters that are all new; but he is mistaken, they must arise from nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which constitute the different characters of men may be as happily handled as the most sublime subjects. Innumerable are the clouds that over-

much on the machinery of the heathen Gods, &c. from the use of which we christian authors are excluded: for granting the scene or plan of the work is laid within the pale of the church, the opinions and traditions of our own superstition supply the author with a fund of machinery as ample as any that antiquity can produce: we have our demons, fairies, forceries, prophecies, apparitions, dreams, and even metamorphoses, with all the romantic adventures of chivalry, which, if properly exhibited, would produce as good an effect as the intervention of the Gods of Homer; which, in spite of all that has been said in their defence, certainly outrage probability, and would be a disgrace to any system of religion. After all, notwithstanding what Aristotle, Bossu, Rapin, and other critics have said of the fable and the machinery of the epic poem, we will venture to affirm that the success of it does not so much depend upon the contrivance of the poet in these particulars, as upon the characters or manners, the imagery and verification of the performance.

shadow

shadow truth: her strongest and most glaring colours are not many; but of such of these as are of a primitive, a superior nature, an able artist never fails to make a proper use*.

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is exactly in the same state. Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become common place. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius, after flourishing for a certain age, must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and physical observations, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, can more easily keep their ground; and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when the supreme governors, as Lewis XIV. are careful only to employ the best artists; for in painting and sculpture the same subjects may be treated an hundred different ways. The holy family is drawn

* Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe that it is the business of comedy to paint the follies of the age; and every body knows, that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time, and circumstance.

every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art : but it would be ridiculous again to undertake a Cinna, an Andromache, an Art of Poetry, and a Tartuffe*.

It is also observable, that the last age having instructed the present, it is become so easy to write indifferent books, that we have been plagued with trifling pieces ; and, what is still worse, many of them very serious and very useless. But amid this quantity of pieces of small merit, an evil become necessary in a town like this, large, opulent, and idle, where one part of the people are always striving to amuse the other, there will from time to time be found excellent pieces, either of history or reflection, or of that superficial kind of writing which amuses every body.†.

The

* We cannot think this is a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance : but a man must take some pains to make himself judge of a tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of furniture, an original ornament, of which the owner is sole possessor ; an eighteen penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands ; a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say, that if the said subject for tragedy was treated by a dozen different authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure ; and if there was but one copy of each, it would perhaps fetch as great a price as an original Madona.

† The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius is become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Mr. Pope was caressed by the great as the first poet of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation ; and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription

The French nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Their language is become the language of Europe; every thing has contributed thereto; the celebrated writers of the age of Lewis the Great; the Calvinist ministers who were banished, and carried eloquence and method into other countries; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good history of England*; a St. Evremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English court; a dutchess of Mazarine, whom they were all zealous to please; and a madam d'Olbreuse, afterwards dutchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the perfections of her native country; but above all, that social spirit which is the natural characteristic of the French, a merit and pleasure of which other nations feel the want and necessity. The French tongue, above all others, expresses every subject of genteel conversation with more ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to the greatest, the most amiable pleasures of life.

scription. Let it not be imagined we want to detract from the memory or fame of this excellent writer, when we declare our opinion, that there are now living several authors equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection.

* This assertion will, we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present.

C H A P. CCV.

S E Q U E L of the A R T S.

THE arts which do not depend absolutely upon the mind, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, &c. made but small progress in France before that æra which we distinguish by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy ; all that we knew were some songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guittare, and theorbo, most of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lully, amazed the world ; he was the first who in France introduced basses, stops, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the executing of them must have cost him some pains. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music for one who was a proficient therein in the days of Lewis XIII. and the art has, by degrees, arrived at perfection*.

Few great towns are now without a public concert ; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The king's band, of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made afterwards such a progress, that, about the end of Lewis XIV's reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented ; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

* What music may have gained in composition, it seems to have lost in expression : for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear, rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart.

Even

Even in the regency of Mary of Medicis, we had very good architects; she built the palace of Luxembourg in the Tuscan stile, to do honour to her own country and embellish ours. That Desbrosses to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais, superintended also the structure of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. It is a mistake to suppose that cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, came near her in taste. His palace, which now belongs to the crown, is a proof of this assertion. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens, which have been more highly finished within than without, and which contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals than to the embellishment of the city.

Colbert, the Mécenas of arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruviuses, we must also have Augustuses to employ them.

It is also necessary, that the municipal magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such mayors of Paris as the president Turgot, would have prevented the reproach now cast upon that city, on account of the town-house, so badly built, and so ill situated; of the public squares, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; and of the principal streets, so extremely narrow: and, in fine, for those remains of barbarity, still subsisting in the midst of grandeur and the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with Poussin, in the days of Lewis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists in that way who preceded him. We have always since his time had excellent painters; tho' not indeed in that abundance which constitutes part of the wealth of Italy. Suppose we should pass over the name of le Sueur, who had no master but himself, or le Brun, who, in design and composition, equalled the Italians; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of the most accurate attention. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and grand apartments of a great monarch, which have been adorned only with pictures of our country's produce, of whose merit we were not perhaps sufficiently acquainted. I have seen in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a more elegant, piece of painting than the cieling at Versailles by le Moine.

Foreigners allow a painter now among us to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the academy of painting its present form, but prevailed also upon Lewis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. An house was there purchased for the superintendant. Scholars are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expence; they design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. This ambition of imitating its treasures is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense

menſe collection of Italian pictures made by the duke of Orleans and the king, and thoſe maſter-pieces of ſculpture, which France has produced, ſets us above the ſearch after foreign aſſiſtance.

We have principally excelled in ſculpture, and in the art of caſting, in metal, coſoſſal equeſtrian figures.

Should there here-fter be diſcovered in ruins ſuch maſter-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Verſailles; the tomb of cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, not ſufficiently pointed out to the public; the equeſtrian ſtatue of Lewis XV. made at Paris, to embellish Bourdeaux; the Mercury ſent by the preſent king of France as a preſent to his ma-jeſty of Pruſſia, and other performances equal in merit to thoſe I have named, is it not probable they would ſet this age in a light as advantageous as the moſt poliſhed æra of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the ancients in our medals. Varin was the firſt who raiſed this art above mediocrity, about the end of the reign of Lewis XIII. The number and variety of theſe pieces, which we ſee ranged in hiſtorical order in that part of the gallery of the Louvre aſſigned to the artiſts, is admirable. There are above two millions, and moſt of them very maſterly.

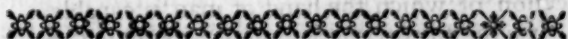
Nor have we been leſs ſucceſſful in the art of engraving precious ſtones. That of multiplying pictures upon copper, and transmitting with eaſe to poſterity all the representations of art and nature, was, before this time, in a very

imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts; we are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than Italy: we have a vast number of finished works of this kind. The king's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends much upon invention and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus traversed those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of a state, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of all others, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean surgery, the progress of which was now so rapid and celebrated, that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe for those cures and operations which require uncommon dexterity of hand. And, besides that good surgeons were to be found scarcely any where but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbours; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me, that it was he who first caused them to be manufactured in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the chirurgical art, did not make a swifter progress in France than in England, and under Boerhaave in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the lights communicated to us by

our neighbours, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given a general and faithful portrait of the progress of human genius among the French in this age, which began under cardinal Richlieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it: if by any means it should happen, this will always remain a model for those more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.



C H A P. CCVI.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS: MEMORABLE
DISPUTES.

IT has been always necessary for the sovereign to act with more delicacy and caution towards the church, the most numerous of the three orders composing the state, than any other. To preserve at the same time an union with the see of Rome, and support the liberties of the Gallican church, which are the rights of the antient church, that is, to make the bishops obey as subjects, without infringing their episcopal immunities, to oblige them to submit in many things to the secular jurisdiction, and to leave them judges in others, to make them contribute to the exigencies of the state without injuring their privileges; all this required a compound of dexterity and resolution of which Lewis XIV. was always master. The clergy of France were by degrees reduced to a state of

order and decency, from which the civil wars and the licentiousness of the times had caused them to deviate. The king would no longer permit laymen to possess benefices *in commendam*; nor any to be bishops unless they were priests, as the cardinal Mazarin, who had held the bishopric of Metz, when not even a sub-deacon, and the duke de Verneville, who enjoyed the profits thereof, though a layman.

The money paid one year with another to the king, by the clergy of France and the conquered towns, amounted to about two millions five hundred thousand livres; and, since the numerical increase of the value of money, they have assisted the state yearly with about four millions, under the name of tenths, extraordinary subsidies, and free-gifts. The name and privilege of free-gift is still preserved as one of the remains of ancient custom, whereby the lords of fiefs were wont to contribute to the necessities of the state, by way of free-gift to the king. In the time of feudal anarchy, bishops and abbots, being lords of fiefs, were only obliged to furnish soldiers. Kings then, like other lords, lived upon the revenue of their own domains: afterwards, when every other order changed, the clergy remained upon their old footing, and maintained the custom of assisting the state by way of free-gift.

To this ancient custom, which a body that assembles often, easily preserves, and which must be necessarily lost by one that never assembles, we may join that immunity and maxim, always claimed by the church, That its revenues are those of the poor. Not that it pretends to owe nothing to the state, of which it holds every thing,

thing, because, when the public is necessitated, it is to be considered in the first class of poor: and Lewis XIV. exacted these supplies in such a manner, that he was sure of never being refused.

It is amazing to all Europe as well as to France, that the clergy, who are supposed to be possessed of one third of the revenue of the kingdom, should contribute so little to relieve its wants. If they are masters of one third of the whole, it is indisputable that they ought to pay one third of the expences, which, upon an average, amounts, demonstrably, to thirty millions yearly, besides the duties upon perishable commodities, which they pay in common with other subjects; but vague and partial judgments are passed upon every thing. The people talk of the clergy possessing one third of the kingdom's revenues at random, just as they say Paris contains a million of inhabitants.

Were we but to take the pains of computing the revenues of the bishoprics, by the leases granted about fifty years ago, it would appear, that the whole annual revenue did not then exceed four millions; and the commendatory abbies amounted to about four millions five hundred thousand pounds. It is true, the leases were estimated at one third of their real value, and if to this estimation we add the increase of the landed revenue since, the sum total of the consistorial benefices will amount to sixteen millions; and it should not be forgotten, that out of this there goes annually a considerable sum to Rome, which, as it never comes back, is absolutely lost to us. The king is herein extremely liberal to the holy see; by which the

state is plundered, in the space of a century, of more than 400,000 marks of silver, which could not in time fail to impoverish the kingdom, were not the loss abundantly repaired by the returns of commerce. To these benefices which pay annates to Rome must be annexed cures, convents, collegiate livings, and all other ecclesiastical establishments; and, if we compute the value of all together at fifty millions yearly, we shall not fall far short of the truth.

Those who have inquired into this matter with the utmost accuracy and attention cannot carry the sum total of the yearly revenues of the Gallican church, secular and regular, farther than eighty millions. This is no exorbitant sum when appropriated to the maintainance of ninety thousand regulars, and about one hundred and sixty thousand other ecclesiastics, which was the case in 1700: and moreover, out of the above ninety thousand, more than one third live upon alms and masses. Many conventual monks do not stand their community in two hundred livres yearly: there are regular abbots, whose income each annually amounts to two hundred thousand livres. From this enormous and striking inequality, murmurs must necessarily arise. It is really lamentable, that a country curate shall, from his laborious duties, be only intitled to a scanty income of three hundred livres, (and perhaps he shall receive from Christian liberality not more than four or five hundred livres besides,) while a lazy monk, become an abbot, but not on that account the less lazy, and is master of an immense fortune, receiving at the same time from his inferiors the most flattering and pompous titles. These abuses are carried
much

much higher in Flanders, Spain, and above all in the catholic states in Germany, where we often find princes among the regular religious.

Abuses almost every where pass by degrees into laws; and if the wisest men were to assemble to compose laws, where is that kind of state whose constitution would always remain unalterably the same?

The clergy of France always observe a custom that is very burthensome to them when they assist the king with a free-gift of several millions for a certain term of years. They borrow the money, and reimburse their creditors with the capital, after having paid the interest; thus paying it twice over. It would be more to the advantage of the state, as well as of the clergy in general, and more conformable to reason, if this reverend body were to assist the wants of their country by contributions proportioned to the value of their respective benefices: but we are always too much attached to old customs. It is owing to this disposition that the clergy, though they assemble every five years, have never yet had a hall, nor any one thing they could call their own. It is clear, that with less expence to themselves, they might have more effectually served the king, and have erected a palace in Paris, which might have been a new ornament to that capital.

In the minority of Lewis XIV. the maxims of the clergy of France were not entirely cleared from the impurities they had imbibed from the League. It is well known, that in the younger days of Lewis XIII. and in the last assembly of the states, held in 1614, the most numerous

part of the nation, distinguished by the appellation of the third state, and which is as it were the foundation of the state, in vain demanded of the parliament, that it should be registered as a fundamental law, "That no spiritual power can deprive kings of their sacred rights, which they hold only from God; and that it is high treason of the blackest kind to teach the doctrine of deposing and killing kings." This was the substance of the nation's demand, in nearly the same words. It was made when the blood of Henry the Great still smoked. Yet a bishop of France, born in that kingdom, the cardinal du Peron, opposed violently the proposition, under pretence that it was not the business of the third state to dictate laws that any way concern the church. Why did he not then, in conjunction with them, agree to this point? but he was so far from this as to say, "That the power of the pope was plenary without controul, direct as to spiritual matters, indirect as to temporals; and he was also commissioned by the clergy to add, they would excommunicate all such persons as might pretend to maintain that the pope could not depose kings."

The nobility was gained over, and the third state obliged to desist. The parliament renewed their antient decrees, declaring the crown independent, and the king's person sacred. The ecclesiastical chamber, in acknowledging the king's person to be sacred, still persisted to maintain that the crown was dependent. The very same temper had before deposed Lewis the Debonnaire. It now prevailed so far, that the court was obliged to acquiesce, and imprison the printer who had published the decree of

parliament, under the title of, The fundamental law. This proceeding was said to be necessary for the public peace; but it was really meant to punish those who furnished the crown with defensive arms. The case was quite different at Vienna, because France stood in awe of the court of Rome, and the pope was afraid of the house of Austria.

The cause here given up was so much the cause of kings, that James I. king of England, wrote against cardinal Perron; and this piece is the best of his works. It was also the cause of the people, whose safety required that their sovereign should by no means depend upon a foreign power. Reason at length prevailed; and Lewis XIV. with the weight of his authority, found no great trouble in procuring it to be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended to Henry IV. three things, Rome, Consejo, Pielago. Lewis XIV. had attained to such a superiority in the two last, he had no need of the first. He was particularly careful to preserve the custom of appealing to parliament, from the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, in all cases respecting the regal jurisdiction. The clergy sometimes complained of this proceeding, and sometimes applauded it: for if on the one hand these appeals support the rights of the state against episcopal authority, they yet confirm that authority itself, in maintaining the rights of the episcopal church against the pretensions of the court of Rome: insomuch that the bishops have looked upon the parliament both as their adversaries and defenders; and the government has been careful, that, in spite of the quarrels of religion,

ligion, the boundaries, which are easily broken down, should on neither side be infringed. It is with regard to the different bodies and companies of the state the same as with the interest of trading towns; to ballance them is in the hand of the legislator.

The most important and delicate affair of this sort, was that of the Regale. The kings of France have a right to present to all simple benefices of a diocese during the vacancy of the see, and also for that time to appropriate the revenues to their own use. This prerogative is peculiar to the kings of France; but every state has its privileges. The kings of Portugal enjoy one third of the revenues of every bishop in their dominions. The emperor claims the first fruits, and disposes of all livings when they become first vacant after his accession. The rights of the kings of Naples and Sicily are still greater. Those of the court of Rome are founded rather upon custom than primitive title. The kings of the Merovingian race gave away livings and bishoprics of their own sole authority. It appears very just they should preserve the poor privilege of disposing of the revenue, and nominating to simple benefices during the short space that happens between the death of one bishop and the registering his successor's oath of fidelity.

The bishops of several towns, reunited to the crown under the third race, refused to acknowledge this right, which their former lords had been too weak to maintain. The popes sided with the bishops, and their claims always remained enveloped in obscurity. The parliament under Henry IV. in 1608 declared, that
the

the Regale should take place throughout the whole kingdom. The clergy murmured; and that prince, who temporised with the bishops and court of Rome, brought the affair before his council, but took care it should not be decided.

The cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin caused several orders of council to be issued, whereby those bishops who held themselves exempt from that authority were required to produce their titles. The affair remained undecided even in the year 1673; and the king at that time did not dare to dispose of a single benefice in almost any diocese beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of a see. At length, in 1673, the chancellor Michael le Tellier published an edict, whereby all the bishoprics in the kingdom were declared subject to the Regale. Two bishops, who were unhappily the most virtuous men in the kingdom, obstinately refused to submit. These were Pavillon bishop of Alet, and Caulet bishop of Pamiers. They defended their cause at first with very plausible reasons, and were as strongly opposed. When men of understanding dispute long, it is very likely the question is far from being clear. This was indeed very obscure: but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were interested in preventing the king from doing in two dioceses what he did in every other. Nevertheless, the two bishops remained inflexible. Neither one nor the other of them had caused his oath of fidelity to be registered; and the king thought he had a right to dispose of the livings vacated in their respective sees.

The

The two prelates excommunicated all who were thus provided for. Both had been suspected of Jansenism. Innocent X. was their enemy; but when they disputed against the king's prerogative, he became their friend. This pope, Odescalchi, as virtuous and obstinate as themselves, warmly espoused their cause.

The king at first contented himself to exile the principal officers of these bishops. He shewed more moderation than two men who piqued themselves for their sanctity. Out of respect to his old age, the bishop of Alet was left to die in peace. The bishop of Pamiers still resisted, nor could any remonstrances move him. He repeated his excommunications; and persisted in not registering his oath of fidelity, persuaded that by such an oath the church was acknowledged as subservient to monarchy. His temporalities were seized upon by the king. The pope and the Jansenists indemnified him. He gained by the privation of his annuity, and died in 1680, satisfied, that in opposing the king, he had maintained the cause of heaven. His death did not extinguish the quarrel: the canons named by the king came to take possession; the monks, who pretended to be canons and grand vicars, obliged them to quit the church, and excommunicated them. The metropolitan, Montpesat, archbishop of Toulouse, to whom it belonged to take cognizance of this matter, gave sentence, but to no purpose, against these pretended grand vicars. They appealed to Rome, according to the custom of referring to that court such ecclesiastical causes as were determined by the archbishops of France, a custom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church:

church: but there are contradictions in every form of human government. The parliament issued decrees. A monk named Cerle, who was one of these grand vicars, broke thro' the sentence of the archbishop, as well as the decrees of the parliament. This last tribunal condemned him to be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, and to lose his head. He was executed in effigy. From his asylum he insulted both the archbishop and the king; and was supported by the pope. Nay, this sovereign pontiff went farther. Persuaded, like Pamiers, that the right of Regale was an abuse upon the church, and that the king had nothing to do with the livings of that vacant bishopric, he repealed the ordonnances of the archbishop of Toulouse, and excommunicated the grand vicars named by that prelate, with all the ecclesiastics that held under the Regale, and their abettors.

The king convened an assembly of the clergy, consisting of thirty-five bishops, and a like number of deputies of the second order. The Jansenists for the first time took part with the pope; and this pope, an enemy to the king, favoured, without loving them; he piqued himself for opposing this monarch upon every occasion: and, in 1689, joined with the allies against James II. because he was protected by Lewis XIV. so that it was now a common saying, That James should become an huguenot, and the pope a catholic, to terminate the troubles of Europe and of the church.

In the mean time the clergy in 1681, unanimously declared for the king. Another trifling quarrel, become now important, engaged the

the public attention. The election to a priory in the suburbs of Paris inflamed the difference between the pope and the king. The Roman pontiff repealed the ordonnance of the archbishop of Paris, and annulled his nomination to that priory. The parliament adjudged this proceeding of the court of Rome to be an abuse. The pope, by a bull, ordered the inquisition to burn the parliament's decree. These disputes have been for a long time the common and inevitable consequences of that ancient mixture of the natural liberty which every country claims of governing within itself, and of its subserviency to a foreign power.

The assembly of the clergy took a course, which shews that men of wisdom can yield with dignity to their sovereign, without any other power interposing. They consented that the right of Regale should extend over the whole kingdom; but it was done in such a manner as to seem rather a concession on the part of the clergy, relinquishing their pretensions out of regard to their protector, than a formal acknowledgment of the absolute right of the crown.

The assembly justified themselves to the pope by a letter, wherein we find this one passage, which alone ought to serve as a constant rule in all disputes, viz. "It is better to cede something of one's rights, than to disturb the public tranquillity." The king, the Gallican church, and the parliament, were contented. The Jansenists writ some libels: the pope continued inflexible. He reversed by brief all the resolutions of the assembly, and commanded the bishops

shops to retract their concessions. Here was some foundation for dividing for ever the church of France from that of Rome. There had been some talk of making a patriarch in the times of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin.

It was the wish of every magistrate, that the tribute of annates should be no longer paid to Rome; that the holy see should nominate to the benefices of Bretagne only for six months in the year; and that the bishops of France should no longer be styled bishops by permission of the holy see. Had it been the king's inclination, he needed only to have said the word; he was master of the assembly of the clergy, and the nation was for him. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of a virtuous pope, who knew not how to temporise. But there are certain ancient boundaries which cannot be removed without the most violent shocks. It required stronger ties of interest, more inflamed passions, and greater perturbations in the minds of men, to break at once with the court of Rome; and this rupture would have been the more difficult while the ministry persisted in extirpating Calvinism. It was even looked upon as a bold step to publish the four famous decisions of the same assembly in 1682, of which here follows the substance.

1. God gave no power, either directly or indirectly, in temporal matters, either to Peter or his successors.

2. The Gallican church approved of the council of Constance, which declares general councils superior to the pope in spirituals.

3. The

3. The rules, customs, and established practices of the kingdom, and the Gallican church, ought to remain unchangeable.

4. The pope's decisions in matters of faith are not binding, until approved of by the church.

All the tribunals and faculties of theology registered these four propositions in their fullest sense, and forbid by edict any one to maintain the contrary. This firmness was regarded at Rome as an effort of rebellion; and by the protestants of Europe as a weak essay of a church naturally free, which had broken only four links of her chains. These four maxims were at first espoused with enthusiasm by the whole nation; but they afterwards cooled.

About the end of Lewis the Great's reign, they began to be considered as problematical; and cardinal Fleury caused them to be in part disavowed by an assembly of the clergy, without the least consequential murmur, because the minds of men were not then so much heated, and because during the administration of cardinal Fleury, nothing was done very remarkable. Pope Innocent was nevertheless more than ever exasperated: he refused bulls to all the bishops and commendatory abbots that had been nominated by the king; so that when he died, which was in 1689, there was twenty-nine sees in France without bishops. These prelates indeed were not without their revenues; but they dared not either to be consecrated, or enjoy any of the episcopal functions. The notion of creating a patriarch was revived. The quarrel about the rights of ambassadors at Rome, which compleated the widening of these breaches,

breaches, gave one reason to think that the time was come for establishing in France a catholic apostolic church that was not Roman. The attorney-general, Harlai, and the advocate-general, Talon, made themselves sufficiently understood, by appealing, in 1687, from the bull against the franchises, as an abuse, and exclaiming against the obstinacy of the pope, who left so many churches without pastors. This was a step to which the king never could agree, though it might have been easily done, notwithstanding it appeared so very difficult.

The cause of Innocent XI. became now the cause of the holy see. The four propositions of the clergy of France attacked the phantom of infallibility, (which though not believed in at Rome, yet was there supported) and the real power annexed to that phantom. Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed the steps of the obdurate Odescalchi, not indeed with such violence. They confirmed the judgment pronounced against the assembly of the clergy: they refused bulls to the bishops; and in fine did too much, because Lewis XIV. had not done enough. The bishops, weary of enjoying no more than a regal nomination, without the exercise of their episcopal functions, intreated the court of France to permit them to appease that of Rome.

The king, whose resolution was worn out, allowed their request. Each of them wrote separately to the court of Rome, expressing themselves grievously afflicted with the proceedings of the assembly; and each of them in his letter declared he did not look upon that matter as decided, which they had before ab-

solutely decided; nor upon that to be established which they had really established. Pignatelli, (Innocent XII.) more mild than Odescalchi, was satisfied with this proceeding. The four propositions were yet from time to time not less taught in France. The cause subsided when disputes were ceased; yet it only lay dormant without being determined, as is always the case in a state, which has not in such matters invariable and acknowledged principles. Thus we sometimes oppose, sometimes give way to Rome, according to the characters of those who govern, or the particular interests of those who are at the head of the administration.

Lewis XIV. had no other kind of ecclesiastical quarrel with the court of Rome; nor had he any opposition from the clergy in temporal matters.

Under him the clergy became respectable by a decency of behaviour unknown to the barbarous times of the two first races of our kings, to the still more barbarous times of feudal government, absolutely unknown during the civil wars, and above all during the Fronde. There are indeed some few exceptions, which will be always the case according to the prevailing virtues or vices. It was now only that the eyes of the people began to be opened upon the superstitions which always mingle with their religion. It was no longer accounted criminal to assert that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen never were in Provence, whatever might be the opinion of the parliament of Aix, or of the Carmelites. The Benedictines could no longer persuade the people that Dionysius the Areopagite

gite governed the church of Paris. Pretended saints, false miracles, and supposed relics began to be decried. That sound reasoning which had thrown such lights upon philosophy, made its way every where but slowly, and with difficulty.

Gaston Lewis de Noailles, brother to the cardinal and bishop of Chalons, in 1702 had sufficient sensible piety to cause to be thrown away a relic which had been many ages carefully preserved in the church of Notre-Dame, worshipped under the name of Jesus Christ's navel. All Chalons murmured against the bishop. Presidents, counsellors, king's officers, treasurers of France, merchants, citizens, canons, curates, unanimously and formally protested against this bold action of the bishop; affirming that the garment of Christ, preserved at Argenteuil, the handkerchief at Turin and Laon, the nail of the cross at St. Dennis, and the prepuce at Rome, were identically his. But the bishop's wise resolution triumphed at length over the credulity of the people.

Some other superstitions, because united with respectable customs, still subsisted. The protestants have therefore exulted; but they are obliged to acknowledge, that there is no catholic church in which abuse is less common, or more despised than in France.

The true philosophical spirit, which had not taken root till about the middle of this century, could not extinguish the ancient and modern disputes in theology, of which it did not take cognizance. We shall now proceed to speak of those dissensions which are a disgrace to human reason.

C H A P. CCVII.

OF CALVINISM.

IT is undoubtedly a melancholy consideration that the church has been always torn by intestine divisions, and that so much blood should have been for so many ages shed by those who proclaimed the God of peace. This rage was unknown to paganism. It covered the earth with darkness, but scarcely spilt any other blood than that of animals; and if human victims were sometimes offered up among the Jews and Pagans, such offerings, horrible as they are, never occasioned civil wars. The religion of the Pagans was composed of morality and festivals. Morality, which is common to all men, and all seasons; and festivals, which are only acts of rejoicing, could never disturb mankind.

The spirit of dogmatism inspired men with the rage of civil war. I have often enquired how and by what means that dogmatic spirit, which divided the schools of Pagan antiquity, without occasioning any disturbance, should among us produce such horrible disorders. It cannot be caused solely by fanaticism; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fanatic of mankind, never hurt any but themselves. Cannot then the origin of this new plague, which has ravaged the earth, be found in that republican spirit which animated the primitive churches? Those secret assemblies, which from caves and grottoes defied the authority of the Roman emperors, by degrees formed a state within

state within a state. It was a republic concealed in the bosom of the empire. Constantine drew it from under ground, and set it by the side of the throne.

The authority annexed to great sees was soon found to run counter to the spirit of popularity, which had till then inspired all the christian assemblies. It often happened that when a metropolitan uttered one opinion, a suffragan bishop, a priest, or a deacon, maintained the direct contrary. All authority secretly hurts mankind, inasmuch as that authority is always upon the encrease. When people can find a pretext that may be deemed sacred, they soon make a duty of opposition.* Thus one party becomes persecutors, the other rebels, while on both sides they pretend to maintain the cause of God. We have seen by the disputes supported by Arius against a bishop, how the rage

* All the mischiefs of religious zeal are, we apprehend, deducible from the single doctrine of faith, implying, that our eternal happiness or misery depends upon our believing or disbelieving certain tenets, concerning which the faculty of reason cannot be exercised. This it was which opened a way to every species of fanaticism and spiritual rancour: for those who adopted this tenet considered every person who differed from them in opinion, as reprobated and accursed; and mutual hatred, animosity, and persecution ensued. As the concerns of the soul were much more interesting than any thing that related to temporal establishments, the spiritual guides acquired such influence over the minds of the Neophytes, as often superseded the authority of the civil magistrates; a circumstance which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of the government under which they lived; and this jealousy was attended with severity, which served only to inflame the spirit of enthusiasm, and engender rebellion and despair.

of governing souls has disturbed the peace of the earth. To deliver an opinion as agreeable to the will of heaven, to command it to be believed under pain of death, temporal and eternal, was in some men deemed the utmost period of spiritual despotism; and to resist these two menaces was in others thought the last effort of independence.

In the general history we have run through, we have seen a continual struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, ever since the time of Theodosius; and since that of Charlemagne, the grand chiefs continually struggling against their sovereigns; bishops often rising against kings, and popes taking part sometimes with bishops, sometimes with kings. In the first ages they disputed less in the Latin church. The continual invasions of barbarians scarcely gave them time to think; and few of their dogmatical opinions were sufficiently clear to secure them universal credit. The worship of images was almost every where rejected in the West, in the age of Charlemagne. A bishop of Turin, named Claudius, inveighed against them with great acrimony, and maintained several opinions which at this time give foundation to the protestant credit. These opinions spread themselves in the vallies of Piedmont, Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc. They flourished in the twelfth century; soon afterwards produced the wars of the Albigenes; and having passed thence to the university of Prague, excited the wars of the Hussites.

The interval between the troubles which arose from the ashes of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, and the disturbances renewed by

by Luther, was not more than one hundred years. The ancient opinions embraced by the Vaudois, the Albigenſes, and the Huſſites, revived and differently explained by Luther and Zwinglius, were eagerly adopted in Germany, as they furniſhed pretence for ſeizing on the many lands poſſeſſed by the biſhops and abbots, and for reſiſting the power of the emperor: they triumphed in Sweden and Denmark, countries wherein people were free under their kings.

The Engliſh, who inherit from nature a ſpirit of independence, adopted, moulded them, and thence compoſed a religion for themſelves. Theſe opinions made their way in Poland; and their progreſs was conſiderable only in places where the people were not ſlaves. They found little difficulty in being received among the Swiſs, becauſe the government was republican. For the ſame reaſon they were near being eſtabliſhed at Venice; and might have perhaps taken actual root there, had not Rome been ſo near; and if the government had not dreaded a democracy, at which the people in every republic naturally aſpire, and which was the chief view of moſt of the reformers. The Hollanders ſhook off the yoke of Spain * before they embraced this religion. Geneva became a popular ſtate by receiving Calviniſm. The houſe of Auſtria took all poſſible pains to prevent theſe religions from getting footing in their dominions. They ſcarcely made any progreſs

* The Dutch did not firſt throw off the Spaniſh yoke, and then embrace the proteſtant religion; they were firſt converted to this doctrine, and finding themſelves oppreſſed in the point of liberty of conſcience, then ſhook off the yoke of Spain.

in Spain. They were extirpated with fire and sword in the dukedom of Savoy, which was their cradle. In 1655 the inhabitants of the vallies of Piedmont underwent the same cruel trials which those of Merindol and Cabriere had underwent under Francis I. in France.

This sect having appeared dangerous to the duke of Savoy, he absolutely exterminated it; so that there remained only some few, scarcely known, in the most rocky and desert places. It does not appear that the Lutherans and Calvinists caused any great troubles in France, under the dominion of Francis I. and Henry II. But when the government was weak and divided, the quarrels of religion became violent. Conde and Coligni became Calvinists, because the Guises were Catholics, overwhelmed the state with confusion. The levity and impetuosity of the nation, their passion for novelty and enthusiasm, changed us for upwards of forty years from a most polished to a most barbarous people. Henry IV. born of this sect, which he really loved, without being bigotted to any, could not, though seconded by his victories and virtues, obtain the crown without abandoning Calvinism. After he became a catholic, he had not the ingratitude to consent to the destruction of a people, to whom, though they were at variance with monarchical government, he owed his crown; and even had he been inclined to it, he could not now have dispersed this faction; he therefore cherished, protected, and restrained it.

The Huguenots of France did not at this time amount to a twelfth part of the nation. But among them were many powerful lords; whole

whole cities were protestants. They had made war upon their sovereigns, who had been obliged to put some strong places into their hands for security. Henry III. had given up to them in Dauphine alone, fourteen; Montauban and Nismes in Languedoc; Saumur, and above all Rochelle, which made a republic of itself, and had become powerful by the commerce and protection of the English. At length Henry IV. seemed to act according to his inclination as well as his duty, and even politically, by granting them in 1598, the celebrated edict of Nantz. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of privileges which the protestants had obtained sword in hand from preceding kings, and which Henry the Great confirmed to them voluntarily from the throne. By this edict of Nantz, which the name of Henry the Great renders more celebrated than any other, every lord of a fief vested with power of capital jurisdiction, was permitted the full exercise, within his own castle, of the pretended reformed religion. Every lord, not possessed of such power, was allowed thirty persons to be present at divine service. The full exercise of this religion was tolerated in every place under the immediate jurisdiction of a parliament.

The Calvinists were free to print books in every place where their religion was permitted, without applying to their superiors. They were declared capable of holding all the great offices and dignities of state; and every thing on their side appeared favourable, the king having created the lords of Trimcuille and Roni dukes and peers of France.

A new chamber was purposely formed in the parliament of Paris, consisting of a president and sixteen counsellors. This court, which was called the Chamber of the Edict, took cognizance of, and determined all causes that concerned the reformed, not only in the immense district of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Brittany. Indeed there never was but one Calvinist admitted by right among the counsellors of this jurisdiction; but as the principal design of it was to prevent those vexatious actions of which the party complained; and as men always value themselves upon discharging a trust by which they are distinguished, this chamber, though composed of catholics, always rendered the most impartial justice to the Huguenots, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a kind of lesser parliament at Castres, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise courts of justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, composed of one half Roman Catholics and the other Calvinists. Their churches assembled in synods in the same manner as the Gallican church. These privileges, together with many others, incorporated the Calvinists with the rest of the nation. It was in effect suffering enemies to league together; but the authority, the goodness, and the address of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After the tragical and much lamented death of Henry IV. during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the reformed not to abuse their privileges, or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt to restrain them.

them. The Huguenots had already established circles in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The deputies of these circles were frequently men of a seditious turn, and there were in the party itself several noblemen of unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke de Rohan, the chief who was in the greatest credit among the Huguenots, soon hurried the restless spirit of the preachers and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general assembly of the party in 1616 had the boldness to present a remonstrance to the court, in which, among other insolent articles, they demanded a change in the king's council. In the same year 1616, they took up arms in several places, and through the audacious behaviour of the party, joined to the divisions in the court, the public hatred against the favourites, and the unsettled state of the nation, every thing was for some time in the utmost disorder and confusion. Nothing prevailed but seditions, intrigues, menaces, insurrections, treaties made in haste, and broken as speedily, which made the famous cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time nuncio in France, say, that he had been witness of nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the calvinist churches of France offered Lefdiguieres, that soldier of fortune, who was afterwards made constable, the command of their armies, with a salary of an hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lefdiguieres, who was more clear-sighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them well, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them than be at their head, and instead of ac-

ing their offers, turned catholic. The party afterwards applied to the marechal duke of Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. To conclude, they conferred that unhappy employment on the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubise had the insolence to make war upon the king of France.

The same year the constable de Luines carried Lewis XIII. from province to province. He reduced to obedience upwards of fifty cities, almost without resistance, but failed before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain; that city continued to defend itself both by its own strength and the succours it received from England: and the duke de Rohan, a traitor to his country, concluded a peace with his sovereign, like one crowned head treating with another.

After this peace, and the death of the constable de Luines, there was a necessity of renewing the war, and Rochelle was again besieged; that city, which was always in league against its sovereign with the English, and the Calvinists of the kingdom. A woman, (the mother of the duke of Rohan,) defended this city a whole year against the king's army, against the active diligence of cardinal Richelieu, and the intrepid valour of Lewis XIII. who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the extremities of famine, and would not have been reduced at last, had it not been for the mole of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richelieu ordered to be made across the mouth of the harbour, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raised

raised before the city of Tyre. This stupendous work at once subdued the sea and the Rochellers. Guiton, the mayor of Rochelle, who had formed the design to bury himself under the ruins of the place, had the boldness, after having surrendered at discretion, to appear before cardinal Richelieu, attended by his guards, the mayors of the principal Huguenot cities being allowed this mark of honour. Guiton's guards however were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privileges. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war against his prince; and finding himself abandoned by the English, though protestants, he entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, though catholics. But the firm behaviour of cardinal Richelieu forced the Huguenots at last, after being defeated on all sides, to submit.

All the edicts granted them before this time, having been so many treaties made with their kings, Richelieu resolved that the one he granted them on this occasion should be called The Edict of Grace. The king in it speaks in the style of a prince who pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhé, Oleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in other respects the edict of Nantz was suffered to remain; which, by the Calvinists, was always looked upon as their fundamental law.

It seemed somewhat strange that cardinal de Richelieu, who was so absolute and daring, did not totally abolish this famous edict; but at that time he had something else in view, more difficult perhaps in the execution, but not less conformable to the extent of his ambition and

the loftiness of his designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he thought himself capable of effecting by the greatness of his understanding, his power, and his politics. His project was to gain the ministers, to bring them first to acknowledge that the Roman-catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them afterwards by degrees, to give up some points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome as if he had yielded nothing at all. He made sure of dazzling one party of the reformed, of seducing the other by presents and pensions, and to appear at length to have united them to the church; leaving to time to accomplish the rest, and indulging himself in the glorious prospect of having effected, or prepared the way for this great work, and passing for the author of it. The famous father Joseph on one side, and two ministers he had gained on the other, set about this negotiation. But it appeared that the cardinal had made too sure; and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of divines, than to raise moles in the ocean.

Richelieu, thus disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but cares of another nature hindered him from carrying his design into execution. He found himself obliged to combat, at the same time, all the grandes of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole house of Austria, and frequently Lewis XIII. himself. At length, amidst all these storms, he ended his days by a premature death, before he was able to complete his vast designs, leaving behind him

him a name more dazzling than dear and venerable.

In the mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the publication of the Edict of Grace, the civil wars ceased, and there remained only a trifling controversy. Large volumes were published on both sides, which nobody reads at present. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Huguenots. The Huguenot preachers endeavoured to bring over some catholics to their opinion. The king's council was busied in issuing arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some ground formerly belonging to the church; about schools, the jurisdiction of castles, interments, bells, and the like; in which the reformed seldom gained their cause. These trifling disputes were all now left of the former devastations and ravages. The Huguenots were without a leader, since they had lost the duke of Rohan, and that Sedan had been taken from the house of Bouillon. They even made a merit of remaining quiet during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the bishops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their service against cardinal Mazarine.

There were scarce any disputes about religion during the life of this minister. He made no scruple to bestow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Huguenot of foreign extraction, named Hervard. The reformed were all of them admitted into the offices of the revenue without exception.

Colbert, who revived the industry of the nation, and whom France may look upon as the founder of her commerce, employed a great number of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful engagements, which fully occupied them, softened by degrees the epidemic fury of controversy; and the glory which, for fifty years together, surrounded the throne of Lewis XIV. added to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as well as in all orders of the state, the least idea of resistance. The magnificent feasts of a gay and gallant court threw an air of ridicule on the pedantry and reserve of the Huguenots. In proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to inspire disgust. These psalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II. seemed only calculated for the populace in the reign of Lewis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped still more to put men out of conceit with religious disputes.

But while reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the peace of the state: for the Jansenists beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, they acquired a considerable share in the esteem of those who are fond of such subtleties. They wrote at the same time against the Jesuits and Huguenots; these latter answered the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The Lutherans in the province of Alsace attacked all the three. A paper-war among so many different sects, at a time

time when the state was engaged in great designs, and the government was powerful, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, only an amusement for the idle part of the nation, which, sooner or latter, always sinks into indifference.

Lewis XIV. was exasperated against the sectaries in religion, by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the court of Rome, and especially by the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to root out the reformed as rebels, because Colbert protected them as useful subjects. Lewis, wholly a stranger to the fundamental points of their doctrine, looked upon them, not without reason, as old revolters not entirely quelled. He applied himself at first to undermine by degrees, and on all sides, the fabric of their religion: churches were taken from them on the most slender pretexts, and forbid to marry the daughters of catholics; but in this they seemed to want policy, or at least to be ignorant of the power of a sex with which the court was otherwise so well acquainted. The intendants and the bishops endeavoured, by the most plausible contrivances, to get Huguenot children away from their parents. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any person of this religion into places in the revenue. They were excluded as much as possible from the corporations of arts and trades. The king, however, though he kept them under the yoke, did not always make them feel the whole weight of it. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities, and the oppressions they laboured

boured under were at least covered with a shew of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used upon this occasion, which was money; but they did not make a sufficient use of the expedient. Pelisson had the charge of this secret service; the same Pelisson who was so long a Calvinist, and who is so well known by his writings, his copious eloquence, and his attachment to the superintendant Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim, he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened a way to fortune and preferment; he took the ecclesiastical habit, and obtained several benefices, and the place of master of requests. About the year 1677, the king entrusted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain des Prez, and Cluni, together with the revenues arising from the third part of all savings; the whole to be distributed amongst those who would become converts. Cardinal le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, had already tried this method. Pelisson, charged with this negociation, sent money into the provinces, recommending at the same time to those who had the care of distributing the sums, to make as many converts as possible with a little expence. Small sums distributed to a few indigent wretches swelled the list, which Pelisson presented every three months to the king, persuading him at the same time, that every thing upon earth would at length give way to his generosity and power.

The council, encouraged by these small successes, which time would have rendered more
con-

considerable, adventured in 1681 to issue a declaration, permitting children to renounce their religion at the age of seven years : under the shadow of this decree, great numbers of children were seized in the provinces, in order to make them abjure ; and troops were quartered upon the houses of their parents.

This precipitate step of the chancellor le Tellier and his son Louvois was the occasion, that, in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom.

Strangers with eagerness took advantage of this circumstance ; the kings of England and Denmark, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, invited the Calvinists to take refuge in their territories, promising them ample subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for such as should fly thither for an asylum.

The council soon perceived the dangerous consequences of a too speedy use of authority, and thought to find a remedy in that very authority. They were sensible how necessary artificers were in a country where commerce flourished, and seamen at a time when they were establishing a naval force. The punishment of the galleys was therefore denounced against all of these professions who should attempt to quit the kingdom.

It being observed that a great number of Calvinist families sold their estates, a proclamation immediately appeared, confiscating all those estates, in case the seller should leave the kingdom within a year. The persecution against the ministers was now resumed with double severity.

verity. Their churches were shut up upon the most frivolous pretences, and all the rents left by will to their consistories, were applied to the hospitals of the kingdom.

The masters of Calvinist schools were forbid to receive boarders. The ministers were taxed, and protestant mayors were deprived of their right of noblesse. The officers of the king's household, and the king's secretaries, who were protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were any longer admitted, either among the notaries, attorneys, or advocates.

The clergy were strictly enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to make proselytes, while perpetual banishment was denounced against those protestant ministers who should make any. All these ordonnances were publicly solicited by the clergy of France, who, like children of a household, were resolved not to share their inheritance with aliens introduced by force.

Pelisson went on buying converts; but Mad. Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, animated with that zeal for religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to the women, sent as much money to prevent conversions as Pelisson had done to procure them.

At length the Huguenots took courage, and rose in some places. They assembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. This was a small spark of the fire of our ancient civil wars. Two or three hundred miserable wretches, without a leader,
without

without towns, and even without any regular plan of design, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the minister, Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantz, to be broke upon the wheel. He is ranked among the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has been long held in veneration by the protestants.

The intendant of Languedoc caused the minister Chomel to be broke upon 1683 the wheel. Three more were condemned to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they saved themselves by flight, and were only executed in effigy.

All these rigorous proceedings inspired terror, and at the same time encreased the spirit of obstinacy. It is but too well known, that people become more attached to a religion in proportion as they suffer for its sake.

And now it was, that those about the king insinuated to him, that, after having sent missionaries into all the provinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences seemed very ill timed, and were the consequences of the spirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Lewis XIV. These counsellors never considered that the Huguenots were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was now extinguished; that this malady, of long continuance, was now upon the decline; that every thing has its limited time of duration with mankind; that, if the fathers had been rebels under
Lewis

Lewis XIII. their children were become good subjects under Lewis XIV. It was seen in England, Holland, and Germany, that many sects, who had torn each other in pieces during the last age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute prince might be equally well served by catholics and by protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace were unanswerable proofs of this maxim. In the end, it appeared, that queen Christina was not mistaken in what she says, in one of her letters on the subject of these oppressions and desertions: "I look upon France as a patient, whose physicians order his legs and arms to be cut off, to cure him of a disorder which patience and mild treatment would have entirely got the better of."

Lewis XIV. who, in seizing upon Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism; might have acted in the same manner by Calvinism, which time would have insensibly abolished, as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagined, that in putting this force upon a great number of his subjects, he would not lose many more, who, in spite of all his edicts and guards, would by flight avoid a violence which they looked upon as a horrible persecution? and, in fact, why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both protestants and catholics, Frenchmen and strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of Great? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. It was about this very time too, that the king had openly
broke

broke with pope Innocent XI. the declared enemy of France. But Lewis reconciling the interests of his religion with those of his grandeur, was resolved to humble the pope with one hand, and crush the Calvinists with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to a degree of idolatry. The bishops, several of the intendants, and the whole council, made him believe that his troops would, by their bare appearance, finish what his liberalities and missions had already begun.

He thought that in this he did no more than make use of his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed, exerted it with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV. always strongly armed, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution was called the Dragonade.

All possible care was taken to guard the frontiers, in order to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be reunited to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large enclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a subdelegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families were assembled, especially those who were deemed most tractable. They

re-

renounced their religion in the name of the rest, and those who continued obstinate were given up to the soldiery, who had every licence but that of killing; nevertheless, many persons were so cruelly treated, that they died soon after. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries still cry out against this persecution of their fathers, comparing it to the most violent the church ever sustained in the first ages of Christianity.

It seemed a strange contrast, that such cruel and merciless orders should proceed from the bosom of a voluptuous court, distinguished for softness of manners, the graces, and all the charms of social life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appeared too plainly in this affair; and we see in it the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant, letters written with his own hand in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: "It is the king's pleasure, that such as refuse to conform to his religion should be punished with the utmost rigour, and particularly those who affect the foolish glory of being the last to comply."

Paris was not exposed to these vexations; the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the reformed were thus every where demolished, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantz was at last revoked, in the month of October 1685: this completed the ruin of that fabric which was already undermined on all sides.

The

The Chamber of the Edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council followed one upon another, like thunderbolts, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which appeared to be the most fatal was the order for seizing the children of the pretended reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never carried into execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which 1685
revoked that of Nantz, they seem to have paved the way to an event directly contrary to the end proposed. The intent was to procure a re-union of the Calvinists to the national church throughout the kingdom. Gourville, a man of consummate judgment, whom Louvois consulted in this affair, advised that minister, as is well known, to imprison all the preachers, and release such only, as being gained by private pensions, would abjure in public, and might by this means contribute more to the desired union than the missionaries and soldiers. Instead of following this politic advice, an edict was issued, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. It was surely the utmost blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming extravagantly upon power, and betraying a very slender knowledge of mankind, to suppose that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations heated with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts

parts of France, would not run all risks to go and publish their constancy, and the glory of their exile, in foreign countries, when so many nations, envious of Lewis XIV. were ready to receive them with open arms.

The old chancellor le Tellier, when he signed the edict, cried out in an ecstasy of joy: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation." He did not imagine that he was then setting his hand to an act, which would be productive of the greatest mischief to his country*.

His son, Louvois, was no less deceived, when he thought that a bare order of his would be sufficient to shut the frontier-passes and sea-ports, against those who thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, is always too strong for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards was sufficient to favour the flight of a number of refugees. No less than fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom in the space of three years; and were afterwarde followed by others, who carried their arts, manufactories, and riches,

* In reading the funeral-oration of this chancellor, pronounced by Bossuet, we see him represented as a good and a great man. If we look into the Annals of the abbé de St. Pierre, we shall find him a mean-spirited and dangerous court-sycophant, one particularly skilful in the art of calumniating, of whom the count de Grammont said one day, on seeing him come out from a private conference with the king: "Methinks I see a fox that has just been devouring a brood of chickens, and is licking his lips, stained with their blood."

into other countries with them. Almost all the north of Germany, a country till then rude and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes transplanted thither, who peopled whole cities. Stuffs, gold and silver lace, hats, stockings, formerly bought of France, were now manufactured in those countries by them. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk, others carried thither the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany*.

Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, an immense quantity of specie, and what is still more, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange, and the duke of Savoy, had entire regiments of refugees. Some went even as far as the Cape of Good Hope to settle. The nephew of the famous du Quesne, lieutenant-general of the marine, founded a small colony at that extremity of the globe; but it did not prosper, for most part of those who went on board perished by the way.

In vain the prisons and galleys were filled with those who were stopt in their flight; what could be done with such a multitude of wretches whom sufferings made more bold? how could

* The count d'Avaux, in his letters, says he was informed, that at London there were sixty thousand guineas coined with the gold which the refugees had sent over thither; but this account is too much exaggerated.

persons

persons bred to the law, and infirm old men, be left to perish in the galleys? Some hundreds were sent over to America: at length the council began to think, that if they no longer prohibited leaving the kingdom, the minds of the people being no longer instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying, desertions would become less frequent. But here they were again mistaken; and after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

After all the churches of the reformed were demolished and their pastors banished, nothing more remained but to retain in the Roman communion, such as through fear or persuasion had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom*. These were obliged to go to mass, and to communicate; some who refused the host after having once received it, were burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacrament at their death were drawn upon a hurdle, and left unburied.

Persecution always makes proselytes, especially when it happens to encounter a heat of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled every where to sing their psalms, though the penalty of death was denounced against all such as should hold these assemblies. Ministers returning into

* It has been several times asserted in print, that there still remained three millions of the reformed in France. This is an insufferable exaggeration; Mr. Baviile reckoned but one hundred thousand in Languedoc, and his account is exact. There are not above fifteen thousand in Paris, and there are several cities, and even whole provinces, in which there is not one,

the kingdom were likewise to suffer death, and a reward of fifty-five thousand livres was promised to whosoever should inform against them, Several returned, and were either hanged or broke upon the wheel.

The sect, however, still subsisted, though in appearance crushed. It vainly hoped in the war of 1689, that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law, who was a Roman catholic, would support Calvinism in France; but in the war of 1701, fanaticism and rebellion again broke out in Languedoc.

It was now some considerable time since, in the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certain persons had appeared, pretending to the gifts of inspiration and prophecy. An old Huguenot named des Serres had there kept a school of prophets. He directed children to those words of scripture: "When two or three are met together in my name, my spirit shall be in the midst of them; and if you had faith like a grain of mustard seed, you would be able to remove mountains." He afterwards received the spirit, was beside himself, fell into convulsions, his voice changed, he became immovable, with his hair standing on end, according to the ancient usage of all nations, and the rules of prophetic madness, handed down from generation to generation. The children under his care thus received the gift of prophecy; and if they were not able to remove mountains, it was because they had faith enough to receive the spirit, but not to work miracles; accordingly they redoubled their zeal and servour to obtain this last gift.

Whilst the Cevennes was thus the school of enthusiasm, some of the ministers called apostles returned secretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in Nîmes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and in the highest esteem among strangers, returned to preach in his own country in 1698. He was convicted, not only of preaching contrary to the edicts, but of having about ten years before held private correspondence with the enemies of the state. The intendant Baviile condemned him to be broke upon the wheel. He
1688 died after the manner of the first martyrs.

All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood.

After this, prophets began to start up every where, and the spirit of phrenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703, an abbé of the family of Chaila, an inspector of the missions, obtained an order from the court, to shut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. Instead of conveying them to the convent, however, he carried them to his own castle. The Calvinists took the alarm, flocked together in crouds, broke open the doors, and set the two young ladies at liberty, with other persons, they found confined there. They afterwards seized upon the abbé, to whom they made an offer of his life, on condition he would change his religion; upon his refusing, one of their prophets cried out, "Die then! the spirit condemns thee, thy sin be upon thine own head!"

and

and instantly he was shot to death. Immediately after this exploit, they seized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks; after that they fell upon all the priests they met, and massacred them without mercy. Finding themselves pursued, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number daily increased. Their prophets and prophetesses declared to them, as from God, that the establishment of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon was now at hand. The abbé de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly among them, in the midst of their wild lurking places, and brought them money and arms.

This man was a son of the marquis de Guiscard, the king's sub-governor, who was one of the wisest men in the kingdom. The son was unworthy of such a father. Having taken refuge in Holland on account of some crime, he now came to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after, he went to London, where he was arrested in 1711, for betraying the English ministry, as he had before betrayed his own country. Being brought before the council in order to be examined, he snatched up a long pen-knife, which lay upon the table, and which seemed proper for perpetrating his purpose, and with it wounded the lord treasurer Harley. Upon this, he was sent to prison loaded with irons. He prevented the punishment prepared for him by a voluntary death. This was the man then, who, in the names of the English, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured
1703 them secretly. Their war-cry (if I may
so term it) was "Liberty of conscience and no
taxes." This cry seduced the populace every
where, and these mad fanatics justified Lewis
XIV. in his design of extirpating Calvinism.
But had not the edict of Nantz been revoked,
there would have been no such frenzies and in-
surfections to quell.

The king, at first, sent marshal de Mont-
revel with some troops, who made war upon
these wretches as they deserved. Those who
were taken prisoners were broke upon the
wheel, or burnt at the stake. But then the
soldiers, who fell into their hands, were made
to expire by the most cruel tortures. The king,
who was engaged in war on all sides, could
only spare a few troops to send against them.
It was a matter of no small difficulty to surprise
them amidst rocks almost inaccessible, in ca-
verns, in woods, whither they retired by un-
frequented paths, and whence they sallied again,
like wild beasts from a forest. They even defeat-
ed a body of marine troops in a pitched battle.
Three marshals of France were employed
against them successively.

Marshal de Mont-revel was, in 1704, suc-
ceeded by marshal Villars, who, finding it more
difficult to come at them, than to defeat them,
after he had infused terror into them, he pro-
posed a general amnesty. Some amongst them
gladly accepted of it, finding themselves disap-
pointed of the succours they expected from
Savoy.

The most considerable of their chiefs, and in-
deed the only one who deserves to be mentioned,

was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and England: He was a little, fair man, of an agreeable and engaging countenance. His party gave him the name of David: from a baker's boy, he, at the age of twenty-three, became the chief over a great multitude of people; through his own courage, and the assistance of a prophets, who got him acknowledged chief, by an express order of the Holy Ghost. He was found at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment, at the time that the amnesty was proposed. He demanded hostages of marshal Villars, which were sent him. He then came to Nimes, accompanied by one of the chiefs, while he concluded the treaty with the marshal.

He promised to form four regiments of the revolted, who were to serve the king under four colonels, of which he was to be the first himself, and to have the naming of the other three. These regiments were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France: but this freedom was to be permitted no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries from Holland arrived, with presents and promises, to prevent their being carried into execution. They succeeded so well, as to draw off the principal fanatics from Cavalier: but he, having given his word to marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted a colonel's commission, and began to form his regiment, with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued faithful to him.

I have frequently heard, from marshal Villars's own mouth, that he asked this young man how, at his years, he could have acquired so great authority over men so savage and undisciplined. His answer was, that, whenever they disobeyed him, his prophets, whom they termed the Great Mary, became immediately inspired, and condemned to death the refractory, who were immediately executed without any further ceremony*. Having myself, since that time, put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This very extraordinary negotiation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV. who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's lad, and marshal Villars presented him with his colonel's commission, and a brevet or grant of one thousand two hundred livres *per annum*.

The new colonel went to Versailles, to receive orders from the secretary of war. The king when he saw him shrugged up his shoulders. Cavalier, finding himself closely observed by the ministry, was apprehensive of some foul play, and withdrew into Piedmont, from whence he afterwards passed to Holland and England. He served in Spain, and commanded a regiment of French refugees at the famous battle of Almanza. A circumstance which

* This circumstance should be met with in the true memoirs of marshal Villars. The first volume I know to be of his writing, because it agrees with a manuscript that I have seen; the two other volumes are by another hand, and differ widely in many respects.

happened to this regiment shews to what a pitch the rage of civil war may be carried, especially when heightened by religion. The regiment commanded by Cavalier happened to be opposed to one of the French. As soon as the men knew each other, they began a bloody fight with their bayonets, without firing a single musket. I have already observed, that the bayonet is of very little use in a battle. The behaviour of the front line of three deep, after having thrown in their fire, usually decides the fate of the day: but here rage and fury exceeded the brightest deeds of valour; there were not above three hundred men left alive out of these two regiments. Marshal Berwick was wont to relate this adventure with astonishment.

Cavalier died a general-officer, and governor of the island of Jersey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of a fanatic fury, which was no longer supported by any example.

Marshal Villars, being recalled from Languedoc, was succeeded in command by marshal Berwick. The ill success of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was sent to them by the way of Geneva. They waited for offi-

• Matters are here a little too much exaggerated. Cavalier was always reckoned an honest man in England; but, his understanding was ever held in contempt. He was only lieutenant-governor of Jersey, a place of no great consequence.

cers to be sent them from Holland and England, and they had intelligence in all the towns of the province.

We may rank in the number of the greatest conspiracies that which they formed to seize the duke of Berwick and the intendant Baviile at Nimes, to make Languedoc and Dauphiny revolt, and to introduce the enemy into these provinces. The secret was kept by upwards of a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person discovered the whole. Upwards of two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick destroyed without mercy all these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hands; others upon the wheel, or amidst the flames; some, more addicted to prophecy than the use of arms, found means to escape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as messengers from heaven. They went forth to meet them singing psalms, and strewing their way with boughs of trees. These prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the episcopal church there had too much resemblance with that of Rome, they strove to set up their own; and so strong was their confidence, that, not doubting but with a great share of faith they should be able to perform miracles, they offered to raise a person from the dead, and even any one that should be chosen. The populace are every where the same, and the presbyterians might have joined those fanatics against the established church. The English ministry therefore took that course which should be always taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead-

dead-body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards; every thing passed in a juridical manner, and the scene ended with sentencing the prophets to stand on the pillory.

These excesses of fanaticism could meet with but little encouragement in England, where philosophy began to establish its reign. They had ceased to disturb Germany since the treaty of Westphalia, by which equal protection was given to the three religions, the catholic, the evangelic, and the reformed. The republic of the United Provinces, by a politic toleration, admitted into its bosom all religions whatever. In short, towards the end of this century, France was the only state that experienced any violent ecclesiastical disputes, notwithstanding the progress of reason.

This reason, which is so slow in introducing itself among the learned, could as yet hardly make its way to the doctors, and still less among the common people. It requires to be first established among those of superior rank and capacity, from whence it descends lower by degrees, till at length it comes to govern the people, even though they are unacquainted with it; but seeing their superiors behave with prudence and moderation, they learn to do the same themselves. This however is one of the great works of time, and that time was not yet come.

* Mr. de Voltaire cannot be too much commended for the spirit of independence, candour, and moderation, so sensibly and elegantly displayed in this chapter.

C H A P. CCVIII.

Of JANSENISM.

CALVINISM from its very nature necessarily produced civil wars, and shook the foundations of states. Jansenism could only raise theological disputes and paper wars; for the reformers of the sixteenth century having destroyed all the ties by which the Romish church held mankind, having treated what she held most sacred as idolatry, having set open the doors of her cloisters, and given her treasures into the hands of the laity, it necessarily followed that one of the two parties must be subdued by the other; and indeed the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in any country without being the cause of bloodshed and persecution.

But the Jansenists did not attack the church, nor did they strike at her fundamental tenets, or her wealth; but by writing upon abstracted questions, sometimes against the Calvinists, sometimes against the Catholics and the Popes decrees, they at length fell into general contempt; and their sect is now despised by almost all Europe, notwithstanding that it has been supported by several persons of distinguished characters and abilities.

While the Huguenot party was an object of the most serious attention, Jansenism rather perplexed than disturbed the state. This controversy, like many others, had its rise from abroad. It was begun in 1552, by a certain doctor

doctor of Louvain, named Michael Bay, or Baius, according to the pedantry of those times. This man took upon him to maintain certain propositions concerning grace and predestination. This question, like almost all others in metaphysics, had its foundation in the labyrinth of fatality and free will, in which all ages have been bewildered, and where man has no clue to direct his steps.

The spirit of enquiry, which has been implanted in us by the Creator, and is a necessary incitement to guide us to instruction, too often carries us beyond the proper bounds, in the same manner as many other movements of the soul, which if not strong enough to carry us to extravagant lengths, would perhaps want sufficient power to excite us properly.

Thus mankind have run into disputes upon what is understood and what is not understood : but the ancient philosophers always carried on their controversies peaceably ; whereas those of our divines are frequently bloody, and always turbulent.

The Franciscans, who understood as little of these points as Michael Baius himself, looked upon the doctrine of free-will as overthrown, and the tenets of Scotus in danger. They had before been irritated against Baius, on account of a dispute of much the same nature ; so that they referred seventy-six of his propositions before Pius V. And Sixtus Quintus, then general of the Franciscan order, was the person who drew up the bull of condemnation in the year 1567.

Whether through the fear of exposing themselves, a dislike to entering into a disquisition on

such subtleties, or an indifference and contempt for the theses of Baius, they condemned his seventy-six propositions in general as favouring of heresy, ill-sounding, rash, and suspicious, without specifying any thing in particular, or entering into a detail. This method of proceeding, borders very near upon absolute power, and leaves little room for disputation. The doctors of Louvain were greatly confounded when they received the bull. There was one particular sentence in which by the position of a comma, certain opinions of Michael Baius were either condemned or admitted. The university sent a deputation to Rome, to know of his holiness where the comma was to be placed. The court of Rome, which had other business upon its hands, sent the deputies back with no other answer than a fresh copy of the bull, in which there was no comma at all. This was deposited in the archives. The grand vicar, whose name was Morillon, insisted that the bull ought to be received, "even though it should be erroneous." Morillon was certainly right in a political sense; for undoubtedly it is much better to receive an hundred erroneous bulls, than to reduce as many towns to ashes, as the Huguenots and their adversaries have done. Baius took Morillon's advice, and quietly retracted his opinion.

Some years afterwards, Spain, which was as fruitful in scholastic writers as it was barren in philosophers, produced the Jesuit, Molina, who thought he had clearly discovered the manner in which God acts upon the creature, and how the latter resists his operations. He distinguished between natural and supernatural orders, predesti-

destination to grace, and predestination to glory, preventing and co-operating grace. He was the first who invented the doctrine of concomitant concurrence, of intermediate knowledge, and congruism. The two latter in particular were new ideas. God, by his intermediate knowledge, skilfully consults the will of man to know what man would do if he was assisted with his grace, and then according to the use which he foresees a free agent would make thereof, he takes his measures for disposing man; and these measures make what is called congruism.

The Spanish Dominicans, who understood no more of this explanation than the Jesuits, but were jealous of them, declared in their writings that "Molina's book was the forerunner of Antichrist."

The court of Rome took cognizance of this dispute, which was then under the consideration of the grand inquisitor, and with great prudence imposed silence upon both parties, which however was observed by neither.

At length the affair came to be seriously pleaded before Clement VIII. and to the disgrace of human understanding, all Rome took part in the cause. A Jesuit, by name Achilles Gaillard, assured the pope, that he had certain means to restore the peace of the church; and very gravely proposed to allow of free predestination, provided the Dominicans would admit the mediate science, and reconcile the two systems as well as they could. The Dominicans refused to accept of Gaillard's expedient. Their famous brother Lemos maintained preventive concurrence

rence as the completion of active virtue. Numberless congregations started up on this occasion, without knowing any thing of what each other meant.

Clement VIII. died before he was able to reduce the arguments on each side to a clear sense. Paul V. renewed the trial: but as he was engaged in a contest of greater importance with the Venetian state, he put a stop to all those meetings, then known by the name *de Auxiliis*. This name, by which they are still known, and which is equally obscure with the disputes in question, was given them because it signifies assistance, and that this controversy related to the assistance which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V. terminated the affair, by enjoining the two parties to live in peace.

While the Jesuits were thus establishing their doctrine of mediate knowledge and congruism, Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, revived some of Baius's notions in a large volume which he wrote on St. Augustin, and which was not printed till after his death; so that he became the head of a sect without once dreaming of it. This book was scarcely read by any one, notwithstanding the disturbance it has occasioned. But du Verger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyran, a great friend to Jansenius, a man as violent in his temper as he was prolix and obscure in his writings, came to Paris, where he found means to gain over some young doctors and old women. The Jesuits applied to the court of Rome to have Jansenius's book condemned, as a supplement to that of Baius; this they obtained in the year 1641. But at Paris the

the faculty of divines, and all those who dealt in argumentation, were divided in their opinions. There did not seem much to be gained by adopting the sentiment of Jansenius, that God commands impossibilities. This doctrine is neither philosophical nor consolatory. But the secret pleasure of being of a party, the general odium which the Jesuits had incurred, the desire of being singular, and a restlessness of mind formed a sect.

The faculty condemned five propositions of Jansenius, by a plurality of voices: these five propositions were extracted from his book with great fidelity, as to the sense, but not in his own words. Sixty doctors appealed to parliament for an abuse, and the parties were summoned to appear before the Chamber of Vacations.

The parties themselves however did not make their appearance. But on the one hand a doctor named Habert, stirred up the minds of the people against Jansenius, while on the other side, the famous Arnauld, the disciple of St. Cyran, defended Jansenism with all the force of an impetuous eloquence. He hated the Jesuits even more than he loved efficacious grace, and was held in still greater hatred by them, as being born of a father who having applied himself to the bar, had pleaded with great vehemence for the university against their establishment. His family had acquired great credit, both in the army and long robe. His genius and the circumstances in which he then was, determined him to engage in a paper war, and to set up for the head of a party: a kind of ambition which makes all others give way to it.

He

He continued to wage war against the Jesuits till he was eighty years of age. There are an hundred and four volumes of his writing, of which hardly one is at present to be found among the classical books which are the ornaments of the age of Lewis XIV. and are justly esteemed the library of all nations. His works were all of them in great vogue at the time he lived, both on account of the reputation of the author, and the then warmth of disputation. But that warmth is now allayed, and the books themselves in a manner forgotten. None of them are now regarded, but those which simply relate to reasoning; his geometry, his rational grammar, and his logic, in which he was deeply read. No one was ever born with a more philosophical turn of mind; but his philosophy was corrupted by a spirit of faction, which hurried him away; and for above sixty years involved a genius formed to enlighten mankind in wretched school disputations, and in those evils incident to obstinacy of opinion.

The university was divided with relation to the five propositions, as were likewise the bishops. Eighty-eight of the French bishops wrote in a body to pope Innocent X. requesting him to give his decision, and eleven others besought him not to do any thing in the affair. Innocent proceeded to sentence, and condemned each proposition apart, but without once quoting the pages from whence they were extracted, or those which preceded or followed.

This omission, which would not have been done in civil matters in the meanest court of judicature, was done by the Sorbonne, the Jansenists, the Jesuits, and the supreme pontiff.

The

The basis of the five condemned propositions is evidently to be found in Jansenius; you have nothing more to do than to look into Vol. III. of the Paris edition, printed in 1641, where, in page 138, you will find these very words: "All this plainly and evidently demonstrates, that there is nothing more certain and fundamental in the doctrine of St. Augustin, than that there are certain commands impossible, not only to the unbelieving, the blind, and the hardened, but even to the faithful and righteous, notwithstanding their will and efforts, according to the strength they are endued with; and that they fail of grace, which can alone render those commands possible." We also read in page 165, "That, according to St. Augustine, Jesus Christ did not die for all men."

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the assembly of the clergy to receive the pope's bull unanimously. He was at that time upon good terms with his holiness; he did not love the Jansenists, and with good reason hated all factions.

The French church seemed now restored to peace; but the Jansenists wrote so many letters, quoted so often St. Augustin, and got so many female converts to engage in their interests, that Jansenism prevailed more than ever after the bull was received.

A priest of St. Sulpice thought proper to refuse absolution to Mr. de Liencourt, because it had been said he did not believe the five propositions to be in Jansenius's book, and that he harboured heretics in his house. This was a fresh subject of scandal, and occasioned a new paper war, in which Dr. Arnould distinguished himself, and, in a letter which he wrote to a
real

real or imaginary duke or peer, he maintained that the propositions which had been condemned were not in Jansenius, but were actually to be found in the writings of St. Augustin, and several other fathers. He moreover added, that "St. Peter was a righteous man, in whom grace, without which we can do nothing, was wanting."

It is true that St. Augustin and St. John Chrysostom had asserted the same thing; but time and circumstances, which change all things, made Arnauld culpable. As the most serious object to one party is the subject of pleasantry to the other, it was said on this occasion, that the holy fathers should have their wine mixed with water. The faculty met, and chancellor Seguier appeared at the assembly on the part of the king. Arnauld was condemned, and excluded the Sorbonne in 1654. The appearance of the chancellor among the divines wore an air of despotic power, which displeased the public; and the care taken to fill the hall with a croud of mendicant monks, who were not wont to be seen there in such numbers, gave occasion to Pascal to say in his Provincial Letters, "That it was easier to find monks than arguments."

The greatest part of these monks did not admit of congruism, intermediate knowledge, nor the necessitating grace of Molina; but they maintained a sufficient grace to which the human will may consent, but never does; an efficacious grace which it may resist and does not; and this they explained clearly, by saying, that this grace might be resisted in the divided, but not in the compound sense.

If

If these sublime matters are not very agreeable to human reason, the opinion of Arnauld and the Jansenists seems too much to agree with pure Calvinism. This was exactly the ground of the quarrel between the Gomerians and Arminians, which divided Holland as Jansenism had divided France; but in Holland it became a political faction, rather than a dispute between persons at leisure. It stained the scaffold with the blood of Barnevelt, a deed of atrocious violence, which is now held in detestation by the Dutch, after having had their eyes opened to the absurdity of these disputes, the horror of persecution, and the happy necessity of toleration, the resource of wise governors against the short-lived enthusiasm of those who delight in controversy. In France this dispute produced only a few edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet, and pamphlets, because the state was at that time employed in quarrels of more importance.

Arnauld then was only excluded the faculty. This small persecution gained him a great number of friends; but both himself and the Jansenists had still the church and the pope against them. One of the first steps taken by Alexander VII. on his succeeding Innocent X. in the papal chair, was to renew the censures against the five propositions. The French bishops, who had already drawn up one formulary, now framed a new one, which concluded in this manner; "I condemn, both with heart and voice, the doctrine of the five propositions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, that doctrine not being of St. Augustin, whom Jansenius has badly explained."

This

This formulary was afterwards to be subscribed, and the bishops presented it to all those in their dioceses who were suspected by them. They required the nuns of Port Royal of Paris and Port Royal des Champs to sign it. These two houses were the sanctuaries of Jansenism, as being governed by Arnauld and St. Cyran.

There was an house set apart near the monastery of Port Royal des Champs, whither several learned and pious men had retired, but headstrong and linked together by conformity of opinion: here they amused themselves with instructing a select set of young persons. From this school came the celebrated Racine, a poet best acquainted with the human heart of any in the world. Pascal, the chief of French satyrists, for Despreaux was but the second, was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous recluses. The formulary was presented to the sisters of Port Royal of Paris, and Port Royal des Champs, for them to sign; but they made answer, that their conscience would not permit them to acknowledge, with the pope and bishops, that the five propositions were in Jansenius's book, which they had never read; that his meaning had certainly been mistaken, and, though the five propositions might perhaps be erroneous, yet that Jansenius himself was not to blame.

This obstinacy of theirs incensed the court. D'Aubray, the lieutenant-civil (for at that time there was no lieutenant de police) went to Port Royal des Champs, and obliged the religious recluses to quit the place of their retirement, together with the young people whom they educated:

cated: at the same time they threatened to destroy the two monastries; but they were saved by a miracle.

Mademoiselle de Perrier, a boarder in the monastery of the Port Royal of Paris, and niece to the celebrated Pascal, was afflicted with a disorder in one of her eyes; at Port Royal they had a ceremony of kissing one of the thorns of the crown which had been put on the head of our Saviour. This thorn had been a long time preserved at Port Royal. It would not be very easy to prove how it was preserved and transported from Jerusalem to the suburbs of St. James. However, this young lady kissed the thorn, and happened to be cured of her disorder a short time afterwards. Upon this occasion, they did not fail to declare and affirm, that she had been cured in an instant of a dangerous fistula lachrymalis. This young woman lived till the year 1728. Several persons who had lived a considerable time with her, assured me, that her cure had been very long, which is indeed the most probable. But it is very unlikely, that God, who has not wrought any miracles to bring over to our holy religion three fourths of the earth, who are either strangers to it, or hold it in abhorrence, should have interrupted the order of nature, in favour of a young girl, in order to justify a dozen nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansenius did not write ten or twelve lines which were ascribed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention to that imputed to him.

The miracle, however, made so great a noise, that the Jesuits durst not deny the reality of it. They therefore fell upon the scheme of working miracles

miracles on their side, but they did not succeed equally well: the miracles of the Jansenists were the only ones in fashion at that time. A few years afterwards these latter performed another miracle. One sister, Gertrude of Port Royal, was cured of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy however met with no success: the time for those things was past, and sister Gertrude had not a Pascal for her uncle.

The Jesuits, though they had both popes and kings on their side, were entirely sunk in the opinion of the people. They revived against them the old stories of Henry the Great, whose assassination was plotted by Barriere, and executed by Chatel, who had been educated in their schools; the punishment of father Guignard, and the banishment of their society from France and Venice. Every method was practised to render them odious. Pascal went still further, he made them ridiculous. His Provincial Letters, which made their appearance at that time, were models of eloquence and railery. The best comedies of Moliere have not more wit in them than the first part of those letters, nor the writings of Bossuet more sublimity than the latter.

It is true, that the whole of this book is founded upon false principles. He has artfully charged the whole society with the extravagant opinions of some few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits; which he might with equal ease have detected among the casuists of the Dominican and Franciscan orders; but the Jesuits alone were the persons he wanted to attack. In these letters, he endeavoured to prove that they had a settled design to corrupt the morals of mankind:

a de-

a design which no sect or society ever had or ever could have. But his business was not to be right, but to divert the public.

The Jesuits, who at that time had not one good writer amongst them, could not wipe off the scandal cast upon them by this book, which was one of the best written that had yet appeared in France. But nearly the same thing happened with regard to them in their disputes, as did formerly to cardinal Mazarin. The Blots, Marignis, and Barbançons, had diverted all France at his expence, but the cardinal still continued master of the kingdom: in like manner, these fathers had sufficient interest to procure an arret of the parliament of Provence, ordering the Provincial Letters to be burnt, by which they made themselves still more ridiculous and odious to the nation.

The principal nuns were carried away from the abbey of Port Royal by a guard of two hundred men, and dispersed into other convents, none being allowed to remain but such as would sign the formulary. This affair interested all Paris. Sister Perdreau and sister Passart, who subscribed this formulary, and prevailed on some others to do the same, became the subjects of lampoons and humorous songs, with which the town was over-run by a parcel of idle persons, who see nothing but the ridiculous side of things, and make themselves merry with every occurrence, while those of a sincere faith are afflicted, adversaries find fault, and the government takes its own measures.

The Jansenists became stronger by persecution. Four prelates, Arnauld bishop of Angers, brother to the doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais,

vais, Pavillon of Alet, and Caulet of Pamiers, the same who afterwards opposed Lewis XIV. on the subject of the Regale, declared themselves openly against the formulary. This was a new formulary, framed by pope Alexander VII. alike in every thing essential to the former, received in France by the bishops, and even by the parliament. Alexander, incensed at this opposition, named nine French bishops to commence a process against their four refractory brethren. Upon this the spirit of animosity grew more outrageous than ever.

But just at the time that the flame of dispute was at the highest, to know whether five propositions were or were not in Jansenius, Rospigliosi became pope, under the name of Clement IX. and made every thing quiet for some time. He prevailed on the dissenting bishops to sign the formulary *sincerely*, instead of *purely* and *simply*. Thus it seemed permitted to believe, that tho' the five propositions were condemned, they might not be extracted from Jansenius. The four bishops gave some small explanations of their own; and Italian complaisance thus allayed French vivacity. One word substituted in place of another, brought about this peace, which is called *The peace of Clement IX.* and even *The peace of the Church*, though the whole affair had been only about a dispute, either unknown to, or despised by the rest of the world. It had been evident ever since the time of Baius, that the popes had always had in view to suppress these unintelligible controversies, and to bring the two parties to teach that morality which every one understands. Nothing could

be more reasonable than such an intention in the pontiffs; but they had to deal with men.

The government set at liberty the Jansenists who had been confined in the Bastile, and, amongst the rest, Saci, author of a version of the Testament. Several nuns were recalled from their exile, who all signed the formulary *sincerely*, and thought they triumphed by this expression. Arnauld now came forth from his retreat, and was presented to the king, kindly received by the pope's nuncio, and looked upon by the public as a father of the church. From that time he promised to enter the lists only against the Calvinists, for he must necessarily be engaged in some kind of dispute. In this time of tranquillity he sent into the world his book on the Perpetuity of Faith, in which he was assisted by Nicole, and this gave birth to the great controversy betwixt them and Claude the minister, a controversy in which each party, according to custom, claimed the victory.

The peace of Clement IX. having been given to restless minds that were perpetually in movement, proved but of short duration. Secret cabals, intrigues, and insults, continued on both sides.

The dutchess of Longueville, sister to the great Condé, so well known in the civil wars, and so noted for her amours, now grown old, and without any employment, became a votary to religion; and, as she hated the court and loved intrigue, she turned Jansenist. She added a wing to the abbey of Port Royal des Champs, whither she retired sometimes with the recluses.

They were then in their most flourishing state. Arnauld, Nicole, le Maitre, Herman, Saci,

and several other persons, who, though less famous, had nevertheless considerable merit, assembled at her house. In the room of that sprightly wit to which the dutchess had been accustomed at the Hotel de Rambouillet, they substituted conversations of a more solid kind, and that nervous and animated sense which so remarkably distinguished their compositions and discourses. They contributed not a little to diffuse true taste and eloquence thro' France; but unhappily they were still more anxious to spread their opinions. They seemed to be themselves a proof of that doctrine of fatality with which they were reproached. It might be said that they were carried away by an irresistible determination to draw down upon themselves persecutions for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired the most solid reputation, and have enjoyed their lives in a happy tranquillity, by only renouncing these frivolous disputes.

The Jesuitical faction, who still smarted from the satire of the Provincial Letters, stirred heaven and earth against their adversaries. Madame de Longueville, being no longer able to form cabals in favour of the malecontents, went to work in support of Jansenism. There were frequent meetings at Paris, sometimes at her house, and sometimes at Arnauld's. The king, who had already resolved to extirpate Calvinism, would not suffer a new sect. He threatened them; and at last Arnauld, dread-

1679

ing to encounter enemies armed with sovereign authority, and being deprived of the support of the dutchess of Longueville, whom death had lately robbed him of, determined to

quit

quit France for ever, and go to live in the Netherlands unknown, without fortune, and even without domestics; he whose nephew had been minister of state, and who might himself have been a cardinal: but the pleasure of writing with freedom outweighed every other consideration with him. He lived till the year 1694 in obscure retirement from the world, and known only to his friends, continually employed in writing, always the philosopher, superior to ill fortune, and to his last moments giving an example of a pure, resolute, and unshaken soul.

His party was always persecuted in the catholic Netherlands, called the Country of Obedience, where the pope's bulls are sovereign laws; they were still more harrassed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the question, "Whether the five propositions were really in Jansenius?" was always the sole pretext for these little intestine broils. The distinction of *de facto* and *de jure* now occupied the minds of many. At length, in 1701, they proposed a theological question which was called *Le cas de conscience par excellence*, "Whether the sacraments could be given to a person, who, though he subscribed to the formulary, believed in his heart that the pope, and even the church, might be mistaken in facts?" Forty doctors gave it under their hands that absolution might be given to such a man.

Immediately the controversy was renewed; the pope and bishops insisted on being believed upon facts. Noailles, archbishop of Paris, decreed that belief was to be given to divine faith *de jure*, and to human faith *de facto*. Others

again, amongst whom was Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, who was not well pleased with Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better perhaps to have cited the passages in the book itself; but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI. published a bull in 1705, called *Vineam Domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of a divine or human faith.

It was a new custom introduced into the church to make women sign these bulls. This respect was again shewn to the sisters of Port-Royal des Champs, and cardinal de Noailles was obliged to cause it to be carried to them by way of trial. They signed it, without detracting any thing from the peace of Clement IX. and confining themselves to a respectful silence with regard to the case *de facto*.

It can hardly be said which is the most extraordinary, whether the confession insisted on from women, that five propositions were contained in a Latin book, or the obstinate refusal of these nuns.

The king applied to the pope for a bull for the suppression of their monastery. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments, and their advocate was confined in the Bastile. All the nuns were removed into separate convents that were more obedient. The lieutenant de police in 1709 ordered their house to be razed from the foundation; and lastly, in 1711, all the bodies that were buried in the church, and in the church-yard, were removed from thence, and carried elsewhere.

The

The troubles, however, were not suppressed with this monastery. The Jansenists were still for caballing, and the Jesuits for making themselves appear necessary. Father Quênél, a priest of the oratory, a friend of the celebrated Arnould, and who accompanied him in his retreat to his last moments, had, in 1671, composed a book of pious reflections on the text of the New Testament. This book contains some maxims which seem to favour Jansenism; but these are blended with such a number of pious sentiments, and are so replete with that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that the work was received with universal approbation. The good tendency of this book manifests itself in almost every line, and it requires the minutest search to discover the faults. Several bishops bestowed the highest encomiums on this book, even when imperfect, which they confirmed, when the author had put the finishing hand to it. I myself know that the abbe Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome the first year of Clement XI's pontificate, and going one day to wait upon this pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, found him reading father Quênél's book: "This is, said the pope, a truly excellent work; we have no one at Rome capable of writing in such a manner. I should be glad to bring the author to my court." This very pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, consider these encomiums of Clement XI. and his subsequent censure as a contradiction. A person may be touched with the shining beauties of a work at the first reading, and afterwards condemn faults

which then escaped his notice. Of all the French prelates, cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, gave the most sincere commendations to this book. He declared himself its patron when bishop of Chalons, and the work was dedicated to him. This cardinal was a person equally eminent for virtue and learning, of the most mild and amiable disposition, and a sincere friend to peace. He protected some of the Jansenist party, tho' not of their persuasion; and, without having any great affection for the Jesuits, he neither injured nor feared them.

This order began to acquire great influence when father la Chaise had the government of Lewis XIV's conscience, and in consequence was the head of the Gallican church. Father Quênel, dreading their power, had retired to Brussels with the learned Benedictine Gerberon, a priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party, of which he became the chief, after the death of the famous Arnauld, and, like him, enjoyed the flattering glory of establishing to himself a sovereignty independent of princes, of reigning over consciences, and of being the soul of a party composed of the brightest geniuses. The Jesuits soon found out Quênel in his retirement, and accused him to Philip V. who was still master of the Netherlands, persecuting him as they had done his master Arnauld with Lewis XIV. They obtained an order from the Spanish king
 1763 to seize the person of these religious recluses. Quênel was thrown into prison in the archbishopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who thought the Jansenist party would make his fortune if he could compass the deliverance of
 their

their chief, broke through the walls, and helped Quênel to make his escape, who returned to Amsterdam, where he died in 1719, in an extreme old age, after having contributed to establish some Jansenist churches in Holland: but this weak flock soon dwindled away.

When Quênel was taken into custody, they at the same time seized upon his papers, in which were found evident proofs of a formed party. There was a copy of an ancient contract made by the Jansenists with Antonietta Bourignon the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great fortune, who, in the name of her spiritual director, had purchased the island of Nordstrand, near Holstein, as an asylum for those whom she pretended to associate into a mystical sect, which she proposed to establish.

This Bourignon had printed, at her own expence, nineteen large volumes of pious meditations, and had spent the half of her fortune in making profelytes. However, she succeeded only in making herself ridiculous; and had even suffered all the persecutions which are the consequences of innovations. At length, despairing of settling in her island, she sold it again to the Jansenists, who, like herself, were incapable of making any establishment there.

Amongst the manuscripts of Quênel, there was likewise found a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been so very foolish. Lewis XIV. having sent the count d'Avaux, in 1684, with full powers to grant a truce of twenty years to all the powers who were willing to accept of it, the Jansenists, under the title of "The disciples of St. Augustin," had formed

the idle scheme of getting themselves included in this truce, as if they had been really a formidable party, as the Calvinists had so long been. This ridiculous project, however, was not executed; but the propositions of a peace between the king of France and the Jansenists had been actually drawn up in writing. They had certainly a view in this scheme to make themselves too considerable. This alone was sufficient to make them culpable; and Lewis XIV. was easily persuaded to look upon them as a dangerous sect.

He wanted discernment, or he would have known, that empty and speculative notions will fall of themselves, if left to their own insignificance. It was giving them a degree of consequence which did not belong to them. It was no difficult matter to make Quênel's book appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a seditious person. The Jesuits prevailed upon the king to petition himself for a condemnation of this book at Rome. This was in fact condemning cardinal de Noailles, who had been one of its most zealous patrons. They flattered themselves, and not without reason, that Clement XI. would be glad of an opportunity to mortify the archbishop of Paris. It will be necessary to observe, that when Clement XI. was only cardinal Albani, he published a book written entirely on Molenist principles, by his friend cardinal de Sfrondati, and that Noailles had censured it. It was natural then to think, that now Albani was become pope, he would at least oppose the encomiums given to Quênel's book, as those bestowed on his friend's book had been before censured.

This

This expectation proved to be well grounded. Pope Clement XI. in 1708, issued a decree against Quénel's book. But the situation of temporal affairs at that time hindered this spiritual business, which had been warmly solicited, from being carried on. The court was piqued at Clement XI. for having acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain, after having before acknowledged Philip V. The decree was found in some places not valid, and was rejected in France, and the controversy lay dormant till the death of father de la Chaîse, the king's confessor, a man of a mild disposition, who was always ready to adopt pacific measures, and who always kept up a good understanding with cardinal de Noailles, as the relation of madam de Maintenon.

The Jesuits had a right to appoint a confessor for the king of France, as well as almost all the other catholic princes in Europe. They enjoy this privilege in virtue of their institution, by which they renounce all ecclesiastical dignities; so that what their founder established through humility is become the means of grandeur. In proportion as Lewis XIV. advanced in years, the office of confessor became more important. This place was given to father le Tellier, son to an attorney of Viré in Lower Normandy; a gloomy, hot-headed, and inflexible man, who concealed the violence of his temper under the appearance of cool indifference: he did all the hurt that could be done by one in his office, where there are but too many opportunities of inspiring such sentiments as one pleases, and of destroying an adversary; and he had many private injuries to revenge.

The Janfenists had got one of his books on the Chinese ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewise a personal dislike to cardinal de Noailles, and he was not of a disposition to restrain his passions. He soon raised disturbances in the whole church of France. In 1711, he drew up letters and mandates to be signed by the bishops, and sent them several articles of accusation against cardinal de Noailles, to which they had only to sign their names. Such practices meet with proper punishment in secular affairs; but here, though they were discovered, they still succeeded*.

The king's conscience suffered as much from the mean arts of his confessor as his authority did from a rebellious faction. Cardinal de Noailles, in vain, demanded justice of his majesty, for these mysteries of iniquity. The confessor persuaded him, that he made use of human means to bring about divine matters; and indeed,

* It is said, in the life of the duke of Orleans, that the cardinal de Noailles having accused father le Tellier of selling church-livings, that Jesuit expressed himself thus to the king: "I freely consent to be burnt alive if this accusation can be proved, on condition that the cardinal shall suffer the same punishment if he does not prove it."

This story is taken from some of the pieces that were handed about on the affair of the constitution, and these pieces are as full of absurdities as the life of the duke of Orleans. Most of them were written by a set of wretches, merely for the sake of getting money; these sort of people do not know, that a person who has his credit to maintain with a prince whose confessor he is, would hardly propose to that prince to condemn his archbishop to the flames for his vindication.

All the idle stories of this nature may be found collected in the memoirs of Maintenon. We should be careful to distinguish between facts and hearsays.

as he defended the pope's authority, and the unity of the church, he seemed, in the main, to have right on his side. The cardinal applied to the dauphin, duke of Burgundy, but found him prepossessed by the letters and friends of the archbishop of Cambray. Human frailty finds an entrance into every breast; Fenelon was not yet philosopher sufficient to forget, that cardinal de Noailles had been instrumental in getting him censured, and Quênel now suffered for madam Guion.

The cardinal found no greater support from the interest of madam de Maintenon. This affair is alone sufficient to shew the character of that lady, who had no sentiments of her own, and placed her whole study in conforming to those of the king. The few following lines of hers to the cardinal de Noailles will enable us to form a true judgment of her, of father le Tellier's intrigues, and of the king's sentiments on this occasion; and give great light into the affair itself: "You are sufficiently acquainted with me (says she in her letter) to know what my thoughts are on the late discovery, but I have many reasons to be cautious how I say any thing. It is not my business to judge or condemn; I have only to be silent, and to pray for the church, for the king, and for you. I have delivered your letter to his majesty, who has read it: this is all I can say to you about it, being oppressed with sorrow."

The cardinal archbishop, being thus insulted by a Jesuit, took away the power of preaching and confessing from all the Jesuits in France, excepting only a few of the most moderate and discreet. By his place he had like-

wise the dangerous right of hindering le Tellier from confessing the king; but he did not dare to irritate his sovereign to such a degree; and therefore left him respectfully in the hands of his enemy*. “I am apprehensive (said he writing to madam de Maintenon) that I shew too mean a submission to the king, in thus leaving power in the hands of one so unworthy of it. I pray God that he will open his eyes to the danger he is in by entrusting his soul to a man of such a character†.”

We read in several of the memoirs of those times, that le Tellier declared either he must lose his place, or the cardinal his. It is not improbable that he might think so, but very unlikely that he should declare it.

When two parties are exasperated against each other, both frequently take steps which prove fatal to them. The partizans of father

* Consult madame de Maintenon's letters. It may easily be perceived that the author of this work was well acquainted with those letters before they were published, and that he has taken nothing upon trust.

† When we are provided with letters of such good authority, we may boldly venture to quote them, as being the most valuable materials in history; but what trust can be put in a letter which is supposed to have been written by cardinal de Noailles to the king, in which he is made to express himself thus: “I was the first who laboured to ruin the clergy, in order to save your state and support your throne. It is not allowable for you to demand an account of my conduct.” Is it probable that a wise and discreet subject should write so insulting and daring a letter to his sovereign? This is no other than a mean and false imputation; it is to be found in page 141, Vol. V. of the Memoirs of Maintenon, and, as it is destitute of all authority and probability, ought not to meet with the least regard.

le Tellier, and those bishops who aspired at a cardinalship, made use of the royal authority to blow up those sparks which might have been extinguished. Instead of imitating the conduct of Rome, which had several times imposed silence on both parties; instead of curbing the insolence of the Jesuit, and soothing the cardinal, instead of prohibiting these controversies, in the same manner as duels, and making the clergy, as well as the nobility, useful without being dangerous; in a word, instead of crushing the two parties by the weight of the supreme power, supported by reason and by all the magistrates, Lewis XIV. thought he acted right in soliciting Rome himself, for a declaration of war, and procuring that famous Constitution, which embittered all the remainder of his life.

Father le Tellier and his party sent an hundred and three propositions to Rome, to be there censured, of which the holy office condemned one hundred and one. This bull, which was published in the month of September 1713, raised a flame throughout the whole kingdom, as soon as it made its appearance in France. The king had applied for it, as a means to prevent a schism, and it was likely to produce one. The clamour against it was general, because, among those hundred and one propositions, there were several which appeared to every one to carry the most innocent meaning, and the purest morality. A numerous assembly of bishops was held at Paris: forty accepted the bull for the sake of peace, but at the same time, they added certain explanations, to quiet the scruples of the people. The direct and unreserved accep-
tation

tation was sent to the pope, and the modifications were reserved for the people. By this means, they thought at once to satisfy the pope, the king, and the people; but cardinal de Noailles, and seven other bishops of this assembly, who joined with him, refused both the bull and its modifications: they wrote to the pope, requesting to have these modifications from his holiness himself. This was affronting him with the appearance of respect.

Accordingly the king would not permit it to be done, and hindered the letter being sent, remanded the bishops back to their diocesses, and forbade the cardinal to appear at court. This persecution procured the archbishop an additional share of credit with the public. The seven other bishops again joined him: there was now a real division in the episcopacy, among all ranks of the clergy, and all religious orders. Every one allowed, that the fundamental points of religion were not concerned in this dispute, and yet a civil dissention was raised in the minds of people, as if Christianity itself was in danger of being subverted, and as many political resources were put in action as in the most profane affairs.

These resources were chiefly employed to get the constitution received by the Sorbonne. And it was registered, notwithstanding the majority of votes was against it. The ministry
1714 could hardly find a sufficient number of lettres de cachet to confine or banish those who opposed it.

This bull had been registered in parliament, with a proper reservation of the ordinary rights of the crown, the liberties of the Gallican church,

church, and the power and jurisdiction of the bishops ; but the public clamour got the better of obedience. Cardinal de Bissi, one of the most zealous defenders of the bull, acknowledged that it could not have been received with greater indignity at Geneva than it was at Paris.

The people were particularly incensed against father le Tellier. Nothing is more apt to excite indignation than a priest exalted to power ; it seems a violation of his vows ; but if he abuses this power, he is held in execration. Le Tellier presumed so much on his influence, that he even proposed the deposing of cardinal de Noailles in a national council. 1715 Thus did this priest make his prince, his penitent, and his religion, subservient to his revenge ; and yet, with all this, I have strong reasons to believe that he was a well-meaning man : so apt are men to be blinded by their zeal and prejudices.

In order to prepare this council, which was to depose a man become the idol of Paris and of the whole kingdom, for the purity of his manners, the amiableness of his character, and still more by the persecution he suffered ; they prevailed on Lewis XIV. to order a declaration to be registered in parliament, by which every bishop, who had not received the bull *purely and simply*, should be obliged to subscribe it, or be prosecuted as a rebel by the advocate-general. Chancellor Voisin, secretary at war, a rigid and arbitrary man, was the person who drew up this edict. D'Aguesseau, who understood the laws of the realm much better than Voisin, and had all that courage which youth naturally inspires, peremptorily refused to be concerned in such an affair.

affair. De Mesme, president of the council, demonstrated to the king the consequences likely to ensue. Thus the affair was protracted. The king was at this time in a dying condition, and these unhappy disputes greatly disquieted him, and contributed not a little to hasten his end. His merciless confessor was continually teasing him, tho' in this weak condition, by repeated exhortations to consummate a work which would have been far from endearing his memory. The king's domestics, filled with indignation at the confessor's behaviour, twice refused him entrance into his majesty's chamber, and at last earnestly conjured him not to speak to their royal master about the Constitution. Soon after the king died, and then a total change of affairs ensued.

The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, having, immediately upon his assuming the reins of power, changed the whole form of Lewis XIV's government, and having substituted councils in the room of the offices of the secretaries of state, erected a council of conscience, of which cardinal de Noailles was made president. They banished father le Tellier, loaded with the hatred of the public, and very little beloved by his own fraternity.

The bishops who opposed the bull appealed to a future council *sine die*. The Sorbonne, the clergy of the diocese of Paris, and whole bodies of religious orders appealed likewise; and at length cardinal de Noailles made his appeal, in 1717, but he would not publish it at first; however it was printed, contrary to his inclination. The church of France remained divided into two factions, the Acceptants and the Recusants.

cusants. The acceptants consisted of an hundred bishops, who had adhered under Lewis XIV. to the Jesuits and Capuchins. The other consisted of fifteen bishops and the whole nation. The acceptants had the court of Rome for their defender; the recusants were supported by the universities, the parliament, and the people. Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter, was printed; and each party treated the other as schismatics and heretics.

An archbishop of Rheims, named Mailli, a great and successful partisan of Rome, had subscribed his name to two papers, which the parliament ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The archbishop, when he heard of this, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, and returned God thanks for having been thus ignominiously treated by schismatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a cardinal. The bishop of Soissons having been dealt with in the same manner by the parliament, signified to that assembly, "That it did not belong to them to judge, even in cases of high treason." For this he was mulcted in the sum of ten thousand livres; but the regent remitted the fine, lest, as he said, Soissons should be made a cardinal also.

The court of Rome broke out into loud reproaches; much time was spent in negotiations, in appealing and re-appealing, and all this about a few passages, now forgotten, of a book written by an old priest of fourscore, who lived on charity at Amsterdam.

The extravagant project of the funds contributed more than one would imagine to restore peace to the church. The madness of the nation for stock-jobbing, and the greediness of every
one

one to snap at the bait hung out for their avarice, was so great, that those who talked about Jansenism or the bull could find no one to listen to them. The people of Paris paid as little regard to these matters as to the war that was carrying on upon the frontiers of Spain. The sudden and immense fortunes made at that time; the excess to which luxury and voluptuousness of every kind was carried, put a stop to all ecclesiastical disputes. Thus pleasure and dissipation brought about that which all the power and politics of Lewis XIV. could not effect.

The duke of Orleans laid hold of this occasion to unite the church of France. In this his policy was interested; for he dreaded to see the time when Rome, Spain, and an hundred bishops, should be all united against him.

And here he had to prevail on cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the Constitution, which that prelate looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he considered as lawful. He was to obtain more of him than his benefactor Lewis XIV. had in vain demanded. The duke of Orleans with reason expected great opposition from the parliament, whom he had banished to Pontoise. Nevertheless he gained all his points. A body of doctrine was composed, which partly satisfied both parties; and the cardinal was prevailed upon to give his promise, that he would at last accept it. The regent went himself to the grand council, with the princes of the blood and the peers, to get an edict registered, enjoining the acceptance of the bull, the suppression of all appeals, and the restoration of peace
and

and unanimity. The parliament, which had been mortified by seeing edicts carried to the grand council which it was their right to receive, and being likewise threatned to be removed from Pontoise to Blois, registered what had been entered by the council; but always with the customary reservations, *viz.* the preservation of the rights and liberties of the Gallican church, and the lords of the realm.

The cardinal-archbishop, who had given his word to withdraw his appeal whenever the parliament should obey, now saw himself necessitated to keep his promise; and the instrument of his recantation was published the 20th of August 1720.

Du Bois, the new archbishop of Cambray, son to an apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, afterwards cardinal and prime minister, was the person who had the greatest share in bringing about this business, in which the power of Lewis XIV. had failed. No one is a stranger to the conduct, sentiments, and morals, of this minister. The licentious du Bois got the better of the pious Noailles. It is still remembered with what contempt the duke of Orleans and his minister spoke of the disputes which they opposed, and what ridicule they threw upon the controversial war. This contempt and ridicule contributed not a little to bring about a peace. People grew at length weary of such contests as afforded a subject of laughter to the rest of the world.

From this time all that was known in France by the name of Jansenism, Quietism, bulls, and theological disputes, sensibly declined; but
some

some bishops who had appealed, still continued obstinately attached to their opinions.

Under the administration of cardinal de Fleury, an attempt was made to extirpate the remains of the party, by deposing one of the most stubborn prelates. To this end, old Soanin, bishop of the little town of Senés, was fixed on for an example; a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemned by the provincial synod of Ambrun, in 1728, suspended from his episcopal and clerical functions, and banished by the court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This treatment occasioned a few murmurings, which proved of no consequence. There is not at present any nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets sooner than the French.

Some remains of fanaticism still continued among a small number of the people of Paris. Certain enthusiasts imagined, that a deacon named Paris, brother to a counsellor of parliament, one who had appealed and reappealed, who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles; some of the party, who went to pray at his tomb, had their imaginations so heated, that their disordered organs produced slight convulsions. Upon this the tomb was surrounded by swarms of people, who continued to flock thither both day and night: some got upon the tomb, and took the motion they gave their bodies in mounting for miraculous convulsions. The secret abettors of the party encouraged this phrenzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar language;
no-

nothing was now talked of but the deaf hearing certain words, the blind partly restored to sight, and the lame walking upright for some moments; these pretended miracles were even attested upon oath by a crowd of witnesses, who thought they had beheld them, because they came thither fully prepossessed that they should behold them.

The government left this epidemical madness to itself for a month; but the concourse of people became so great, and the miracles so frequent, that they were at last obliged to shut up the church-yard, and place a guard round it; these enthusiasts then went to work their miracles in houses. This tomb of Deacon Paris proved in effect the grave of Jansenism, in the opinion of all sensible people. Such farces might have had serious consequences in more ignorant times; but those who encouraged them seemed to have mistaken the age they lived in.

The superstition however was carried so far, that a counsellor of parliament had the madness to present the king, in 1736, with a collection of these miracles, supported by a considerable number of attestations. This madman, the instrument and victim of others as mad as himself, says in the memorial presented to the king, "That credit ought to be given to witnesses who suffered death in support of their evidence." If all other books were to be lost, and this only was to remain, posterity would imagine our age to be the æra of ignorance and barbarism.

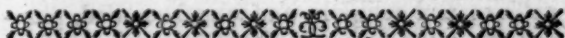
These extravagancies were in France the expiring sighs of a sect, which, being no longer supported by an Arnauld, a Pascal, nor a Nicole, and confined only to a few convulsionaries,

ries, is fallen into utter contempt; and we should hear no more mention of those disputes which disgrace reason, and do injury to religion, were it not for some busy minds, who are continually raking in these extinguished ashes, for a remaining spark of fire, which they endeavour to blow up into a new flame; but even should they succeed, the dispute concerning Molinism and Jansenism, will never again be the object of dissention. What has once become ridiculous, can never more be dangerous. The dispute will change its nature; for mankind never want a pretext to injure each other, tho' they may be without a cause.

The Jesuits seemed involved in the fall of Jansenism; their arms remained useless for want of adversaries to employ them on; they lost that credit at court which le Tellier had so grossly abused; their journal of Trevoux gained them neither the esteem nor friendship of the learned world. The bishops, over whom they had formerly domineered, confounded them with the other religious orders; and these, who had been kept under by them, now humbled them in their turn. The parliament made them sensible, more than once, of the opinion they entertained of them, by condemning some of their books, which would otherwise have been forgotten. The university, which now began to make a shining figure in literature, and had an excellent method of educating youth, robbed them of most of their pupils; and they were obliged to wait with patience till time should furnish them with men of genius, and a favourable opportunity to regain their former ascendancy.

It

It would be very useful for those who are infatuated with these kinds of disputes, to look into the general history of the world; for in observing the multitude of different nations, manners, and religions, they will see how very insignificant a figure a Molenist and a Jansenist makes on the theatre of the world. They will then blush at their mad fondness for a party which is lost in the common crowd, and swallowed up in the immensity of things.



C H A P. CCIX.

OF QUIETISM.

AMIDST the factions of Calvinism and the disputes of Jansenism, there happened yet another division in France about Quietism. It was an unhappy consequence of the progress of human understanding in the age of Lewis XIV. that it excited efforts to go beyond the limits prescribed to our knowledge; or rather, it was a proof that this progress might be still further extended.

The controversy about Quietism is one of those extravagant sallies of the imagination and theological subtleties, which would never have left any impression on the memory of mankind, had it not been for the names of two illustrious rivals in dispute. A woman without any credit, or even real understanding, who had only an overheated imagination, set at variance two of the greatest men in the church. Her name was Bou-

Bouvieres de la Motte. Her family was originally of Montargis. She had been married to the son of Guion, the contractor for the canal of Briare: being left a widow when very young, with a considerable fortune, a tolerable share of beauty, and a disposition formed for distinguishing herself in public, she became possessed with what is called Spirituality. She had for her confessor a Barnabite monk, of the country of Geneva, named La Combe. This man, noted for what is common enough, a medley of passions and religion, and who died mad, plunged the mind of his penitent in mystical contemplations, to which she was already but too much inclined. The desire of being a sister Theresa, in France, prevented her from discerning the great difference between the genius of the French and Spaniards, and carried her even to greater lengths than sister Theresa. The ambition of having disciples, the strongest perhaps of every other species of ambition, took entire possession of her heart.

She and her confessor went into that small territory where the titular bishop of Geneva holds his residence. There she acquired great authority by her extensive charities, and held several conferences. She preached up an intense self-renunciation, the tranquil state of the soul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worship, and pure and disinterested love, such as is neither debased by fear, nor exalted by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, especially those of women, and some young ecclesiastics who loved the word of God, as proceeding from the mouth of a fine woman, rather more than they

they believed it, were easily led away with an eloquence of delivery, the only thing calculated to persuade minds already favourably disposed. She made profelytes; but was soon driven away from thence by the bishop, with her confessor. They went next to Grenoble; there she published a little piece intituled, *Le moyen court*, The Short Way, and another called *les Torrens*, the Torrents, both written in the same style she preached; but in a short time she was likewise obliged to leave Grenoble.

Full already of the pleasing thoughts of being ranked among the number of confessors, she had a vision, and prophesied, This prophecy she sent to father La Combe: "All hell, said she, shall rise up to stop the progress of the inward spirit and the formation of Christ Jesus in souls. And so great shall be the storm, that not one stone shall remain upon another; and I foresee that throughout the whole earth, there shall be troubles, wars, and great overthrows. The woman shall be pregnant with the inward spirit, and the dragon shall stand up before her."

The prediction was in part verified: hell indeed did not rise up against her; but on her return to Paris with her confessor, where both endeavoured to spread their doctrine in 1687, the archbishop Harlai de Chanvallon, obtained an order from the king to confine La Combe as a seducer, and to shut up in a convent madame Guion as a person disordered in her senses, and who stood in need of a cure. But before this blow, madame Guion had gained such a protection as now proved of service to her. In the palace of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy,

she had a cousin named madame de la Maison-Forte, a favourite with madame de Maintenon. She had likewise insinuated herself into the good graces of the dutchesses of Chevreuse and Beauvilliers. These, her good friends, exclaimed one and all loudly against archbishop Harlai, that he who was so well known to have a fondness for the fair sex, should persecute a woman only for discoursing on the love of God.

Madame de Maintenon, by her powerful influence, procured Guion her liberty, and got the archbishop of Paris silenced. After she was released she went to Versailles, and introduced herself into the palace of St. Cyr, where, after having dined with madame de Maintenon and another person, she assisted at the devout conferences held by the abbé de Fenelon. The princess of Harcourt, and the dutchesses of Chevreuse, Beauvilliers, and Charôt, were of this mystical society.

The abbé Fenelon, then preceptor to the children of France, was the most engaging man about the court. He had naturally a tender heart, and a mild and lively imagination. He had embellished his mind with all that was most excellent in the Belles Lettres. He possessed a fine taste, with many other amiable qualifications, and preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity, to the gloomy and abstruse. With all these endowments he had a certain romantic turn, which inspired him, not with the reveries of madame Guion, but with a taste for the doctrine of Spirituality, which was not very unlike the notions of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue, as others are inflamed by their passions.

sions. His passion was to love God purely for himself. He saw in madame Guion a spotless soul, fraught with the same inclinations as his own, and therefore made no difficulty to associate with her.

It was strange that such a man should be led away by a weak woman, who pretended to revelations, to prophecies, and such idle stuff; who was ready to be choaked with inward grace, and made her attendants unlace her that she might empty herself (according to her own expression) of a superabundance of grace, in order to communicate it to the body of the chosen person who sat next her. But Fenelon, in his friendship and mystical notions, was as a person in love: he excused the errors, and attached himself only to that conformity of opinion with which he had been first taken.

Madame Guion, elevated and emboldened by the acquisition of such a disciple, whom she called her son, and depending on madame de Maintenon's favour, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese St. Cyr is, was alarmed, and made complaints. The archbishop of Paris likewise threatened to renew his former prosecution.

Madame de Maintenon, who intended St. Cyr wholly for a peaceable retreat; who knew how much the king was an enemy to all novelty, and who had no occasion to put herself at the head of a sect to acquire influence, and had besides her own credit and repose only in view, broke off all correspondence with madame Guion, and forbade her to appear again at St. Cyr.

The abbé de Fenelon saw the storm gathering, and was apprehensive of being disappointed of the great employments to which he aspired. He therefore advised his female friend to put herself in the hands of the famous Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a father of the church. She accordingly submitted herself to the decisions of this prelate, received the sacrament from him, and delivered up all her writings to his examination.

The bishop of Meaux, with the king's permission, chose for his assistants in this affair, the bishop of Chalons, afterwards cardinal de Noailles, and the abbé Tronson superior of St. Sulpicius. They had a private meeting at the village of Issi, near Paris. Chanvallon, archbishop of Paris, jealous that any other persons should set themselves up as judges in his diocese, immediately fixed up a public censure on the books they had under their examination. Madame Guion retired to the city of Meaux, subscribed to all that bishop Bossuet required of her, and promised to dogmatise no more for the future.

In the mean time Fenelon was promoted to the archbishopric of Cambray in 1695, and consecrated by the bishop of Meaux. It might have been presumed, that an affair now dormant, and that had been from the beginning only a subject of ridicule, would never have been revived. But madame Guion, being accused of continuing to preach her doctrines after she had promised silence, was seized by order of the king in the same year 1695, and confined prisoner at Vincennes, as if she had been a person dangerous to the state. She could not

possibly be so; and her pious follies did not merit the attention of the sovereign. During her confinement at Vincennes she composed a large volume of mystic poetry, more wretched even than her prose. She wrote parodies upon verses of operas, and would often sing the following lines:

*L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense :
On ne sait pas, lorsqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur n'auroit connu Vincennes ni souffrance,
S'il n'eût connu le pur amour.*

Pure, perfect love surmounts yon starry skies!
We little know when first it takes its rise,
What pangs the subject heart will prove;
Vincennes had never shock'd, nor tears bedimm'd
these eyes,
Had I ne'er felt this pure and perfect love.

The opinions of mankind are frequently influenced by time, place, and circumstances. While madame Guion was confined in prison, who in one of her phrenzies had imagined herself married to Jesus Christ, and from that time would never invoke the saints, saying, that it was not for the mistress of the family to address herself to her servants; at this very time, I say, there was application made to Rome for the canonization of Mary d'Agreda*, who

* This enthusiast, who was abbess of a convent at Agreda, pretended to have received divine orders to write the life of the Virgin Mary, which was accordingly published, under the title of the Mystic City of God, and appears to be a strange medley of madness and fanaticism.

had pretended to more visions and revelations than all the rest of the mystical tribe put together; and as an unanswerable instance of those contradictions with which the world abounds, at the Sorbonne they prosecuted as an heretic this very d'Agreda, whom they wanted to make a saint in Spain. The university of Salamanca condemned the Sorbonne, and was in return condemned by it.

Bossuet, who had long looked upon himself as the father and master of Fenelon, beheld with jealous eyes the rising reputation and credit of his disciple; and desirous of preserving that ascendant which he had over all the rest of his brethren, he required the new archbishop to join with him in the condemnation of madame Guion, and to subscribe to his pastoral instructions. Fenelon refused to sacrifice to him either his sentiments or his friend. A medium was proposed, and mutual promises made. The one accused the other of breach of faith. The archbishop of Cambray, when he departed for his diocese, caused his book entitled, "The Maxims of the Saints," to be printed at Paris; a work in which he endeavoured to palliate the charge brought against his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatists, who raise themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection to which ordinary souls seldom aspire. The bishop of Meaux and his adherents vehemently opposed this book. They complained of it to the king, as if it had been as dangerous as it was unintelligible. His majesty spoke of it to Bossuet, of whose reputation and understanding he had a great opi-

opinion. This prelate, throwing himself on his knees before his prince, implored his pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal heresy of the archbishop of Cambray. The king and madame de Maintenon immediately consulted father de la Chaise upon the affair, who made answer, that the archbishop's book was an excellent piece; that it had greatly edified all the Jesuits; and that the Jansenists only disapproved of it. The bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he had studied some of their best writings. He did not like the Jesuits, nor they him.

The court and the city were divided; and the attention of every one being engrossed by this affair, the Jansenists had a little respite.

Bossuet wrote against Fenelon, and both sent their works to pope Innocent XII. submitting themselves to his decision. Circumstances were rather against Fenelon; for not long before, the court of Rome had strongly condemned, in the person of Molinos the Spaniard *, the Quietism of

* Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest, and founder of the sect of Quietists. He published his book on spiritual conduct at Rome, and was much followed for a series of years; but his reputation having at length awakened the jealousy of the Jesuits, they employed all their art and influence for his destruction. A process was instituted against him in the general congregation of the inquisition of Rome, held in presence of the pope and the cardinal inquisitors. Sixty-eight of the propositions were condemned as false and pernicious, scandalous, blasphemous, and heretical. He was compelled to abjure them publicly in the habit of a penitent, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died. His real character was that of an inoffensive enthusiast, who aspired at a sublime communication with God, by means of abstracted contemplation.

which the archbishop of Cambray was now accused. Cardinal d'Etrees, the French ambassador at Rome, was the person who had prosecuted Molinos. This cardinal, whom we have seen in his old age more engaged in the pleasures of society than in theology, had proceeded against Molinos merely to please the enemies of that unfortunate priest, and had even prevailed upon the king to solicit his condemnation at Rome, which he obtained but too easily: so that Lewis XIV. proved, unknown to himself, the most formidable enemy of the pure love of the mystics.

In matters of this delicate nature, nothing is more easy than to discover passages in a book under consideration resembling those in one already condemned. The archbishop of Cambray had on his side the Jesuits, and cardinal de Bouillon, lately ambassador from France to Rome. The bishop of Meaux had his own great name and the principal prelates of France for his adherents. He presented to the king the subscribed declarations of many of the bishops, and a great number of doctors, who all condemned the Maxims of the Saints.

So great was the authority of the bishop of Meaux, that father de la Chaise durst not vindicate the archbishop of Cambray to his royal penitent, and madame Maintenon entirely abandoned her friend. The king wrote to pope Innocent XII. that having had the archbishop's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the hands of the nuncio, and earnestly requested his holiness to give judgment upon it.

It

It was insinuated, and even publicly affirmed at Rome, nor are there wanting those who still believe the report, that the archbishop of Cambray was thus persecuted for no other reason but his having opposed the private marriage of the king with madame Maintenon. The anecdote-makers pretend that this lady had engaged father de la Chaize to press the king to acknowledge her for queen; that the Jesuit had artfully thrown this dangerous commission upon the abbé Fenelon; but that this preceptor of the children of the blood, preferred the honour of his country and that of his royal pupils to his own interest, and had thrown himself at the feet of Lewis XIV. to prevent a marriage, which, from its unaccountable strangeness, would have injured that monarch more with posterity than all the transitory gratifications of his life could have recompensed.

This tale is still to be found in the history of Lewis XIV. printed at Avignon. Those who have had access to that monarch, and to madame Maintenon, know how far this is from the truth. But it is true that Fenelon, having continued his education of the duke of Burgundy after his promotion to the archbishopric of Cambray, and the king during this interval having heard some confused talk about Fenelon's connection with madame Guion, and madame de la Maison-Fort, was apprehensive that Fenelon might inspire his pupil with maxims too rigid, and such principles of government and morality, as would perhaps one day become an indirect censure upon that air of greatness, that thirst for glory, those wars undertaken on the

most frivolous occasion, and that taste for luxury and pleasures, which had characterised his reign.

The king was desirous of having some conversation with the new archbishop on his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, discovered to the king some part of the principles which he afterwards unfolded in those passages of his *Telemachus* where he treats of government; principles which better suit with Plato's ideal republic, than the true manner in which mankind are to be governed. The king, after this conversation, said, that he had been discoursing with the finest and most chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was made acquainted with what his majesty had said, and repeated it afterwards to Mr. de Malezieux, his master for geometry. I had this from Mr. de Malezieux himself, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by cardinal Fleury.

It is certain, that from this conversation the king readily believed Fenelon to be as romantic in his religious as in his political notions.

The congregation of the Holy Office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant, * and an Augustin, to take cognizance of the affair. These are what they call at Rome the consultants. The cardinals and prelates generally leave to these monks the study of theology, to be more at leisure to follow politics, intrigues, or the pleasures of an indolent life.

* A set of begging friars of the order of St. Bernard.

The consultors, in thirty-seven sittings, examined as many propositions, and declared them erroneous by a majority of voices; and the pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a brief published and fixed up at Rome the thirteenth day of March 1699.

The bishop of Meaux triumphed; but the archbishop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory in his defeat. He submitted without restriction or reserve. He even mounted the pulpit himself at Cambray, to condemn his own book, and forbade his friends to defend it. This singular instance of condescension in a man of his learning, who might have raised a considerable party to himself, even from his persecution, added to his known candour and ingenuity, gained him the good will of every one, and made his antagonist almost hated for his victory. He ever afterwards continued to reside in his diocese, like the good archbishop and the man of letters. That sweetness of manners which shewed itself in his conversation as well as in his writings, made all who had the happiness of being acquainted with him, his affectionate friends. The persecution he underwent, and his *Telemachus*, gained him the veneration of all Europe. The English in particular, though they carried the war into his diocese, were the most eager to shew him respect. The duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands should be spared. He was always held dear by the duke of Burgundy, who was his pupil; and had that prince lived, he would have had a share in the administration.

In his philosophical and honourable retreat, we may see with what difficulty a man can dis-

engage himself from court. He always spoke on this head in such a feeling manner as broke through all his appearance of resignation. Several pieces upon philosophy, divinity, and polite literature, were the fruits of the leisure hours of his retirement. The duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom, consulted him on certain difficult points which concern all mankind, and yet are seldom thought of by them. He asked him whether the existence of a Deity could be demonstrated? whether this Deity required worship of us? what worship he most approved? and whether a mistaken choice was offensive to him? He started many questions of a like nature, as a philosopher who sought instruction; and the archbishop answered him like an able philosopher and divine.

After having been worsted in scholastic disputes, it would have been more agreeable to his character, had he not intermeddled in the controversy of Jansenism; nevertheless, he engaged in it. Cardinal Noailles had formerly joined with the strongest side against him. The archbishop of Cambray did the same in his turn. He was in hopes of being recalled to court and consulted; so hard is it for the mind of man to disengage itself from public affairs, after having been once embarked in them. His desires nevertheless were as moderate as his writings; and even towards the latter part of his life, he at last despised all disputation, resembling in this one particular Huet bishop of Avranches, one of the most learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almost all science, and of the human understanding itself.

The

The archbishop of Cambray, (who would believe it!) thus turned an air of Lulli :

Jeune, j'étois trop sage,

Et voulois trop savoir ;

Je ne veux en partage

Que badinage,

Et touche au dernier âge,

Sans rien prévoir.

When young, I was exceeding wise,

And pil'd up knowledge in a heap :

Now nothing I prize,

But trifles and toys,

And creep to the grave without noise ;

Nor wish to look before I leap.

He composed these verses in presence of his nephew the marquis of Fenelon, afterwards ambassador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact. It is a circumstance of very little importance in itself, only as it is a proof that in the grave tranquility of old age, we often view in a different light what appeared so great and interesting to us at a time of life, when the active mind is the sport of its own desires and delusions *.

* The above verses are to be met with in the poetical works of madame Guion : but the archbishop's nephew having assured me more than once that they were his uncle's, and that he heard him repeat them the very day he made them, I thought I was in justice bound to restore them to their real author.

CHAP.

DISPUTES upon the CEREMONIES of the
CHINESE.

IT was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds, that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute however was not productive of any great disturbances; but it served more than any other to characterise that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit, which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci the Jesuit, had been one of the first missionaries to China at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are almost the same in philosophy and literature, that we were two hundred years ago. The veneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. A progress in the sciences is the work of time and a daring genius: but morality and policy being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection amongst them before the other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued above two thousand years within the same limits they had at first attained, have continued but middling proficient in the sciences; and are the first people in the world in morals and policy, as well as the most ancient.

After

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire; and by the help of the European sciences, they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity amongst the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, whilst they preached up Christianity. This was a delicate point, as well as the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquility of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and at the same time the most sacred of all rights, the respect of children to their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Confut-zee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue five hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles on a particular day to do honour to their ancestors; and the learned meet publicly to honour Confut-zee. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and perfumes. The colaos, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Confut-zee is honoured, and afterwards feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Confut-zee for deities? or are they even

even invoked as our saints? Is this in short a political custom, which some of the more superstitious Chinese abuse? These were questions that could not easily be cleared up in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the Inquisition of Rome in 1645. *The holy office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which in their opinion could not be forbidden, without for ever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. The inquisition in 1656 permitted that the literati should continue to revere Con-fut-zee, and the Chinese children to honour their ancestors: but protested at the same time against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries always divided, and the cause soliciting at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them at length to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe, that this despotic monarch, grandson to the conqueror of China, was nevertheless subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christi-

stianity, and was obliged to solicit one of the tribunals upon that head; and that he himself drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1672, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries, which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a priest named Maigrot, out of this house, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, thus become a bishop in China, began with not only declaring the rites performed for the dead superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned men of that nation atheists: so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother missionaries, than against the mandarins and the people. They represented to the court of Rome, that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men, that they admitted only matter; but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Con-fut-zee. One of these charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners to reconcile this seeming contradiction. This affair remained a long time before the court of Rome; and in the mean

mean while the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father le Comte, one of their most learned missionaries, had expressed himself thus in his memoirs of China: "This people have had amongst them for two thousand years a knowledge of the true God; and sacrificed to the Creator of the universe in the most ancient temple of the world; China practised the purest lessons of morality, when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

We have already seen that this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of thirty-six calculated eclipses, even beyond the æra in which we place the deluge. The learned men of that nation have never had any other religion than that which consists in the adoration of a supreme being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the laws of Moses; nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, was plunged in the most barbarous idolatry, when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, whom they always worshipped in the same simple manner, without the least variation. These evident truths were more than sufficient to justify the expressions made use of by father le Comte; but as there was somewhat in these assertions which seemed to strike against the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

The

The abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared (in 1700) this encomium on the Chinese a direct blasphemy. This abbé was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote the most serious and bold things in a humorous stile. He was author of a book entitled *Flagellantes*, and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, for fear of being censured by the bishops. His brother said of him, "That if he had not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy." He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying, "That the encomiums on that people had shook his Christian brain." The brains of the rest of that assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A reverend doctor, named *Le Sage*, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitution, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed that about the ceremonies; and at length pope Clement XI. the year after sent a legate to China. The person he made choice of on the occasion was *Thomas Maillard de Tournon*, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Camhi

at

at first received the patriarch de Tournon with great civility. But how great was his surprise when he understood by the legate's interpreters, that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute of which the court of Pekin had never till then heard the least mention. The legate gave his majesty to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese majesty and all the learned men of his kingdom to be atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him an hearing. The monarch found his surprise encrease when he was informed that he had bishops in his empire; and the reader will be not less so, when he finds this prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were drawn in gold above his throne. Malgrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words *King-tien*, which the emperor had written in his pocket-book, did not signify *adore the Lord of Heaven*. The emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the precise meaning of these words, and even condescended to enter into a long argument, in
which

which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The bishop however remained inflexible; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than him. The emperor, who by the laws of the country, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him; and passed an ordinance, that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire, should for the future be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for de Tournon, the legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nantkin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbidding the using that expression which the emperor used to signify *the God of heaven*.

The legate upon this was banished to Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a governor there. Whilst he was in his confinement here, the pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the court, who began to study the Europeans more nearly than heretofore, discovered, that not only the missionaries were thus divided, but that likewise among the traders who came from Canton, there

there were several sects, sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Camhi did not cool towards the Jesuits, but greatly towards Christianity. His successor drove out all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was partly the effect of those disputes and that intolerance, with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and his magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honoured their ancestors.

These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others, arising from a mixture of idleness and restlessness, are now utterly forgotten; people are surprised that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, bids fair to secure the public tranquillity.



C H A P. CCXI.

A RECAPITULATION of the whole of the FOREGOING HISTORY, with the POINT of LIGHT in which it ought to be considered.

I HAVE now gone thro' the immense scene of revolutions, that the world has experienced since the time of Charlemagne: and to what have they all tended? to desolation, and the loss of millions of lives! Every great event has been a capital misfortune. History has kept no account of times of peace and tranquillity; it relates only ravages and disasters.

We

We have beheld our Europe overspread with barbarians after the fall of the Roman empire; and these barbarians, when become Christians, continually at war with the Mahometans, or else destroying each other.

We have seen Italy desolated by perpetual wars between city and city; the Guelphs and Gibellines mutually destroying each other; whole ages of conspiracies, and successive irruptions of distant nations, who have passed the Alps, and driven each other from their settlements by turns, till at length, in all this beautiful and extensive country, there remained only two states of any consideration governed by their own natives, *viz.* Venice and Rome. The others, namely Naples, Sicily, Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, are under the domirion of foreigners.

The other great states of Christendom have all of them suffered equally by wars, and intestine commotions; but none of them have been brought under subjection thereby to a neighbouring power. The result of these endless disturbances and perpetual jars has been only the separating of some small provinces from one state, to be transfered to another. Flanders, for example, which was the ancient peerdom of France, passed to the house of Burgundy from foreign hands, and from this house to that of Austria; and a small part of this Flanders came again into the hands of the French in the reign of Lewis XIV. Several provinces of Ancient Gaul were in former times dismembered. Alsace, which was a part of Ancient Gaul, came afterwards to belong to Germany, and is at this day a province of France. Upper Navarre,

which should be a demefne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, belongs to the younger; and Rouffillon, which was formerly the Spaniard's, now belongs to the crown of France.

During all these shocks, there have been formed since the time of Charlemagne only two absolutely independent republics, namely that of Switzerland and that of Holland.

No one great kingdom has been able to subdue another. France, notwithstanding the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V. notwithstanding the victories and efforts of Charles V. and Philip II. has still preserved its limits, and even extended them; Spain, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, and the northern states, are nearly the same as they were formerly.

What then have been the fruits of the blood of so many millions of men, spilt in battle, and the sacking of so many cities? Nothing great or considerable. The Christian powers have lost a great deal to the Turks, within these five centuries, and have gained scarcely any thing from each other.

All history then, in short, is little else than a long succession of useless cruelties; and if there happens any great revolution, it will bury the remembrance of all the past disputes, wars, and fraudulent treaties, which have produced so many transitory miseries.

In the number of these miseries we may with justice include the disturbances and civil wars on the score of religion. Of these Europe has experienced two kinds, and it is hard to say which of them has proved most fatal to her. The first, as we have already seen, was the

was the dispute of the popes with the emperors and kings; this began in the time of Lewis the Feeble, and was not entirely at an end, in Germany, till after the reign of Charles V. in England, till suppressed by the resolution of queen Elizabeth, and in France, till the submission of Henry IV. The other source of so much bloodshed, was the rage of dogmatizing. This has caused the subversion of more than one state, from the time of the massacre of the Albigenes, to the thirteenth century, and from the small war of the Cevennois, to the beginning of the eighteenth. The field and the scaffold ran with blood on account of theological arguments, sometimes in one century, sometimes in another, for almost five hundred years, without interruption; and the long continuance of this dreadful scourge was owing to this, that morality was always neglected, to indulge a spirit of dogmatizing.

It must therefore once again be acknowledged, that history in general is a collection of crimes, follies, and misfortunes, among which we have now and then met with a few virtues, and some happy times; as we sometimes see a few scattered huts in a barren desert.

In those times of darkness and ignorance, which we distinguish by the name of the middle age, no one perhaps ever deserved so well of mankind as pope Alexander VIII. It was he who abolished vassalage, in a council which he held in the twelfth century. It was this same pontiff who triumphed in Venice by his prudence, over the brutal violence of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and who obliged Henry II. of England to ask pardon of God and man

for the murder of Thomas Becket *. He restored the rights of the people, and chastised the wickedness of crowned heads. We have had occasion to remark, that, before this æra, all Europe, a very small number of cities excepted, was divided between two ranks of people; the lords, or owners of lands, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the villains, or slaves. The lawyers who assisted the knights, bailiffs, and stewards of fiefs, in giving their sentences, were in fact no other than bondmen, or villains, themselves. And, if mankind at length enjoy their rights, it is to pope Alexander VIII. they are chiefly indebted for this happy change. It is to him that so many cities owe their present splendour; nevertheless, we know that this liberty was not universally extended. It has never made its way into Poland; the husbandman there is still a slave, and confined to the glebe; it is the same in Bohemia, Suabia, and several other countries of Germany; and even in France, in some of the provinces the most remote from the capital, we still see remains of this slavery. There are some chapters and monks, who claim a right to all the goods of the peasants.

In Asia, on the contrary, there are no slaves

* That is to say, he obliged a great prince to do shameful penance, for a murder in which he had no concern; and by what means did he manifest this power? by employing all the villainous arts of priestcraft, to alienate the affections of the people from their natural sovereign; by excommunications, interdictions, and absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance. As for Becket, whom Alexander allowed to be canonized, we hope there are not three Britons, now living, who do not detest his character, as that of a pernicious fire-brand, whose pride, insolence, and fanaticism kept his sovereign and his country in continual disquiet.

but those which are purchased with money, or taken prisoners in battle. In the Christian states of Europe, they do not buy slaves, neither do they reduce their prisoners of war to a state of servitude. The Asiatics have only a domestic servitude; Christians only a civil one. The peasant in Poland is a bondman in the lands, but not in the house of his lord. We purchase household-slaves only from the negroes; we are severely reproached for this kind of traffic, but the people who make a trade of selling their children, are certainly more blameable than those who purchase them, and this traffic is only a proof of our superiority. He who voluntarily subjects himself to a master, is designed by nature for a slave*.

We have seen that, from time immemorial, they have tolerated all religions in Asia, much in the same manner as it is at present done in England, Holland, and Germany. We have observed, that this toleration was more general in Japan than in any other country whatever, till the fatal affair which rendered that government so inexorable.

We may have observed, in the course of so many revolutions, that several nations, almost entirely savage, have been formed both in Europe and Asia, in those very countries which were formerly the most civilized. Thus, some of the islands of the Archipelago, which were once so flourishing, are now little better than Indian habitations in America. The country

* We apprehend that all the effects of all the people in France, or of any other arbitrary government, properly speaking, belong to the crown; inasmuch as the sovereign can seize them at his pleasure.

where formerly were the cities of Artaxates, Tigranocertes, and Colchos, are not now of half the value of some of our petty colonies. There are in some of the islands, forests, and mountains in the very heart of Europe, a set of people, who are in nothing superior to those of Canada, or the negroes of Africa. The Turks are more civilized, but we hardly know of one city built by them; they have suffered the most noble and beautiful monuments of antiquity to fall to decay, and reign only over a pile of ruins.

They have nothing in Asia that in the least resembles our European nobility; nor is there to be found throughout the whole East any one order of citizens, distinguished from the others by hereditary titles, or particular privileges and indulgencies, annexed solely to birth. The Tartars seem to be the only people who have some faint shadow of this institution, in the race of their Mirzas. We meet with nothing either in Turkey, Persia, the Indies, or China, that bears any similitude to that body of nobility which forms an essential part of every European monarchy. We must go as far as Malabar to meet with any likeness to this sort of constitution; and there again it is very different, and consists in a tribe wholly dedicated to bearing arms, and which never intermixes, by marriage or otherwise, with any of the other tribes or casts, and will not even condescend to hold any commerce with them.

The greatest difference between us and the Orientals, is in the manner of treating our women. No female ever reigned in the East, unless that princess of Mingrelia, whom Sir John Chardin tell us of in his voyages, and whom he

accuses of robbing him. In France, tho' the women cannot wear the crown, they may be regents of the kingdom, and have a right to every other throne, but that of the empire and Poland.

Another difference, in our manner of treating women, is the custom of placing about their persons men deprived of their virility, a custom which has always prevailed in Asia and Africa, and has at times been introduced into Europe by the Roman emperors. At present there is not throughout all Christendom two hundred eunuchs employed, either in our churches or theatres, whereas all the eastern seraglios swarm with them.

In short, we differ in every respect, in religion, policy, government, manners, food, cloathing, and even in our manners of writing, expressing, and thinking. That in which we the most resemble them is, that propensity to war, slaughter, and destruction, which has always depopulated the face of the earth. It must be owned, however, that this rage has taken much less possession of the minds of the people of India and China, than of ours. In particular, we have no instance of the Indians or Chinese having made war upon the inhabitants of the North. In this respect they are much better members of society than ourselves; but then, on the other hand, this very virtue, or rather meekness, of theirs, has been their ruin; for they have been all enslaved.

In the midst of the ravages and desolations which we have observed during the space of nine hundred years, we perceive a love for order which secretly animates human kind, and has prevented its total ruin. This is one of

the springs of nature which always recovers its tone ; it is this which has formed the code of all nations, and this inspires a veneration for the laws and the ministers of the laws at Tonquin, and in the island of Formosa, the same as at Rome. Children respect their parents in all countries, and in every country (let others say what they will) the son is his father's heir ; for, though in Turkey the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity, nor, in India, the son of an Omra his lands ; the reason is, because neither the one nor the other belong to the father himself. A place for life is, in no country of the world, considered as an inheritance ; but, in Persia, in India, and throughout all Asia, every native, and even every stranger, of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In our Europe, indeed, there are still some nations, where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field or burying-place in their territories. The barbarous right of Aubaine, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still subsists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

We likewise have a notion, that in the eastern countries the women are all slaves, because they are confined to the duties of domestic life. If they were really slaves, they must become beggars at the death of their husbands, which is not the case ; the law every where provides a stated portion for them, and this portion they obtain in case of a divorce. In every part of the world, we find laws established for the support of families.

In all nations there is a proper curb to arbitrary power, either by law, custom, or manners. The Turkish sultan can neither touch the public treasure, break the Janissaries, nor interfere with the inside of the seraglios of any of his subjects. The emperor of China cannot publish a single edict, without the sanction of a tribunal. Every state is at times liable to violent oppressions; the grand vizirs and the Itimadoulets exercise rapine and murder, it is true, but they are no more authorised so to do by the laws, than the wild Arabs, or wandering Tartars, are to plunder the caravans.

Religion teaches the same principles of morality to all nations, without exception; the ceremonies of the Asiatics are ridiculous, their belief absurd, but their precepts are just; the dervise, the saquir, the bonze, and the talopin, are always crying out, "Be just and beneficent." The common people in China are accused of being great cheats in trade; they are perhaps encouraged to this vice, by knowing that they can purchase absolution for their crime of their bonzes, for a trifling piece of money. The moral precepts taught them are good, the indulgence which is sold them is bad.

We are not to credit those travellers and missionaries, who have represented the eastern priests to us as persons who preach up iniquity; this is traducing human nature, it is not possible that there should ever exist a religious society, instituted for the encouragement or propagation of vice.

We should equally deceive ourselves, were we to believe, that the Mahometan religion owes its establishment wholly to the sword.

The Mahometans have had their missionaries in the Indies, and at China; and the sects of Omar and Ali dispute with each other for proselytes, even on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

From all that we have observed in this sketch of universal history, it follows, that whatever concerns human nature, is the same from one end of the universe to the other, and that what is dependant upon custom differs, or, if there is any resemblance, it is the effect of chance. The dominion of custom is much more extensive than that of nature, and influences all manners and all usages. It diffuses variety over the face of the universe. Nature establishes unity, and every where settles a few invariable principles: the soil is still the same, but culture produces various fruits.

As nature has placed in the heart of man, interest, pride, and all the passions, it is no wonder, that, during a period of about six centuries, we meet with almost a continual succession of crimes and disasters. If we go back to earlier ages, we shall find them no better. Custom has ordered it so, that evil has every where operated in a different manner.



C H A P. CCXII.

Of the POLITE ARTS in EUROPE, at the
Time of LEWIS XIV.

I HAVE sufficiently hinted, in the course of this history, that the public disasters it contains, and which succeed each other almost without intermission, are at length erased from

the registers of time. The springs, and minuter circumstances of politicks, sink into oblivion; whilst wise laws and institutions, the monuments produced by the arts and sciences, continue for ever.

Of the immense crowd of strangers that now travel to Rome, not as pilgrims, but as persons of taste, hardly one is at the pains to enquire any thing concerning Gregory VII. or Boniface VIII. they admire the beautiful churches built by a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo, the paintings of a Raphael, and the sculptures of a Bernini; if they have genius, they read the works of Ariosto and Tasso, and reverence the ashes of Galileo. In England the exploits of Cromwell are scarcely mentioned, and the disputes of the white and red roses are almost forgotten; but Newton is studied for whole years together: no one is surpris'd to see in his epitaph, "That he was the glory of mankind;" but it would be matter of great wonder in that country, to see the remains of any statesman honoured with such a title.

I should be glad, in this place, to do justice to all the great men, who, like him, were the ornaments of their country in the last century. I have called this the Age of Lewis XIV. not only because this monarch patronized the arts much more than all the other kings, his contemporaries, put together, but also, because he saw all the generations of the princes of Europe thrice renewed. I have fixed this epoch some years before the time of Lewis XIV. and have carried it down some years after his decease, as this was in fact the space of time in which the human mind made the greatest progress.

The English have made greater advances towards perfection, in almost every species of learning, from 1660 to the present time, than in all the preceding ages. I shall not here repeat what I have elsewhere said, of Milton. It is true, he is accused by several critics of a whimsical extravagance in his descriptions, such as that of the fools paradise; the walls of alabaster with which the garden of Eden was surrounded; the devils, who transformed themselves from giants to pigmies, to take up less room in the council-chamber of hell, built all of pure gold; the firing of cannon in heaven; the hills that the combatants flung at each other's heads; angels on horseback, and angels whose bodies, after being cut asunder, unite again. He is complained of for his prolixity and incessant repetitions. They say he neither equals Ovid nor Hesiod, in that long description of the formation of the earth, animals, and man. His dissertations on astronomy are censured, as being too dry and uninteresting; his invention thought rather extravagant than wonderful, and more disgusting than striking; for instance, the long causeway over chaos; sin and death enamoured of each other, and having children by their incestuous commerce; "Death, who lifts up his nose, to snuff, through the immensity of chaos, the change which has befallen the earth, as a raven smells dead carcases." The same Death who smells out sin, who strikes with his petrifying club on the elements of Earth and Water, who, together with Heat and Humidity, becoming four valiant generals of an army, leading in battle-array the light-armed embryos of atoms. In short, writers have exhausted themselves in criticisms on this celebrated work; but

there can be no end to the praises it merits. Milton will ever continue the boast and admiration of the English nation, will always be compared to Homer, whose faults are equally great, and always preferred to Dante, whose imagination is even more extravagant.

Among the great number of pleasing poets that adorned the reign of Charles II. such as Waller, the earls of Dorset and Roscommon, the duke of Buckingham, &c. the celebrated Dryden holds a distinguished place: he is equally famous in all the different species of poetry. His writings abound with a number of minute particulars, at once natural and lively, animated, bold, nervous, and pathetic; a merit in which he has been equalled by no other poet of his nation, nor exceeded by any one among the ancients. If Pope, who came after him, had not, in the latter part of his life, written his Essay on Man, he would have fallen far short of Dryden.

No nation has ever treated morality, in verse, with so much energy and depth, as the English. In this I think seems to lie the greatest merit of their poets.

There is another kind of varied literature, which requires a still more cultivated and universal genius; this Addison possessed in an eminent degree. He has not only immortalized his name by his Cato, which is the only English tragedy written with elegance and well supported dignity, but his other writings, both moral and critical, breathe the very soul of good taste; here sense is every where embellished with the flowers of imagination; and his manner of writing may serve as a model to all na-

tions. There are several little pieces of Dean Swift, unmatched by any thing of the kind in antiquity. He is Rabelais improved.

The English are not acquainted with funeral orations, it not being the custom with them to praise their kings and queens in their churches, but pulpit eloquence, which, before the reign of Charles II. was very rude, became formed on a sudden. Bishop Burnet acknowledges, that this was owing to their imitation of the French; perhaps they have even surpassed their masters; they are not so stiff, affected, and declamatory in their sermons, as the French are.

It is also very remarkable that these islanders, who are separated from the rest of the world, and who remained so long untaught, should have acquired at least as much knowledge of antiquity as is to be met with at Rome, though the center of all nations. Masam has unveiled the dark accounts of ancient Egypt; no Persian had ever a more perfect knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster, than the celebrated Hyde. The history of Mahomet, and the times preceding him, which was unknown to the Turks, has been fully illustrated by Hales, who made so many useful voyages to Arabia.

There is no country in the world, where the Christian religion has been so strongly attacked, and so learnedly defended, as in England. From the time of Henry VIII. to that of Cromwell, they carried on their disputes like the ancient gladiators, who were wont to come into the arena to fight, with a scymetar in their hand, and a bandage about their eyes. Some slight differences in doctrine and worship, were productive of the most bloody wars; whereas, since the restoration to the present time, tho'

scarce a year has passed without some attack upon Christianity, the controversy has not excited the least disturbance; learning being the only weapon now employed on either side, instead of fire and sword, as formerly.

But, it is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the mastery over all other nations. Ingenious and speculative notions were out of the question. The fables of the Greeks had been long laid aside, and those of the moderns were to appear no more. Chancellor Bacon first led the way, by asserting that we should search into nature in a new manner, and have recourse to experiments. Boyle employed his whole life in making them. This is no place for discussions on natural philosophy; let it suffice to say, that, after three thousand years of vain enquiries, Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of nature, by which every part of matter tends towards the center, and all the planets are retained in their proper course. He was the first who truly beheld light; before him we knew not what it was.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy, entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of what is called the Calculation of Infinites, the last effect of geometry, and which was executed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned that great philosopher, the learned Halley, to say, "That it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were at once improved by his discoveries, and encouraged to pursue the tract he had pointed out to them. Bradley at length

went so far as to discover the parallax of the fixed stars, at twelve millions of millions of miles distant from our little globe.

The same Halley whom I have just mentioned, though no more than a private astronomer, had the command of one of the king's ships in the year 1698. In this ship he determined the position of the stars of the Antarctic, or South Pole, and marked the different variations of the compass in all the parts of the known world. The famous voyage of the Argonauts was, in comparison with his, no more than the passing from one side of a river to another in a boat; and yet this voyage of Halley's has scarcely been spoken of in Europe.

This indifference of ours for great things, when become too familiar, and the admiration paid by the ancient Greeks to the most trivial ones, is another proof of the prodigious superiority of our age over the ancient times. Boileau in France, and Sir William Temple in England, obstinately deny any such superiority; they seem resolved to depreciate their own age, in order to exalt themselves above it. This dispute between the ancients and moderns is at length decided, at least as to philosophy. There is not one of the ancient philosophers, whose works are now made use of for the instruction of youth, in any of the enlightened nations.

Locke alone might serve as a great instance of the advantage that the present time has over the finest ages of Greece. From Plato, down to him, there is one great chasm, no one during all that interval having explained the operations of the soul; and a person who should be acquainted with all that Plato has wrote, and acquainted

quainted only with that, would have very little knowledge, and even that erroneous.

The Greek was indeed an eloquent writer; his apology for Socrates is a great piece of service done to the learned of all nations. It is but just to hold him in veneration, who made oppressed virtue so venerable, and its persecutors so detestable. It was for a long time thought that he, who was so fine a moralist, could not be a bad natural philosopher; he was held almost for a father of the church, on account of his Ternarion, which no one understood; but what would be thought of a philosopher in our days, who should tell us that matter is the author; and that the world is a figure of twelve pentagons? that fire is a pyramid, and is linked to the earth by numbers? How would a person be received, who should go about to prove the immortality and metempsychosis of the soul, by saying, that sleep comes from watching, watching from sleep, life from death, and death from life? Yet such are the arguments that have been the admiration of so many ages, and ideas still more extravagant have since continued to be made use of, in the education of mankind.

Locke is the only one who has explained Human Understanding, in a book where there are nothing but truths; and what renders the work perfect is, that these truths are all clear.

If we would, once for all, see in what this last age has the superiority over the former ones, we have only to cast our eyes upon Germany, and the North. Dantzick has produced an Hevelius, who is the first astronomer that was ever well acquainted with the planet of the moon, no man before him having ever so carefully examined the heavens; among the many great

men whom this age has produced, no one is a more striking example how justly it may be called the age of Lewis XIV. Hevelius lost an immense library by fire. The French monarch recompensed the astronomer, with a present that far overpaid his loss.

In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry. The Bernouilli of Switzerland, were disciples worthy this great man, and Leibnitz was for some time considered as his rival.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipstick; he ended his days in Hanover, like a true philosopher, believing in a God, like Newton, without consulting the various opinions of mankind. He was perhaps a man of the most universal learning in Europe; he was an historian indefatigable in his enquiries; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy, foreign as it may appear to that kind of study; so thorough a metaphysician, as to attempt reconciling divinity and the metaphysics; a tolerable Latin poet; and lastly, so good a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the calculation of infinites, and to make it for some time doubted, which of them had the justest claim to the honour of that discovery.

This was then the golden age of geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other, that is to say, problems to solve, much in the same manner as it is said the ancient kings of Egypt and Asia, sent ænigmas to be answered by one another. The problems proposed by these geometricians were of a much more difficult nature than the Egyptian ænigmas, and yet none of them remained unan-

swered, either in Germany; England, Italy, or France. There never was a more universal correspondence kept between philosophers than at this period, and Leibnitz contributed not a little to encourage it. A republic of letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of the most obstinate war, and the number of different religions; the arts and sciences, all of them thus received mutual assistance from each other, and the academies helped to form this republic. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and the natives of England, Germany, and France, went to study at Leyden. The famous physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the pope and the czar of Muscovy. His principal pupils have in like manner drawn strangers after them, and are in some measure become the physicians of nations. The truly learned of every denomination have strengthened the bands of this grand society of geniuses, which is universally diffused, and every where independent. This correspondence is still carried on, and proves one of the greatest comforts against the evils which ambition and politics scatter through the world.

Italy has preserved her ancient glory in this age, though she has produced no new Tassos nor Raphaels. It is sufficient that she has once produced them. A Cabrera, a Zappi, and a Filicaia, have shewn that delicacy is always the portion of this nation. The Merope of Maffei, and the dramatic works of Metastasio, are the beautiful monuments of the age.

The study of true natural philosophy, as established by Galileo, still keeps its ground in spite of the ancient philosophy, which has but too

too many bigotted admirers. The Cassinis, the Vivianis, the Mandis, the Bianchinis, the Zannottis, and many others, have spread over Italy the same light which beamed in other countries, and, though its principal rays came from England, yet the Italian schools have been able to gaze on it in all its splendour.

Every kind of literature has been cultivated in this ancient seat of the arts as much as elsewhere, except in those subjects where a liberty of thinking allows a greater scope to the genius in other nations. This age in particular has attained a better knowledge of antiquity than the preceding. Italy furnishes more monuments than all Europe together, and in proportion as these have been brought to light, science has become more extensive.

We are indebted for this progress to some wise men and geniuses, scattered in a small number over some parts of Europe, almost all of them for a long time subjected to persecutions, and lost in oblivion; they have enlightened and comforted the world during the wars that spread desolation through it. There are lists to be met with elsewhere, of all those who have been the ornaments of Germany, England, and Italy. It would be very improper, in a stranger, to pretend to rate the merits of so many illustrious men; let it suffice then to have shewn, that in the last age mankind acquired throughout Europe greater lights, than in all the ages that preceded it.

C H A P. CCXIII.

A List of the Children of LEWIS XIV. The SOVEREIGN PRINCES cotemporary with him. His GENERALS and MINISTERS.

The Children of Lewis XIV.

HE married Maria Theresa of Austria, born in 1638, only daughter to Philip IV. by his first queen Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second wife Maria Anne of Austria. The nuptials of Lewis XIV. were celebrated the ninth day of July 1660, and Maria Theresa died in 1683. He had by her,

Lewis the dauphin called Monseigneur, born Nov. 1, 1661, who died at Meudon April 14, 1711. Nothing was more common for a considerable time before the death of this prince than the following proverb which was applied to him: "The son of a king, the father of a king, and never king." The event seemed to countenance the credulity of those who place faith in predictions; but this saying was only a repetition of that which went about concerning Philip of Valois, and was moreover founded chiefly on Lewis XIV's own state of health, who was much more robust than his son. This prince had by Mary-Anne-Christiana-Victoria of Bavaria, who died the 20th of April, 1690.

1. Lewis Duke of Burgundy, who was born August 6, 1682, and died Feb. 18, 1712. He had issue by his dutchess, Maria Adelaide of Savoy, who died Feb. 12, 1712, N. duke of
Bri-

164 CHILDREN of LEWIS XIV.

Brittany, who died in 1705; Lewis duke of Brittany, who died in 1712; and Lewis XV. who was born Feb. 15, 1710.

2. Philip, duke of Anjou, king of Spain, born Dec. 19, 1683, died July 9, 1746.

3. Charles, duke of Berry, born Aug. 31, 1686, died May 4, 1714.

Lewis XIV. had two other sons and three daughters, who all died young.

His natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis XIV. had by the dutchess of la Valliere, who turned carmelite nun June 2, 1674, took the habit June 4, 1675, and died June 6, 1710, aged 65.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, born Oct. 2, 1667, died in 1683.

Mary-Anne, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, was married to Armand prince of Conti, and died in 1739.

Other natural and legitimated Children.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, duke of Main, born March 31, 1670, died in 1736.

Lewis-Cæsar, count of Vexin, abbot of St. Dennis and St. Germain des Prés, born in 1672, died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, count of Toulouse, born June 6, 1678, died in 1737.

Louisa-Frances of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, was married to Lewis III. duke of Bourbon-Condé, and died in 1743.

Louisa-Maria of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Tours, died in 1681.

Frances

COTEMPORARY PRINCES. 165

Frances-Mary, of Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1677, was married to Philip II. duke of Orleans, regent of France, died in 1749.

Two other sons who both died young.

Cotemporary Princes.

P O P E S.

Barberini Urban VIII. died in 1644

It was he who first gave the title of *eminence* to the cardinals.

Pamfilo Innocent X.	1655
Chigi Alexander VII.	1667
Rospigliosi Clement IX.	1669
Altieri Clement X.	1676
Odescalchi Innocent XI.	1689
Ottoboni Alexander VIII.	1691
Pignatelli Innocent XII.	1700
Albani Clement XI.	1721

The Ottoman House.

Ibrahim died in	1655
Mahomet IV.	1687
Soliman III.	1691
Achmet II.	1695
Mustapha II.	1703
Achmet III. deposed in	1730

Emperors of Germany.

Ferdinand III. died in	1657
Leopold I.	1705
Joseph I.	1711
Charles VI.	1740

Kings of Spain.

Philip IV. died in	1665
Charles II.	1700
Philip V.	1746

Kings of Portugal.

John IV. duke of Braganza, died in	1656
Alphonso-Henry, dethroned in 1667	1683
Peter II.	1706
John V.	1750

Kings of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Charles I. beheaded in	1649
Charles II. died in	1685
James II. dethroned in 1688	1701
William III.	1702
Anne Stuart	1714
George I.	1727

Kings of Denmark.

Christian IV. died in	1648
Frederick III.	1670
Christian V.	1699
Frederick IV.	1730

Kings of Sweden.

Christina abdicated in 1654, died in	1689
Charles-Gustavus	1660
Charles XI.	1697
Charles XII.	1718

Kings

Kings of Poland.

Ladislaus Sigismund died in	1648
John Casimir abdicated	1667
Michael Wiefnowiski died in	1673
John Sobieski	1696
Frederick-Augustus, elector of Saxony	1733
Stanislaus	

Kings of Prussia.

Frederick I. died in	1713
Frederick-William	1740

Czars.

Michael-Foederowitz died in	1645
Alexis-Michaelowitz	1676
Foedor-Alexiowitz	1681
{ Iwan-Alexiowitz	1688
{ Peter-Alexiowitz.	1725

Marshals of France, who either died in the reign of Lewis XIV. or served under him.

D' Albret (Cæsar-Phæbus) of the royal house of Navarre, made marshal of France in 1658: notwithstanding his high descent, he made no scruple to marry the daughter of Guénegaud, the king's treasurer, a young lady of great merit. He died in 1676.

D' Alegre (Yves) who served in the armies of Lewis XIV. near sixty years before he was made marshal of France in 1724. He died in 1733.

D' Asfeldt (Claud-Francis-Bidal). He acquired great reputation in the art of attacking and de-

defending places. He was made marshal of France in 1734.

D'Aubusson (Francis de la Feuillade), made marshal in 1675, the same who out of gratitude erected the statue of Lewis XIV. in the Square des Victoires. He died in 1691. His son was not made marshal till a long time after his death, viz. in 1725.

D'Aumont (Anthony), grandson to the famous John Marshal d'Aumont, one of Henry IV's great generals. Anthony was greatly instrumental in gaining the battle of Rhetel in 1650. He had the marshal's staff given him as a reward. He died in 1669.

De Balincourt, made marshal in 1746.

Berwick (James Fitz-James duke of), natural son to James II. king of England, by a sister of the duke of Marlborough. He was created duke of Berwick in England by his father. He was likewise a duke of Spain and of France: he was made marshal in 1706, and was killed at the siege of Philippsburg in 1734.

Bassompierre (Francis de) born in 1579, a man well known in the world; but few people know that he caused the ditch in the queen's course to be lined with stone at his own expence. He was made marshal in 1622, and died in 1646.

Bellefonds (*Bernardine, Gigaül de*), made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

De Belle-Isle (Lewis Charles Augustus de Fouquet) distinguished himself in the war of 1710, is a duke and peer of France, and a prince of the empire, made marshal in 1741.

Bezons (James Bazin de) made marshal in 1709, died in 1733.

Biron

Biron. (Armand Charles de Goutaut, duke of) He revived the ducal dignity in his house. Though he served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and lost an arm at the siege of Landau, he was not made marshal till the year 1734.

Boufflers (Lewis Francis duke of) made marshal in 1693, died in 1711.

Du Bourg, (Eleonor Maria du Maine, count) gained an important battle under Lewis XIV. but was not made marshal till 1725, and died the same year.

Brancaas, (Henry de Villars de Sérest) after having served Lewis XIV. for a great number of years, was at length made marshal in 1734.

Brezé, (Urban de Maillé, marquis of) brother-in-law to cardinal Richelieu, was made marshal in 1632, afterwards viceroy of Catalonia, and died in 1650.

Broglio (Victor Mauritius) served in all the wars of Lewis XIV. and was at length made marshal in 1724, died in 1727.

Broglio (Francis-Mary, duke of) son to the former, one of the best lieutenant-generals in the wars of Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734.

Castlenau (James de) made marshal in 1658, mortally wounded the same year at the siege of Calais.

Catinat (Nicholas de) made marshal in 1693. He blended the talents of the philosopher with those of the soldier. In the last battle in which he commanded, he gave for the word, Paris and St. Gaffian, which latter was the name of his country seat, whither he retired

and died like a philosopher, (after having refused the blue ribbon,) in 1712.

Charnilli. (Noël Bouton de) He was present at the siege of Candia, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1715.

Chateau-Renaud (Francis-Lewis Rouffelet de) vice-admiral of France, a great sea-officer, was made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Chaulnes (Honorius d'Albre, duke of) made marshal in 1620, died in 1649.

Choiseul (Claude de) the third marshal of France of that name, received the staff in 1698, died in 1711.

Clairambault (Philip Palluau de) made marshal in 1653, died in 1665.

De Clermont-Tonnerre served in the war of 1701, but was not made marshal till 1747.

Coigny (Francis de Franquesot) was a long time a general officer under Lewis XIV. was made marshal in 1734. He gained two battles in Italy.

Coligni, (Gaspard de) grandson to the admiral of that name. He was made marshal in 1622, and was killed at the head of the rebel army, under the count de Soissons, at Marfée, in 1646.

Cregui (Francis de) made marshal in 1668. He had the reputation of being the most proper officer to succeed marshal Turenne. He died in 1687.

D'Estampes (James de la Ferté-Imbaut) made marshal in 1651, died in 1668.

D'Etrées (Francis Hannibal, duke) made marshal in 1626. It is very remarkable that at the age of ninety-three he was married to his second wife, Mademoiselle de Manican, who miscarried
by

by him. He died in 1670, aged upwards of an hundred.

D'Etrées (John) made vice-admiral of France in 1670, and marshal in 1681. He died in 1707.

D'Etrées (Victor-Maria) son to John D'Etrées, was like his father vice-admiral of France before he was marshal. It is remarkable that he commanded in this quality the combined fleets of France and Spain in 1701, was made marshal in 1703, and died in 1707.

Duras (James Henry de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, was made marshal in 1675, immediately after the death of his uncle, died in 1704.

Duras (John de Durfort, duke of) made field marshal by Lewis XIV. and marshal of France in 1741.

Fabert (Abraham) made marshal in 1658. People have been determined to ascribe his fortunes and death to supernatural causes; whereas there was nothing extraordinary in him but that he made his fortune entirely by his own merit, and that he refused the ribbon of the order; notwithstanding that they would have dispensed with his giving the requisite proofs: he died in 1662.

Fare (de la) son to the marquis de la Fare, so famous for his pleasing poetical writings. He was an officer in 1701, and marshal in 1746.

Ferté-Senneterre (Henry, duke of la) made marshal in 1651, died in 1681.

Force (James Nompars de Caumont de la) made marshal 1622. The same who escaped the great massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who has given an account of that affair in his me-

moirs, which are still preserved in the family. He died in 1652, at the age of 97.

Foucault (Lewis) count of Daugnon, made marshal in 1653, died in 1659.

Gassion (John de) was bred up under the great Gustavus, made marshal in 1643. He was a Calvinist by religion. He would never marry, saying, that he set too little value upon life to share it with any one. He was killed at the siege of Lens in 1647.

Gramont (Anthony de) made marshal in 1641, died in 1678.

Gramont (Anthony de) grandson to the former, made marshal in 1724. He was father to the duke of Gramont, who was killed at the battle of Fontenoi. He died in 1725.

Grancei (James Rouxel, count of) made marshal in 1651, died in 1680.

Guebriant (John-Baptist de Budes) made marshal in 1642, one of the most famous soldiers of his time. He was killed in 1643, at the siege of Rotweil, and interred with great funeral pomp in the church of Nôtre-Dame.

Harcourt (Henry, duke of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1718. His son has since been made a marshal in 1746.

Hocquincourt (Charles de Mouchi) made marshal in 1651, was killed in the service of the enemy before Dunkirk in 1658.

Hopital (Nicholas de l') captain of the guards of Lewis XIII. made marshal in 1617 for killing marshal d'Ancre. But he was deserving of that dignity besides by many noble actions. We reckon him among the marshals of this age, because he died under the reign of Lewis XIV. in 1644.

Hu-

Humieres (Lewis de Crevan, marquis of) made marshal in 1668, died in 1694.

Joyeuse (John-Armand de) made marshal of France in 1693, died in 1710.

D'Esenghein, an officer under Lewis XIV. made marshal in 1741.

Lorge, (Guy Alphonso de Durfort de) nephew to the viscount of Turenne, made marshal in 1676, died in 1702.

Luxembourg (Francis-Henry de Montmorenci, duke of) was bred up under the great Condé, made marshal in 1675. There have been seven marshals of France of this name, exclusive of constables; and there has not been a reign since the eleventh century without some person of this family at the head of the armies. He died in 1695.

Luxembourg (Christian-Lewis de Montmorenci) son to the former. He distinguished himself in the war of 1701, was made a marshal in 1747.

Maillebois, son to the minister of state Desmarêts, having distinguished himself on every occasion since the war of 1701, he was made marshal in 1741.

Marfin or *Marchin* (Ferdinand count of) having left the service of the house of Austria for that of France, he was made marshal in 1703, and died at Turin in 1706.

De Maignon (Charles-Augustus Goion de Gacé) made marshal in 1708, died in 1729.

Maulevrier-Langeron, made marshal, 1745.

Medavi (James Leonor Rouxel de Grancei, count of) was not made marshal till the year 1724, though he gained a complete victory in 1706. He died in 1725.

X *De la Meilleraie* (Charles de la Porte) was made marshal in 1639, in the reign of Lewis XIII. who presented him with the marshal's staff, on the breach of the city of Hedin. He was grand-master of the ordnance; and had the character of being the best officer in France for the conduct of a siege. He died in 1664.

Montesquiou (Peter, count of Artagnan) made marshal in 1709, died in 1725.

Montrevel (Nicholas Augustus de la Baume) made marshal in 1703, died in 1716.

Mote-Houdancourt (Philip de la) made marshal in 1642, and confined in the castle of Pierre-en-Cese, in 1643. It is observable, that there was not one general during the administrations of Richelieu and Mazarin, but that were either banished or imprisoned. He died in 1657. His grandson was made a marshal in 1747.

Nangis, (Lewis Armand de Brichanteau.) He served with reputation under marshal Villars, in the war of 1701, and was made a marshal himself by Lewis XV.

Naxvilles (Philip de Montaud de Bénac, duke of) made marshal in 1675. Commanded at Candia, under the duke of Beaufort, and succeeded him at his death. He died in 1684.

Noailles (Anne Julius, duke of) made marshal in 1693. He signalized himself in Spain, where he gained the battle of Ter. He died in 1708.

Noailles (Adrian Maurice) son to the former, was made general and commander in chief in Roussillon in 1706, and grandee of Spain, after having taken Gironne. He was not made marshal of France till 1734. He had the direction

of

of the finances in 1715; and has since been minister of state.

Plessis-Pralin (Cæsar, duke of Choiseul, count of) made marshal in 1645. He had the honour of beating the viscount of Turenne, at Rhétel, in 1650. He died in 1675.

Puisegur (James de Chastenet de) made marshal in 1734, son to James Puisegur, lieutenant-general, under Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. who gained great reputation, and left a volume of memoirs. The marshal himself has written upon war. He was a person consulted by the ministry upon all critical occasions.

Richelieu (Lewis Francis Armand du Plessis, duke of,) a brigadier under Lewis XIV. general and commander in chief at Genoa, made marshal in 1748, took the island of Minorca from the English in 1756.

Rochefort (Henry Lewis, marquis of Alongni, and marquis of) made marshal in 1675; died in 1676.

Roquelaure (Anthony Gaston John Baptist, duke of) made marshal in 1724.

Rosen (Conrad de) general to James II. in Ireland, made marshal in 1703, died in 1715.

Saint-Luc (Timoleon d'Epinaï de) son to the valiant Saint-Luc, whose panegyric is to be found in Brantome. He was made marshal in 1628, died in 1644.

Schamberg (Frederick Armand) was bred up under Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, made marshal in 1675, duke of Mertola in Portugal, governor and generalissimo of Prussia, duke and general in England. He was a zealous protestant, and quitted France upon the

revocation of the edict of Nantz. He was killed at the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

Schulembourg (John de) count of Mondejeau, a native of Prussia, made marshal in 1658; died in 1671.

Tallard (Camillus d'Ostun, duke of). He concluded the two Treaties of Partition, was made marshal of France in 1703, minister of state in 1726, and died in 1728.

Teffé (René de Frouillai) made marshal in 1703, died in 1725.

× *Turenne* (Henry de la Tour, viscount of) born in 1611, made marshal of France in 1644, field-marshal-general in 1660; died in 1675.

× *Vauban* (Sebastian le Prêtre, marquis of) made marshal in 1703, died in 1707.

× *Villars* (Lewis Claudio, duke of) who took the name of Hector, made marshal in 1702, president of the council of war in 1718, represented the constable of France at the coronation of Lewis XV. in 1722, and died in 1734.

× *Villeroi* (Nicholas de Nieuville, duke of) governor to Lewis XIV. 1646, made marshal the same year, and died in 1685.

× *Villeroi* (Francis de Nieuville, duke of) son to the former, governor to Lewis XV. made marshal in 1693. His father and himself were chiefs of the council of the finances; a title without office, but which gave them a right to a seat in the king's council. He died in 1730.

Vivonne (Lewis-Victor de Rochechouart, duke of) gonfalonier, or great standard-bearer to the church, general of the gallies, viceroy of Messina, and marshal of France in 1675. He is not reckoned the principal marshal of the navy,

as he served a considerable time by land. He died in 1688.

D'Uxelles (Nicholas Chalon du Blé, marquis) made marshal in 1703, and president of the council for foreign affairs in 1718. He died in 1730.

Great Admirals of France in the Reign of Lewis XIV.

Armand de Maillé, marquis of Brezé, made grand-master, chief, and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce, in France, in 1643; was killed at sea by a cannon-ball, June 14, 1646.

Anne of Austria, queen-regent of France, superintendant of the French seas in 1646, resigned in 1650.

Cæsar, duke of Vendome, and of Beaufort, made grand-master and superintendant-general of navigation and commerce in France in 1650.

Francis de Vendome, duke of Beaufort, son to Cæsar, was killed at the battle of Candy, June 25, 1679.

Lewis of Bourbon, count of Vermandois, legitimated son of France, made admiral in the month of August 1669, when only two years of age; died in 1683.

Lewis Alexander of Bourbon, legitimated son of France, count of Toulouse; made admiral in 1683, died in 1737.

Generals of the Gallies of France.

Armand, John du Pleffis, duke of Richelieu, peer of France, made in 1643, during the life-

178 GENERALS, CHANCELLORS.

time of Francis his father, resigned this post in 1661, and was succeeded by

Francis, marquis of Crequy, who likewise resigned in 1669, a year after being named marshal of France.

Lewis Victor de Rochechouart, count and afterwards duke of Vivonne, prince of Tonnai-Charente; made in 1669.

Lewis de Rochechouart, duke of Mortemar, in reversion from his father, died April 3, 1688.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, legitimated son of France, prince of Dombes, duke of Maine and Aumale; made in 1688, resigned in 1694.

Lewis Joseph, duke of Vendome, made in 1694, died in 1712.

René, Sire de Frouillai, count of Tessé, made marshal of France in 1712, and resigned in 1716.

The chevalier D'Orleans, made in 1716, died in 1748. Since his death, this dignity has been united to the Admiralty.

Chancellors.

Charles de L'Aubepine, de Chateaufort, keeper of the seals, died in 1653

Peter Segurier 1672

Matthew Molé, keeper of the seals 1656

Stephen D'Aligre 1677

Michael le Tellier 1685

Lewis Boucherat 1699

Lewis Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, died

in 1727, continued in office till 1714

Daniel Francis Voisin 1717

Ministers.

Julius Mazarin, cardinal, prime-minister, died in 1661

Superintendants of the Finances.

Cl. Bouthillier, died in	1651
Abel Servien	1659
Cl. de Mesmes, count D'Avaux	1650
Nicholas Bailleul	1652
Charles de la Nieuville	1653
Emeri, (his name was Michael Perticelli)	
René de Longueil de Maisons	1677
Nicholas Fouquet *	1680

Secretaries of State.

Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de Brienne, died in	1666
Cl. Bouthillier, superintendant of the finances	1651
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere	1681
Abel Servien, superintendant of the finances	1659
Leon Bouthillier de Chavigni	1652
Fr. Sublet des Noyers, superintendant of the buildings	1645
H. de Guenegaud de Planci	1676
Michael le Tellier, chancellor	1685
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, resigned in	1669
Hugh de Lionne	1671
Henry Lewis de Lomenie de Brienne	1683
John Baptist Colbert, comptroller-general	1683
John Baptist Colbert de Seignelai	1690

† When this man was arrested, the office of superintendant of the finances was suppressed.

Fr. Michael le Tellier de Louvois	1691
Ch. Colbert de Croiffi	1696
Simon Arnauld de Pomponne	1699
Baltheazar Phelipeaux de Chateauneuf	1700
Lewis Francis Mary le Tellier de Barbe- fieux	1701
Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, chan- cellor	1727
Dan. Fr. Voisin, chancellor	1717
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere	1725
Michael Chamillard, comptroller-general of the finances	1721
Jerom Phelipeaux de Pontchartrain, re- signed in 1715, died in	1747
John Baptist Colbert de Torci	1746

C H A P. CCXIV.

A CATALOGUE of most of the French Writers who flourished in the Age of Lewis XIV. to serve towards the Literary History of that Age.

*A*Badie (James) was born in Bearn in 1558. He was celebrated for his Treatise upon the Christian Religion; but he afterwards hurt the reputation of that work by another, called the Opening of the seven Seals. He died in Ireland in 1727.

Abadie, or *L'Abadie*, (John) was born in the province of Guienne in 1610. He was first a Jesuit, then a Jansenist, and afterwards a Protestant; and at last wanted to form a sect of his own, and unite with La Bourignon, who made him this reply, "That every one had their particular share of the holy spirit, and that her's was greatly superior to his." He has left thirty-one volumes of fanatical writings. I have given him a place here only as an example of the weakness of human understanding. He was not, however, without his disciples. He died at Altena in 1674.

Ablancourt (Nicholas Perrot d'), of an ancient family, of the parliament of Paris, was born at Vitri in 1606. He was an elegant translator, and every one of his performances of this kind was called the Beautiful Infidel. He died poor in 1664.

Acheri (Luke d'), a Benedictine monk: he was a great and judicious compiler: he was born in 1609, and died in 1685.

Alexan-

Alexander (Noel), a Dominican, born at Rouen in 1639. He was author of many theological pieces; and had great disputes, concerning the Chinese customs, with the Jesuits that returned from thence: he died in 1724.

Amelot de la Houssaie (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1634. His translation with political notes, and his historical writings, are greatly sought after; but his alphabetical Memoirs are very faulty. He was the first who ever furnished a true idea of the Venetian government. The senate took umbrage at his history, being still prepossessed with the old mistaken notion, that there are certain political mysteries which ought not to be revealed. Since then, however, it has been discovered that there are no such mysteries, and that true policy consists in being rich, and keeping good armies on foot. Amelot translated and commented upon Machiavel's Prince, a work which was long the favourite of petty lords, who disputed for ill governed territories; but became useless at the time that so many mighty princes, always in arms, suppressed the ambitious views of the weaker. Amelot thought himself the greatest politician in Europe; but he could never rise above a middling station, and at length died extremely poor: the reason was, that he was a politician in genius only, and not in character. He died in 1706.

Amelotte (Dionis), born at Saintongue in 1606. He belonged to the oratory: he is principally known by a tolerable good version of the New Testament. He died in 1678.

Amantons (William), born at Paris in 1663: he was an excellent mathematician. He died in 1699.

Ancillon (David) was born at Metz in 1617 : he was a Calvinist, and, together with his son Charles, who died at Berlin in 1715, gained some literary reputation.

Anselm, an Augustin monk. He was the first who compiled a genealogical history of the great officers of the crown, which has been continued and augmented by Du Fourni, auditor of accounts. We have but a very confused notion of what constitutes the great officers of the crown. It is generally thought they are those who bear the title of *great*, in virtue of their office ; as grand master of the horse, and grand cup-bearer : but the constables, the marshals, and the chancellors, are great officers, though they do not bear the title of great ; and there are others who do bear this title, and yet are not reckoned great officers. The captain of the guards, and the first gentleman of the bedchamber, are, in fact, become great officers, though they are not reckoned such by father Anselm. However, there is nothing certain on this head ; and there is as great confusion and uncertainty in regard to all the rights and titles in France, as there is order and regulation in the administration. He died in 1694.

Arnauld (Anthony), a doctor of the Sorbonne, born in 1612, and the twentieth son of that Arnauld who pleaded against the Jesuits. He is universally known for his eloquence, his erudition, and his disputes, which acquired him so much reputation, and made him at the same time so unfortunate, according to our ordinary ideas of things, which place exile and poverty in the number of misfortunes, without reflecting that glory, friends, and an healthy old age, were the

portion of this famous man. It is said, in the supplement to Moreri, that Arnauld, in 1689, in order to ingratiate himself with the court, composed a libel against king William, under the title of "a true Picture of William-Henry of Nassau, the modern Absalom, Herod, Cromwell, and Nero." This stile, which resembles that of father Garasse, is very unlike Arnauld's. Besides, he never entertained a notion of flattering the court. A book with so gross a title would have met with a very bad reception from Lewis XIV. and those who ascribe this work, and the view in which it was written, to the famous Arnauld, are ignorant that writing books was no kind of introduction to that court. This great man died at Brussels in 1694.

Arnauld d'Andilly (Robert), elder brother to the former, was born in 1588. He was one of the great writers of Port-Royal. His translation of Josephus, which is the most esteemed of all his works, was presented by him to Lewis XIV. at the age of 85. He was father of Simon Arnauld, marquis of Pomponne and minister of state, who, notwithstanding his high character and interest, was unable to prevent the disgrace which befel his uncle the doctor of the Sorbonne, on account of his disputes. He died in 1674.

Aubignac (Francis d'). He was born in 1604. He had never any other master but himself: he was attached to cardinal Richelieu; but a great enemy to Corneille. His *Pratique des Theatres*, or Practice of the Stage, still continues to be read; but he plainly proved by his tragedy of Zenobia, that knowledge does not give talents. He died in 1676.

Aubri

Aubri (Anthony) was born in 1616. We have the lives of cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin written by him, which, though indifferent productions in themselves, afford some instruction. He died in 1695.

D'Aunoi (the countess). Her Memoirs and Travels into Spain, together with some romances written in an easy stile, have gained her some reputation. She died in 1705.

D'Auvrigni, the Jesuit. He is author of "A new Method of writing History." We have his "Chronological Annals from the Year 1601 to 1715," in which every thing of importance that passed in Europe, during that space of time, is accurately and concisely related. He is very exact in the dates of his transactions. No writer has ever made a juster distinction between truth, falsehood, and uncertainty. He has likewise composed Ecclesiastical Memoirs; but unhappily they are tainted with a party-spirit. Marcel and he have both been eclipsed by the president Hénaut in his Chronological History of France, which is the most concise, and at the same time the most complete work of the kind ever published, and the most convenient for the reader.

Baillet (Adrian) was born in the neighbourhood of Beauvais in 1649: he was a famous critic. He died in 1706.

Baluze (Stephen), of the Limousin, born in 1631. He formed the collection of MS. in Colbert's library: he continued his labours until the age of eighty-eight. We are indebted to him for seven volumes of ancient Monuments. He suffered exile for defending the pretensions of the cardinal de Bouillon, who imagined himself independent of the king, and founded his pretensions

tensions on being born of a sovereign prince, during the time when that prince was still in possession of Sedan. He died in 1718.

Ba'zac (John Lewis) was born in 1594. He was very eloquent, and the first who founded the prize for eloquence: he had the patent of historiographer of France, and counsellor of state, which he called splendid trifles. He died in 1654.

Barbeirac (John) was born at Beziers in 1674. He was a Calvinist, was professor of law and history at Lausanne, and was the translator and commentator of Puffendorf and Grotius. These treatises upon the laws of nations, and upon peace and war, which have never been serviceable in any treaty of peace, nor in any declaration of war, nor to secure the right of any person, seem to be a consolation to the people for the evils which have been wrought by force and policy, by giving them such an idea of justice as seems, like the portraits of celebrated persons, to shew us those we cannot otherwise see. He died in 1729.

Barbier Darcourt (John), known among the Jesuits by the name of the Advocate Sacrus, and in the world by his Criticism on the Dialogues of Father Bouhours, and by his excellent pleading for a person who was put to the rack. He was a long time protected by Colbert, who made him comptroller of the king's buildings; but having lost his protector, he died in misery in 1694.

Barbier (mademoiselle). This lady wrote several tragedies.

Baron (Michael). The pieces which he published under his own name are thought not to be his: his chief excellence was as a player, in which

which art he rose to a degree of perfection rarely to be found, and that seemed peculiar to himself. The theatric art requires all the gifts of nature, joined to a great understanding and unwearied application; and yet this art do many obstinately contemn. The preachers were frequently wont to come to the house, and sit in a close box, with a grate before it, to study Baron, and afterwards go and declaim against the stage. It is customary for the confessor of a player, who is about to die, to require him to renounce his profession. Baron had quitted the stage in 1691, upon some dislike; and returned to it again in 1720, when he was sixty-eight years old. He continued to be admired as a player until 1729: he was then near seventy-eight, and retired from the stage a second time, and died the same year. On his death-bed he protested, that he had never had the least scruple to repeat before the public the master-pieces of wit and morality of the celebrated writers of the nation; and that he thought nothing could be so absurd as to annex an idea of shame to the repeating that which it was glorious to compose.

Basnage (James) was born at Rouen in 1653. He was a Calvinist, and a pastor at the Hague; but he was fitter to be a minister of state than of a parish. Of all his books, his history of the Jews, of the United Provinces, and of the Church, are the most esteemed. Books on temporary subjects die with the circumstances that gave birth to them, while works of general utility remain for ever. He died in 1723.

Basnage de Beauval (Henry) of Rouen; professed the law in Holland, but was more of a philosopher, and wrote upon Toleration in Religion.

ligion. He was a man of great industry, and published an edition of Furetier's Dictionary with additions. He died in 1710.

Bassompierre (Francis, marshal of). Though his memoirs properly belong to the age preceding that of Lewis XIV. yet we give him a place in this catalogue, as having died in 1646.

Baudran (Michael) was born at Paris in 1633. He was a geographer, but inferior in reputation to Sanson. He died in 1700.

Bayle (Peter) was born at Carlat, in the county of Foix, in 1647. He retired into Holland rather as a philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted in his life-time by Jurieux, and after his death by the enemies to philosophy. Could he have foreseen how universally his Dictionary would be read, he would have made it still more useful, by retrenching obscure and increasing the illustrious names: he is more esteemed for his excellent manner of reasoning than for his style, that being frequently too prolix, loose, and incorrect; and sometimes so familiar as to sink into a degree of lowness: he was rather a great logician than a profound philosopher: he understood scarcely any thing of natural philosophy, and was wholly unacquainted with the discoveries of the great Newton. Almost all his philosophical articles take for granted, or else contradict a Cartesian theory, which has no longer any existence: he knew no other definition of matter than extent: its other acknowledged or supposed properties have at length given birth to true philosophy. There have been new demonstrations and new doubts, so that the sceptical Bayle is in several places not enough of the sceptic: he lived and died

died like a wise man. Des Maiseux has written his life, of which he has made a large volume, whereas it ought not to have exceeded six pages. The life of a sedentary writer is to be found in his works. He died in 1706.

Beaumont de Persefixe (Hardouin) was preceptor to Lewis XIV. and archbishop of Paris. His History of Henry IV. which is only an abridgment, inspires us with a love for that great prince, and is well calculated to form a good king. He composed it for the use of his royal pupil. It was thought that Mezerai had a share in writing it: there is indeed a good deal of his manner in it; but Mezerai was not master of that affecting style in many places so worthy of the prince whose life Persefixe wrote, and of him to whom he addressed it. Those excellent counsels for governing alone were not inserted until the second edition, after the death of cardinal Mazarin. We can form a much juster idea of Henry IV. from a perusal of this history, than from that of Daniel, which is written in a dry manner, and has too much about father Cotton, and too little concerning the great qualities of Henry IV. and the particulars of the life of this excellent king. Persefixe affects every sensible heart, and makes us adore the memory of this prince, whose weaknesses were only those of an amiable man, and whose virtues were those of a great one. He died in 1670.

Beaufobre (Isaac de) was born at Niort in 1659, of a family distinguished in the profession of arms. He was one of those who have done honour to their country, which they have been obliged to quit. His History of Manicheanism is one of the most learned, curious, and best written

written pieces extant : here we find clearly explained the philosophical religion of the Manes, which was formed upon the dogmas of the antient Zoroaster and Hermes, which for a long time seduced St. Augustine himself. This history is enriched with many curious things in antiquity ; but after all, this, like so many other excellent works, is only a collection of human errors. He died at Berlin in 1738.

Benferade (Isaac de) was born in Normandy in 1612. His little house at Gentilli, to which he retired towards the end of his life, was filled with inscriptions in verse, which were of more worth than his other works : it is pity they were never collected. He died in 1691.

Bergier (Nicholas) had the title of historiographer of France ; but he is better known by his curious History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, which are now surpassed by ours in beauty, but not in solidity. His son put the finishing hand to this useful work, and printed it under the reign of Lewis XIV. *Bergier* died in 1623.

Bernard (Mademoiselle) has written some dramatic pieces, in conjunction with the famous Bernard de Fontenelle. It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the allegorical fable of Imagination and Happiness, which has been published under her name, was written by La Parisiere, bishop of Nimes, successor to Fléchier.

Bernard (James) of Dauphiny was born in 1658. He was a man of great learning and knowledge : his journals have been esteemed. He died in Holland in 1718.

Bernier

Bernier (Francis) surnamed the Mogul, was born at Angers about the year 1625. He was eight years physician to the emperor of the Indies : his voyages are curious : he wanted, with Gassendi, to revive in part the Epicurean system of Atoms, in which he was certainly much in the right ; for the species could not be always reproduced alike, unless the first principles were themselves invariable : but at that time the romantic doctrine of Descartes was all the fashion. He died like a true philosopher in 1688.

Bignon (Jerom) born in 1590. He has left a name greater than his works : he lived before the time of good literature. The parliament, to which he was advocate-general, with reason reveres his memory. He died in 1656.

Billaut (Adam) known by the name of Maître Adam, or Master Adam, a joiner of Nevers. We must not suffer so extraordinary a person to go unnoticed, who, without any learning, became a poet in his shop : nor can we pass over the following rondeaux of his, which is much better than many of Benferade's.

*Pour te guérir de cette sciatique,
Qui te retient, comme un paralitique,
Entre deux draps sans aucun mouvement,
Pren moi deux brocs d'un fin jus de sarment ;
Puis li comment on le met en pratique.
Prends-en deux doigts, Et bien chauds les applique
Sur l'épiderme où la douleur te pique,
Et tu boiras le reste promptement,
Pour te guérir.
Sur cet avis ne sois point hérétique ;
Car je te fais un serment authentique,
Que si tu crains ce doux médicament,*

Ton

*Ton Médecin pour ton soulagement
Fera l'essai de ce qu'il communique,
Pour te guérir.*

To cure thee of that curs'd arthritic,
Which keeps thee like a paralytic,
Between two sheets depriv'd of motion,
Provide two flasks of sov'reign potion,
The grape's best juice, that grand specific
Part warm apply, thy pains terrific
Will fly before its pow'r pacific;
Then drink the rest with pure devotion;
And this will cure thee.

But, if in faith thou'rt not prolific,
To make it still more scientific,
Thy doctor shall confirm this notion,
And drink it up, were it an ocean,
To prove its virtue sudorific;
I can assure thee.

He had pensions both from cardinal Richelieu and Gaston brother to Lewis XIII. He died in 1662.

Bochart (Samuel) was born at Rouen in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the most learned men in Europe for languages and history: he was one of those who went to Sweden at once to instruct and admire the famous queen Christina. He died in 1667.

Boileau Despreaux (Nicholas) of the academy. He was born in the village of Crone, in the neighbourhood of Paris, in 1636: he made his first essay at the bar, and afterwards entered into the college of the Sorbonne: but alike displeased with the tricks of both, he gave himself up entirely to the impulse of his genius, and became

the honour of France. His works have been already so much commented upon, that any panegyric here would be superfluous. He died in 1711.

Boileau (Giles) born at Paris in 1631. He was the elder brother of the famous Boileau. There are some translations of his which are of more worth than his verses. He died in 1669.

Boileau (James) another elder brother of Despreaux, and a doctor of the Sorbonne. He had a whimsical genius, and wrote some pieces of an extraordinary kind, in as extraordinary Latin, namely, *The History of the Flagellantes*, or Floggers; *Les Attouchemens Impudiques*, the Lascivious Touches; *Les Habits des Prêtres*, the Priests Dresses, &c. He died in 1716.

Boisrobert (Francis le Metel) more famous for being a favourite of cardinal Richelieu, and for his good fortune, than for his merit: he composed eighteen dramatic pieces, which met with no favour but from his patron. He died in 1662.

Boivin (John) was born in Normandy in 1633, was brother to Lewis Boivin, and like him furnished lights for the better understanding the Greek writers. He died in 1726.

Du Bos (the Abbé.) His history of the League of Cambray, is a learned, political, and interesting work. It gives an insight into the customs and manners of these times, and may justly be esteemed a model in this kind of writing: his reflections on poetry, painting, and music, are read with emolument by all artists. It is the most useful performance of the kind that has appeared on those subjects in any nation of Europe. The chief excellence of this work is, that with a very

few errors, it abounds with just, new, and learned reflections. It is not a methodical work; but the author thinks himself, and teaches his readers to think. With all that, he was ignorant of music, he never wrote a line of poetry, and did not possess a single picture: but he had read, seen, heard, and reflected a great deal. He died in 1742.

Bossu (René le) a regular canon of St. Genevieve. He was born at Paris in 1631: he attempted to reconcile Aristotle and Descartes, without reflecting that both the one and the other ought to be thrown aside: his treatise on epic poetry is in great reputation; but it will never form poets. He died in 1680.

Bossuet (James Benignus) of Dijon, was born in 1627: he was bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux. We have fifty-one different pieces of his writing; but his Funeral Orations, and his Discourse on Universal History, are the works that have immortalized his name. It has been several times asserted in print, that this bishop was married, and that St. Hyacinthus, who was famous for the share he had in the little joke of Matanaius, passed for his son; but there never was any proof of this. A family of eminence in Paris, which has produced several persons of distinguished merit, affirm, that there was a private contract of marriage between Bossuet, when very young, and one *mademoiselle des Vieux*; that this lady made a sacrifice of her passions and hopes to the interest of her lover, whose eloquence bid fair to procure him considerable advancement in the church, and consented to give up the contract, as the marriage had not been consummated; that Bos-

suet, released from his engagements, entered into holy orders; and that after his death this family had the settling of this affair, and declare that the lady never made an ill use of the dangerous secrets she was mistress of: she always lived in a chaste and respectful friendship with the bishop of Meaux, who enabled her to purchase the little estate of Maulion, about five leagues distant from Paris, of which she took the title, and lived to almost the age of an hundred. It is moreover pretended that this great man's sentiments as a philosopher were different from what he taught as a divine, like a learned magistrate, who at the same time that he gives sentence, according to the letter of the law, may in private rise superior to it by the force of his genius. He died in 1704.

Bouchenu de Valbormais (John Peter) was born at Grenoble in 1651: he made several voyages in the early part of his life, and was on board the English fleet at the sea-fight off Solebay: he was afterwards president of the chamber of accounts in Dauphiny: his memory is still held dear by the inhabitants of Grenoble, for the good he did in that place, and to all men of learning for his noble enquiries: he composed his Memoirs of Dauphiny when he was blind, from what was read to him. He died in 1730.

Bouhier. The author of several natural pieces of poetry. When he was dying, at the age of eighty-six, he made this epitaph for himself:

J'étais poëte, historien;

Et maintenant, je ne suis rien.

Once poet and historian, I,

Now dust, in dark oblivion, lie.

Boubier, president of the parliament of Dijon: he is famous for his erudition: he translated some passages of the antient Latin poets into French verse, being of opinion that this was the only good way of translating them; but his poetry shews the difficulty of such an undertaking.

Bouhours (Dominic) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1628. The French language and good taste owe him many obligation: he was author of several very good pieces, which gave birth to some excellent criticisms: *ex privatis odiis res publica crescit*. His Life of St. Ignatius de Loyola did not greatly please the generality of readers; and that of St. Francis Xavier underwent some strictures; but his remarks on language, and above all his Method of judging rightly of Works of Genius, will be always of use to young people, who are desirous of forming their taste: he teaches them to avoid bombast, obscurity, far fetched and false thoughts. If he passes sentence somewhat too severely upon certain passages of Tasso, and other Italian authors, he as often condemns them justly: his stile is pure and pleasing. The little tract abovementioned greatly offended the Italians, and brought on a kind of national quarrel. It was thought, that the opinion of father Bouhours, which was strengthened by that of Boileau, might come to be a kind of law. The marquis d'Orsi, and some others, composed two very large volumes in defence of some of Tasso's verses: but here let it be remarked, that father Bouhours would have had very little right to reproach the Italian writers with their false thoughts, who himself compares Ignatius Loyola to Cæsar, and Francis Xavier

Xavier to Alexander, only that he was very seldom guilty of these faults.

Bouillaud (Ishmael) of Loudoun, was born in 1605: he was learned in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

Boulainvilliers (the count of) of the house of Crouy: the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history, and the most capable of writing that of France, had he not been too systematical. He calls the antient feudal government the Master-piece of Human Genius: he regrets those times in which the people, enslaved by ignorant and brutal petty tyrants, were without industry, commerce, or property; and is of opinion, that an hundred lords, the oppressors of the earth, and the enemies of their prince, composed the most perfect of all governments. Notwithstanding this wild hypothesis he was an excellent citizen, as, notwithstanding his weakness for judicial astrology, he was an able philosopher, so far as it is part of a philosopher to hold life for nothing, and despise death. There is printed at the end of his works, A large scheme for rendering the king of France richer than all the other Monarchs of the World. But it is plain that this piece is not the count de Boulainvilliers. He died about the year 1720.

Bourdaloue, was born at Bourges in 1632: he was a Jesuit, and the chief model for all good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

Boursault (Edmund) was born in Burgundy in 1638: his letters to Babet, which were much esteemed at the time he wrote them, are become like all other epistolary writings in that taste, the amusement of young country people:

his comedy of *Æsop* is still played. He died in 1701.

Bourseis (Amable) was born in Auvergne in 1606: he was author of several works of politics and controversy. Silhon and he are suspected of composing the Political Testament, said to have been made by cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1672.

Brœuf (William) was born in Normandy in 1638: he is known by his translation of the *Phædria*; but it is not so generally known that he was the author of *Lucan travesti*. He died in 1661.

Bréteuil, Marchioness du Chatelet (Gabriel Emilia) was born in 1706. She illustrated the writings of Leibnitz, and translated Newton with comments; a merit which was of little use to her at court, but which gained her the veneration of every nation that had a love for learning, who admired her depth of genius and eloquence. Of all the women who have adorned France, she had the greatest share of true understanding, and affected the least to be thought a wit. She died in 1749.

Brienne (Henry-Augustus de Lomenie de), secretary of state: he has left some memoirs. It would be useful for ministers of state to compose memoirs; but then they should be such as those which have been lately collected under the name of the duke of Sully. He died in 1666.

La Bruyere (John) was born at Dourdain in 1644. It is certain, that in his *Characters* he has given us the portraits of several well-known and considerable personages. This work has occasioned a great many bad imitators. He died in 1696.

De Bruis (the abbé) was born in Languedoc in 1639. Although the author of ten volumes of controversy, his name would have been buried in oblivion; but his petit piece called *Le Grondeur* (the Grumbler), which is far superior to any of Moliere's farces, and the Advocate Patelin, an ancient monument of the true Gaulish simplicity revived by him, will make him known as long as there is a stage in France. He was assisted by Palaprat in these two pretty pieces. These are the only works of genius that were ever composed by two authors jointly. He died in 1723.

I cannot close this article without taking notice of a very extraordinary event, to be met with in the Collection of literary Anecdotes, printed by Durand in 1650, vol. ii. p. 369, where the author tells us, "the Amours of Lewis XIV. having been introduced in a play upon the English stage, Lewis was willing, in return, to exhibit those of king William upon the French theatre; and the abbé de Bruis was ordered by the marquis de Torci to write a piece upon this subject, which he did; but though it was greatly applauded by those who saw it in MS. it was never performed."

Here let it be observed, that this Collection of Anecdotes, which is full of the like tales, is printed with approbation and privilege. Now the amours of Lewis XIV. were never made the subject of a piece played on the English stage; and it is well known, that king William had never any mistress; or, if he had, Lewis XIV. knew too well what he owed to good-breeding to order any one to write a comedy upon William's amours: M. de Torci was not a person

to make so impertinent a proposal; and, in short, the abbé de Bruis never thought of writing so ridiculous a piece as that ascribed to him. It cannot be too often repeated, that the greatest part of the collections of anecdotes, *anas*, and secret memoirs, with which the public is over-run, are only wretched compilations, patched up in a hurry, to answer the purposes of indigent or mercenary scribblers.

Brumoi (the Jesuit). His Greek Theatre passes for one of the best works of the kind: he has shewn by his poetry, that it is much easier to translate and praise the antients, than to equal the celebrated moderns by productions of one's own. This author is likewise chargeable with not having had a sufficient idea of the superiority of the French stage over that of the Greeks, and the prodigious difference between the Misanthrope of Moliere and the Frogs of Aristophanes.

Brun (Peter le) was born at Aix in 1661. He belonged to the Oratory. His critical treatise on Superstitious Practices has been greatly esteemed; but he is a physician who gives an account of a very few diseases only, and is himself much disordered. He died in 1729.

Buffier (Claud), a Jesuit. His Artificial Memory is of very great service to those who are desirous of retaining the principal events of history always fresh in their minds: he has made that use of verse (I will not say poetry) for which it was originally intended; namely, to imprint on the mind those events which men are desirous of remembering.

Buffy Rabutin (Roger, count of), was born in the Nivernois in 1618. He wrote with purity: his

his misfortunes and his productions* are sufficiently known : he died at Autun in 1693.

Cailly (the chevalier de), known only by the name of *Acceilly* : he was devoted to the service of the minister Colbert. The time of his birth and death are alike unknown. There is a collection of his of some hundreds of epigrams, amongst which there are several very bad, and some tolerably pretty : he wrote naturally, but without any imagination in his expression.

Calprenede (Walter de la) was born at Cahors, about the year 1612. He was one of the gentlemen in ordinary to the king : he was the first who brought long romances into fashion. The merit of these consisted in a number of adventures, the intrigue of which was artfully enough conducted, and, though incredible, not altogether impossible. Boyardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, on the contrary, loaded their poetic romances with fictions entirely unnatural ; but the charms of their versification, the innumerable beauties of the detail, and the admirable allegories, especially those of Ariosto, altogether, have made their poems immortal ; while the works of La Calprenede, like most other great romance-

* The source of his disgrace was a book which he wrote, called the *Amorous History of the Gauls*, containing the most remarkable amours of the age. The piece was not intended for the press ; but was presented in manuscript to the king, who was so much incensed, that he sent the author to the Bastile. The count himself pretended, that it was altered, garbled, and interpolated in a shocking manner before it was produced to his majesty. He made great efforts to obtain the king's forgiveness ; and, being released from the Bastile, was exiled to his own house in the country, where he lived to a good old age, without ever being able to retrieve the good graces of his master.

writers, are sunk in estimation. What has chiefly contributed to their fall, is the great perfection in the stage is arrived at. In a good tragedy, or a good opera, we meet with a much greater number of sentiments than are to be found in all these enormous volumes: these sentiments are at the same time much better expressed, and there appears a much clearer knowledge of the human heart. Thus Racine and Quinault, who have given a little into the stile of these romances, have contributed to obliterate them by speaking more truly to the heart, and in a manner more tender and harmonious. He died in 1663.

Campistron (John) was born at Toulouse in 1656. He was a pupil and imitator of Racine. The duke of Vendome, whose secretary he was, made his fortune; and Baron the player, in part, his reputation. There are some affecting strokes in his pieces, though they are in general but weakly written: however, the language is pure; and since his time this requisite has been so much neglected in our theatrical pieces, that at length the stile is become almost barbarous. This is what Boileau greatly lamented at his death. He died in 1723.

Du Cange (Charles du Fresne) was born at Amiens in 1610. His two Glossaries are well known for being of the greatest use towards understanding the customs of the latter empire, and the following ages. He was one of those who was rewarded by Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

Cassandre. He and Dacier have done more service to the reputation of Aristotle, than all the pretended philosophers together. He translated his treatise on Rhetoric, as well as Dacier has done

done the treatise on Poetry, of that famous Greek; and we cannot but admire Aristotle, and the age of Alexander, when we find that the preceptor of that great man, who has been so much decried for his natural philosophy, was intimately acquainted with the principles of eloquence and poetry. Where is the naturalist of our age capable of giving rules at the same time for an oration and a tragedy? Cassandre lived and died in a state of extreme poverty. This was not owing to the want of talents; but to a stubborn, morose, and unsociable disposition. Many who complain of the unkindness of fortune have often only themselves to blame.

Cassini (John-Dominick) was born in the county of Nice in 1625, and was invited to France by Colbert in 1666. He was the first astronomer of his age; but he began, like all others, by the study of astrology. As he was naturalized in France, and married and had children there, and died at Paris, he may justly be accounted in the number of Frenchmen. He has rendered his name immortal by his meridional clock of St. Petrona at Boulogne, which shews the variations in the swiftness of the earth's motion round the sun. He was the first who demonstrated, by the parallax of the planet Mars, that the sun is at least thirty-three millions of miles distant from the earth. He foretold the path described by the comet of 1664: he likewise discovered the five satellites of Saturn, of which Huyghens had seen only one; and this discovery of Cassini's was celebrated in an historical medal of Lewis XIV. He died in 1712.

Catrou was born in 1659. He was a Jesuit, and, in conjunction with father Rouillé, com-

posed twenty volumes of the Roman History, in which, for the sake of eloquence, they have neglected exactness. He died in 1737.

Du Cerceau (John-Anthony) was born in 1670. He was a Jesuit. In his French poetry, which is but of the middling kind, there are some verses natural and happily turned. He has intermixed the purity of style of the age he wrote in, with something in the manner of Marot; a style which, by its too great negligence, enervates poetry, and spoils the present language, by introducing antiquated words and terms. He died in 1730.

Cerisi (Germain-Habert). He lived in the dawn of good taste, at the time when the French academy was first established. His *Metamorphosis of Phillis's Eyes into Stars* was cried up as a master piece; but ceases to be so, since the appearance of so many excellent writers. He died in 1655.

La Chambre (Marin Cureau de). He was born at Mons in 1594: he was one of the first members of the academy: he died in 1669. Both he and his son had some share of reputation.

Chantereau (Lewis le Fevre) was born in 1588. He was a man of great learning, and one of the first who cleared up the history of France; but he has given sanction to a great error, namely, that the hereditary fiefs did not begin until after the reign of Hugh Capet; whereas, if we regard only the example of Normandy, which was given, or rather extorted, by the title of an hereditary fief in 912, it will be sufficient to overthrow the opinion of Chantereau, which has been adopted by several historians. It is moreover certain, that feudal honours, with property,
were

were instituted in France by Charlemagne, and that this form of government was known before his time in Lombardy and Germany. Chante-reau died in 1658.

Chapelain (John) was born in 1595. Had it not been for his Pucelle, (or Maid of Orleans), he would have had some reputation in the literary world: he got more, however, by that wretched poem than Homer did by his Iliad. Chapelain was nevertheless of some use by his learning. It was he who corrected Racine's first poetical attempts. At his first setting out, he was the oracle of all poets, and at length became their disgrace: he died in 1674.

La Chapelle, receiver-general of the finances, author of some tragedies, which had success in their time. He was one of those who endeavoured to imitate Racine; for this great writer, like the great masters in painting, formed a school without knowing it. This Raphael in poetry did not, however, form a Julio Romano; and yet some of his first disciples wrote with tolerable purity of language; whereas, in the decline which followed, we have seen, even in our time, whole tragedies, in which there are not four lines together without some gross faults.

Chapelle (Claude Huillier), natural son to de l'Huillier, master of accounts. It is not true that he was the first who made use of double rhimes: d'Assouci used them before him, and even with some success.

*Pourquoi donc, sexe au teint de rose,
Quand la charité vous impose
La loi d'aimer votre prochain,
Pouvez-vous me haïr sans cause,*

Moi

*Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien ?
Eh ! pour mon honneur je vois bien
Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose.*

Ah ! sex, by nature form'd to please,
When charity this law decrees,
That one another we should love :
Can you thus hate with so much ease,
Me who am harmless as a dove ?
I find, mine honour to approve,
I must do something more than tease.

Chapelle had more success than others in that kind of verse which requires grace and harmony; but even here he frequently prefers a barren abundance of rhimes to the thought and turn. His voluptuous manner of living, and the few pretensions he made, contributed greatly to the fame of his little pieces. It is known, that in his Voyage to Montpellier there are many strokes of Bachaumont, son to the president le Coineux, one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was moreover one of the best pupils of the famous Gassendi: however, we shall always distinguish between the encomiums that so many men of letters have bestowed on Chapelle, and geniuses of his stamp, and those which are given to great masters. He died in 1686.

Chardin (John) was born at Paris in 1643. No traveller has left more curious memoirs. He died at London in 1713.

Charleval (John Faucon de Ris). He was one of those who acquired reputation by a delicacy of genius, without making it too public.

The famous dialogue between marechal d'Hocquincourt and father Canaye, printed at the end

of

of St. Evremont's works, was written by Charleval, as far as the little dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which was added by St. Evremont. The stile of this latter part is very different from that of the beginning. The late monsieur de Caumartin, counsellor of state, was in possession of Charleval's own MS. We are told in Moreri, that the president de Ris, nephew to Charleval, would not suffer his uncle's works to be printed, lest the name of an author should happen to prove a disgrace to the family. A man must be very meanly bred, and very weak, to advance any thing of this nature in the present age; and in a person of the long robe it would have been an instance of pride, worthy only of the times of military ignorance and barbarism, when study was left wholly to those of the robe, through a contempt for both the one and the other.

Charpentier (Francis) was born at Paris in 1620. He was a useful academic. We have a translation of the *Cyropædia* by him: he was a strenuous defender of the opinion, that our public monumental inscriptions in France should be in the French language. In fact, it is degrading a language, which is now spoken through all Europe, to be diffident of using it; and it is acting counter to the intention to speak to a whole people in a tongue that is unintelligible, to at least three fourths of them. There is a kind of cruelty in latinizing French names, and as it may mislead posterity, and the names of Rocroi and Fontenoi have a more pleasing sound than those of Rocrosum and Fonteniacum. He died in 1702.

La Châtre (Edme, marquis of) He has left some memoirs. He died in 1645:

Cha-

Chaulieu (William) was born in Normandy in 1639: he is well known for his easy and negligent way of writing verse, and for the bold and sensual beauties found in them. Most of his verses breath the spirit of freedom, pleasure, and a philosophy superior to vulgar prejudice: this was his real character: he lived in pleasure, and died with intrepidity in 1720.

Cheminais, a Jesuit: he was called the Racine of preachers, and Bourdaloue the Corneille.

Cheron (Elizabeth) was born at Paris in 1648. She was famous for her knowledge of music, painting, and poetry, and was better known by her own name than by that of her husband, the sieur le Hay. She died in 1711.

Chevreau (Urban) was born at Loudoun in 1613: he was in much reputation as a learned man, and a great wit. He died in 1701.

Chifflet (John-James) was born at Besancon in 1588. There are several Enquiries written by him. He died in 1660. There have been seven authors of this name.

Choisi (Francis de) was born at Rouen in 1644: he was envoy at Siam, and has left us an account of that embassy: he composed several historical pieces, and a translation of the Imitation of Jesus Christ, dedicated to madame de Maintenon, with this motto; *Concupiscet rex decorem tuum*: as also the Memoirs of the Countess des Barres, which countess is himself; he having worn the dress, and lived as a woman for several years: he made a purchase of an estate near Tours, under the name of the countess des Barres. In these Memoirs he relates freely the many mistresses he had under this disguise. Whilst he led this life he wrote the

History

History of the church. In his Memoirs of the Court we meet with several facts, of which some are true, some false, and many taken upon trust; they are wrote in rather too familiar a stile.

Claude (John) was born in Agenois, in 1619. He was minister of Charenton, and was the pride of his sect. He was worthy of being the rival of Bossuet, Arnauld, and Nicole. He composed fifteen pieces, which were all greedily sought after in those times of disputation. Polemical writings have all but their stated time; but the Fables of la Fontaine, and the Works of Ariosto, will be handed down to the latest posterity. Five or six thousand volumes of controversy are already buried in oblivion. This writer died at the Hague, in 1687.

Le Cointe (Charles) was born at Troies, in 1611. He belonged to the oratory. His Ecclesiastical Annals, printed at the Louvre by order of the king, are useful monuments in their kind. He died in 1681.

Collet (Philibert) was born at Dombes in 1643. He was a civilian, and a free thinker. Being excommunicated by the bishop of Lyons, on account of a parish quarrel, he wrote against the sentence. He opposed the confinement of women in cloisters, and, in his treatise on usury, he argues strongly in support of the custom established at Bresse, of stipulating the interest with the principal, a custom adopted by the greatest part of Europe, and followed by most of the trading part of the rest, notwithstanding the laws to the contrary, which are easily evaded. He likewise affirms, that the

tithes

tithes paid to churchmen do not belong to them by divine right. He died in 1718.

Colomiez (Paul). The time of his birth is not known. His works begin to sink into oblivion, but they are useful to those who are fond of literary enquiries. He died at London in 1692.

Commire (the Jesuit). He was in reputation amongst those who think that good Latin verses may be made at present, and that foreigners are capable of reviving the Augustan age, in a language they are not even able to pronounce.

In silvam ne ligna feras.

Cordemoi (Gerald) was born at Paris. The learned world is obliged to him for having cleared up the confused accounts of the first races of the kings of France, and indebted to the duke of Montausier for this useful undertaking; who set him about writing the history of Charlemagne, for the use of Monseigneur the dauphin, of whom he had the education. He met with nothing but absurdities and contradictions in our old French historians; however the difficulty served to encourage him, and he cleared up the two first races. He died in 1684.

Corneille (Peter) was born at Rouen in 1606. Though at present only six or seven of his pieces are played, yet he will always be the father of the stage. He is the first who raised the genius of the nation, and that is sufficient to gain pardon for about twenty of his pieces, which, except in a very few places, are the worst that we have, both for stile, barrenness of intrigue, and insipid and misplaced amours; and by a heap of wire-

wire-drawn conversations, which are the reverse of true tragedy. But we are to judge of a great man only by his excellencies, and not by his faults. It is said that his translation of the *Imitation of Christ* went through thirty-two editions; this however is as difficult to believe, as it is to read one of them. He received a gratification from the king in his last illness; he died in 1684.

It is said in several printed collections of anecdotes, that he had a particular place set apart for him at the play-house, and that, whenever he came in, every body rose and received him with a clap. Unhappily, mankind are not so ready to do justice to merit. The real truth is, that the king's comedians refused to play his eight last pieces, and he was obliged to give them to another company.

Cornille (Thomas) was born at Rouen in 1625. He would have gained great reputation, if he had not had a brother. There are thirty-four dramatic pieces of his. He died poor, in the year 1709.

Cousin (Lewis) was born at Paris in 1517. He was president of the court of Coins. We are indebted to him for several translations from the Greek historians, which were not known before. He died in 1707.

The baron *des Coutiers* translated *Lucretius* in prose, with commentary-notes, about the middle of the reign of Lewis XIV. He was of the same way of thinking with that philosopher, in relation to most of the first principles of things. He believed matter to be eternal, as did all the ancients. The Christian religion has alone opposed this doctrine.

Dacier

Dacier, (Andrew) was born at Castres in 1651. He was originally a Calvinist, as well as his wife, and, like her, became afterwards a Roman catholic. He was keeper of the books in the king's cabinet of Paris, a post which no longer subsists. He was rather a learned man than an elegant writer; but his translations and notes will always be of use. He died in the Louvre, in 1722.

Danchet. (Anthony) He succeeded in some few operas, by the assistance of the musician, and they are rather better than his tragedies.

Dancourt, (Florence Carton) the advocate, was born in 1622, and chose rather to apply himself to the stage than the bar. What Regnard was for high comedy, with regard to Moliere, Dancourt was for farce. Several of his pieces still bring crowded houses; they are full of life, and the dialogue is simple and natural. The number of these easy pieces of composition is immense: they better suit the taste of the people, than delicate minds, but amusement is one of the wants of mankind; and this kind of comedy, which is so easy to play, pleases, both in Paris and in the provinces, the majority, who are not capable of tasting more refined pleasures. He died in 1726.

Danet (Peter) was one of those writers who are more useful than celebrated. His dictionaries of the Latin language and of antiquities, were in the number of those remarkable books composed for the education of Monseigneur the dauphin, which, if they did not make a learned man of that prince, contributed not a little to the instruction of the kingdom. He died in 1709.

Dangeau

Dangeau (Lewis abbé de) was born in 1643. He was an excellent academic. He died in 1723.

Daniel (Gabriel) a Jesuit. He was historiographer of France, and has rectified the mistakes of *Mezeray*, concerning the first and second races of our kings. It is alledged against him, that his diction is not always sufficiently pure; that his stile is poor and uninteresting; that he is not lively in his descriptions; that he has not given sufficient insight into customs, manners, and laws; and that his history is a tedious detail of military operations, in which an historian of his character is almost always mistaken.

The count of *Boulainvilliers*, in his memoirs on the French government, says, that *Daniel* is guilty of a thousand errors. This is saying a great deal; but luckily those errors are of as little consequence as the real truths would have been in their room; for, of what importance is it, to know whether it was the right or the left wing that gave way at the battle of *Montléri*, or by what part *Lewis the Fat* entered the ruins of *Puifet*? A member of society is desirous of knowing by what steps the government came to change its form, what were the several privileges and encroachments of the different bodies, what was done by the general estates, what was the spirit of the nation, &c. Father *Daniel's* history, with all its faults, is still the best that is to be found, at least till the reign of *Lewis XI.* He pretends, in his preface, that the early periods of the history of France are more interesting than those of *Rome*, because *Cloris* and *Dagobert* possessed larger territories than *Romulus* and *Tarquin*. He was
not

not aware, that the weak beginnings of all great things are interesting to mankind; we are fond of beholding the trifling reign of a nation, to whom France was but a province, and that extended its empire to the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger. It might be acknowledged, that our history, and that of other nations, from the fifth century of the vulgar æra to the fifteenth, is only a chaos of barbarous adventures, under barbarous names.

Dargonne (Noël) was born at Paris in 1634. He was a Carthusian friar at Gaillon, and the only one of his order who ever cultivated literature. His miscellanies, published under the name of Vigneul de Marville, are full of curious and bold anecdotes. He died in 1704.

Descartes, (René) born at Touraine in 1596, was son to a counsellor of the parliament of Brittany. He was the greatest mathematician of his time, but a philosopher who knew the least of nature, when compared with those who came after him. He passed the greatest part of his life out of France, that he might pursue his philosophical studies more at liberty, in imitation of Saumaïse, who took the like step; but he was disappointed of the quiet he thought to find in a retirement in Holland. Two professors of the balderdash school divinity, taught at that time, the one named Voet, and the other Shockius, brought the ridiculous charge of atheism against him, with which almost every philosopher has been branded by contemptible writers. It availed him nothing that he had exhausted his genius in collecting proofs of the existence of a God, and in searching for new ones. His enemies compared him to Vanini,
in

in one of the pieces they published against him ; not that Vanini was really an atheist, the contrary has been demonstrated ; but he was burnt as such, and they could not have made a more shocking comparison. Descartes found great difficulty to obtain a very slight satisfaction, by a decree of the academy of Groningen. His Meditations, his Discourse on Method, are still in esteem ; his natural philosophy is entirely fallen, being founded neither on geometry nor experiments. He was a long time in possession of so prodigious a reputation, that la Fontaine, who knew nothing of the matter, indeed, but was the echo of the public voice, said of him,

*Descartes ce mortel dont on eût fait un Dieu,
Dans le siècles passés, & qui tient le milieu
Entre l'homme & l'esprit, comme entre l'huitre &
l'homme,
Le tient tel de nos gens franche bête de somme.*

Descartes, in ages past, had been
Ador'd as God. He rank'd between
Pure soul and man immur'd in cloister,
As human brutes 'twixt man and oyster.

The abbé Genet, a writer of the present century, has unfortunately been at the pains to translate Descartes's natural philosophy into French verse.

It is only since the year 1730, that France has begun to recover from the errors of that chimerical philosophy, and since that experimental philosophy and geometry have been cultivated. Descartes has had the same fate in natural

tural philosophy, as Ronsard had in poetry. He died at Stockholm, in 1650.

Desmarets de St. Sorlin (John) was born at Paris, in 1595. He had a great share in writing cardinal Richelieu's tragedy of *Mirame*. His comedy of the *Visionaries* passed for a masterpiece, but this was before Moliere appeared. He was comptroller-general extraordinary of war, and secretary of the marine in the Levant. Towards the latter part of his life, he became more known for his fanaticism than his productions. He died in 1676.

Domat, a famous civilian. His book on civil law met with great approbation.

Douyat (John) was born at Toulouse, in 1639. He was a civilian, and a man of letters. He every year had a child by his wife, and composed a book. The same is said of *Tiragueau*. The *Journal des Scavans* calls him a great man, but this is a title not to be lavished. He died in 1688.

Dubois (Gerard) was born at Orleans, in 1629. He was of the oratory. He composed the *History of the Church of Paris*. He died in 1696.

Duché was valet de chambre to Lewis XIV. He made some tragedies for the court, taken from holy writ, like Racine, but not with equal success. His opera of *Iphigenia at Tauris*, is his best piece. It is wrote in the sublime taste; and, though it is but an opera, it affords a strong idea of the best things in the Greek tragedies. This taste did not last long, and soon after we were reduced to simple ballets, consisting of detached acts, made solely for the sake of introducing the dances; thus, even the
opera

opera began to degenerate, at the time that almost every other theatrical production was upon the decline.

Madame de Maintenon made the fortune of this author, by recommending him in such strong terms to monsieur de Pontchartrain, secretary of state, that, supposing him to be a person of some consideration, the minister went to pay him a visit. When Duché, who at that time lived very obscurely, saw a secretary of state enter his house, he thought it was to carry him to the Bastile.

Duchefne (Andrew) was born at Touraine, in 1584. He was historiographer to the king, and author of several historical tracts and genealogical enquiries. He was called the father of French history. He died in 1640.

Dufrenoi (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1611. He was both painter and poet. His poem on painting has been greatly applauded by those who can read other Latin verses than those of the Augustan age: he died in 1665.

Dufreny (Charles) was born at Paris, in 1648: he passed for the grandson of Henry IV. whom he resembled: he was valet of the wardrobe to Lewis XIV. as his father had been to Lewis XIII. his royal master was continually giving him some marks of his bounty, notwithstanding his disorderly way of life, but all could not keep him from dying poor. Though he had a great share of wit, and was not confined in his talents, he never could compose a regular piece. We have several comedies of his writing, in every one of which there are some pretty and singular scenes: he died in 1724.

Duplex (Scipio) of Cardom. Tho' this writer was born in 1559, yet he may be reckoned in the Age of Lewis XIV. as he was living in his reign: he was the first historian who quoted his authorities in the margin of his work, which is a precaution absolutely necessary in those who do not write the history of their own times, unless they confine themselves to well known facts: his history of France is no longer read, there having been others much better digested, and written since his time: he died in 1661.

Esprit (James) was born at Béziers, in 1611: he wrote a book On the Fallacy of Human Virtue, which is only a commentary on the duke of Rochefoucault. Chancellor Seguier, who had a good opinion of his learning, gave him a patent of counsellor of state: he died in 1678.

Estades (Marshal d'). His letters are in as great esteem as those of cardinal d'Ossat, and it is a circumstance peculiar to the French, that their simple dispatches have frequently been excellent works: he died in 1686.

La Fare (the marquis of). He is well known by his Memoirs, and some agreeable verses: his talent for poetry did not discover itself till he was in his sixtieth year. It was in praise of madame de Cailus, one of the most amiable women of the age, both for wit and beauty, that he first exercised his muse; and his verses on that lady are, perhaps, the most delicate of any he has composed.

*M'abandonnant un jour à la tristesse,
 Sans espérance, & même sans desirs,
 Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
 Dont la douceur enchantait ma jeunesse.
 Sont-ils perdus, disais-je, sans retour ?
 Et n'es-tu pas cruel, amour !
 Toi que j'ai fait dès mon enfance,
 Le maître de mes plus beaux jours,
 D'en laisser terminer le cours
 A l'ennuyeuse indifférence ?
 Alors j'aperçus dans les airs
 L'enfant maître de l'Univers,
 Qui plein d'une joie inhumaine
 Me dit en souriant, Tircis, ne te plain plus,
 Je vais mettre fin à ta peine,
 Je te promets un regard de Cailus.*

Indulging once a melancholly vein,
 Depriv'd of hope and even without desire,
 I sigh'd to think of that gay, pleasing fire,
 Which flush'd with rapture, youth's enchant-
 ing reign !
 And are these tender joys for ever flown ?
 Ah ! cruel love so early known,
 My prime of manhood own'd thy pow'r intense ;
 If then the zenith of my days was thine,
 Ah ! leave me not a prey in life's decline,
 To vacant thought and cold indifference.
 Then hov'ring in the nether sky,
 The world's great master, Love, I spy ;
 Who, smiling with inhuman glee,
 Said, prithee Thirsis cease to wail,
 More happy days thou still shalt see ;
 A glance of Cailus shall thine heart regale.

He died in 1713.

La Fayette (Mary Magdalen de la Vergne, countess of). Her princess of Cleves, and her Zaide, were the first romances in which the manners of polite life, and natural adventures appeared described with elegance. Before her they wrote only a heap of impossibilities, in a bombast stile. She died in 1693.

Félibien (Andrew) was born at Chartres, in 1619: he was the first who gave the title of Great to Lewis XIV. in the inscriptions in the town-house of Paris: his Discourses on the Lives of the Painters, was that, of all his works, which did him the most honour: he is elegant, profound, and shews great taste; but he makes use of too many words to say a few things, and is absolutely void of method: he died in 1695.

Fénelon (Francis de Salignac) archbishop of Cambray, was born at Perigord, in 1651. We have fifty-five different productions of his, all of which seem to come from a heart full of virtue, but his Telemachus especially inspires that virtue: he has been in vain condemned by Gueudeville and the abbé Faidit: he died at Cambrai, in 1715.

After the death of Fénelon, Lewis XIV. burst, with his own hand, all the manuscripts which the duke of Burgundy had preserved of his preceptor's. Ramsay, who was brought up under this celebrated prelate, wrote to me in these words: "Had he been born in England, his genius would have discovered itself more strongly; and he would, without fear, have given full scope to his principles, which no one was acquainted with."

2. *Per-*

Ferrand, counsellor of the court of Aids. We have some pretty verses of his writing: he joined with *Rousseau* in the Epigram and Madrigal. The following is a specimen of the taste in which *Ferrand* wrote.

*D'amour & de mélancolie
Célestinus enfin consumé,
En fontaine fut transformé;
Et qui boit de ses eaux, oublie
Jusqu'au nom de l'objet aimé;
Pour mieux oublier Egerie,
J'y courus hier vainement:
A force de changer d'amant
L'infidèle l'avoit tarie.*

Celestinus wasted to the marrow,
By blasted love and moping sorrow,
Was to a fountain chang'd by fate;
Whose waters drank, obliterate
All traces from the lover's mind,
Of swains untrue, or nymphs unkind.
Thither *Egeria* to forget,
By drinking eagerly, I fly
But lo! the sickle vain coquet,
Herself had drank the fountain dry.

By this we may perceive that *Ferrand* wrote upon subjects of gallantry with more nature, ease, and delicacy; and that *Rousseau* was more forcible and studied in licentious ones.

Feuquières de Pas, (the marquis of) was born at Paris in 1648: he was an officer of consummate knowledge in the art of war, and an excellent guide, if he was not at the same time too severe a critic: he died in 1711.

Le Fevre (Tanegui) was born at Caën in Normandy, in 1615: he was a Calvinist, and professor at Saumur: he despised those of the sect, though he lived amongst them: he was more the philosopher than the Huguenot; he wrote as well in Latin as a person can write in a dead language, and made some Greek verses, which apparently have had very few readers. The chief obligation which the learned world has to him, is being the father of madame Dacier: he died in 1678.

Le Fevre (Anne) madame Dacier. She was born in the Calvinist faith, at Saumur, in 1651, and is famous for her great learning. The duke of Montausier employed her in one of those books which were called the Dauphin's, for the education of that prince. Florus, with Latin notes, is her's: her translation of Terence and Homer have done her immortal honour: her only fault was, a too great fondness for her own translations. La Motte attacked her with wit, and she replied with erudition. She died at the Louvre in 1720.

Flecher (Esprit) of the country of Avignon, was born in 1632, and was bishop of Lavaur, and afterwards of Nîmes. He was born a French and Latin poet, an historian, and a preacher; but he is chiefly known by his fine funeral orations. He composed his history of Theodosius for the use of the dauphin. The duke of Montausier engaged the best scholars of France, to employ their talents in productions for the education of his royal pupil. Flecher died in 1710.

Fleury (Claud) was born in 1640. He was subpreceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and con-
fessor

feſſor to Lewis XV. his ſon. He lived at court in retirement and labour. His hiſtory of the church is the beſt that was ever written; and the preliminary diſcourſes are ſtill far ſuperior to his hiſtory. Theſe are in a philoſophical taſte; but his hiſtory is not. He died in 1723.

La Fontaine (John) was born at Chateau-Thierry in 1621. He was the moſt plain and ſimple man living, but admirable in his way, tho' negligent and unequal. He was the only good writer of his time who did not partake of the bounties of Lewis XIV. tho' entitled to them by his merit and his poverty. His fables are for the moſt part infinitely ſuperior to any that have been written before or ſince, in any language whatſoever. In the tales which he imitated from Arioſto, he wants that writer's elegance and purity; he falls far ſhort of him in his deſcriptions, which defect eſcaped Boileau in his Diſſertation on Joconde, becauſe he did not underſtand Italian: but in thoſe tales which he has taken from Boccace, *La Fontaine* is ſuperior, as having a much greater ſhare of wit, elegance, and art, than the Italian, whoſe only merit is ſimplicity, perſpicuity, and exactneſs of language, but *La Fontaine* corrupted the French. He died in 1695.

Fontenelle (Bernard Bouvier de.) Though he was living in 1756, yet he muſt be an exception to the rule we have laid down for ourſelves of not admitting any living perſon into this catalogue, his great age, being near an hundred when he died, ſeems to demand this diſtinction. He is at preſent equally above panegyric and criticism. He may be conſidered as the moſt univerſal genius that the age of Lewis XIV. produced, and may be reſembled to a ſoil that from its

happy situation bears every kind of fruit. He was not twenty years of age, when he composed the greatest part of the tragic opera of Bellerophon; after which he wrote his opera of Thetis and Peleus, in which he has greatly imitated Quinault. It was performed with great success; but his *Æneas* and *Lavinia* was not so well received. He tried his powers in tragedy, and assisted mademoiselle Bernard in some of her pieces. He composed two, one of which was played in 1680, but never printed. This piece drew upon him for a long time very unjust reproaches; for he had merit enough to be sensible, that notwithstanding his extensive genius, he was not possessed of the talents of his uncle Peter Corneille for tragedy. He wrote several detached pieces, in which there appeared a depth of knowledge and ingenuity, that plainly discover a man superior to his own works. In his *Dialogues of the Dead* and in his verses we may remark the spirit of Voiture, but much more extensive and philosophical. His *Plurality of Worlds* was a performance singular in its kind. He had the art of making an agreeable book of the *Oracles of Vandale*. The delicate subjects which are touched upon in that work subjected him to some underhand persecutions, which however he had the good fortune to get the better of. He perceived how dangerous it is to be in the right in those things where men of power and interest are in the wrong. He then applied himself to geometry and natural philosophy, in which he succeeded with as much ease as he had done in the more pleasing arts. Being appointed perpetual secretary to the academy of sciences, he exercised that employ for upwards of forty years with

universal approbation. In his history of that academy, he frequently throws a strong light upon the most obscure memoirs. He was the first who introduced that elegant manner of treating the sciences. If he is in some places too flowery, we should consider them as rich harvests wherein flowers naturally grow up with the corn.

His history of the Academy of Sciences would be as useful as it is judiciously executed, if his only task had been to give an account of truths brought to light ; but he was obliged to explain different opinions that contradicted each other, and which are for the most part destroyed.

The eulogiums which he pronounced on the deceased members of the Academy have the singular merit of rendering the sciences respectable, and of establishing the merit of the author. In vain have the abbé des Fontaines, and others of his stamp, attempted to obscure his reputation ; it is the property of great men to have contemptible enemies. Notwithstanding his having lately published a few indifferent comedies, and an Apology for the Vortices of Descartes, we will readily pardon the faults in his dramatic pieces, on account of his great age ; and his Cartesian principles, in consideration of those antient opinions having been when he was young the general received ones of all Europe.

In a word, he is considered as the head of those who have the pleasing art of throwing new lights and graces upon the abstract sciences. He has likewise great merit in every other species which he has undertaken. These great

talents were supported by a knowledge of languages and history; and he was without contradiction superior to all the learned men who have not had the gift of invention.

Forbin (Claud, chevalier de.) He was chef-d'escadre, or commodore in the French navy, and high-admiral to the king of Siam. He has left some curious memoirs, which have been digested and published, by which a judgment may be formed between him and Gué Trouin.

La Fosse (Anthony) was born in 1658. *Marius* is his best dramatical piece. He died in 1708.

Fraquier (Claud) was born at Paris in 1666. He was well versed in literature, and had a great share of taste. He wrote only a few Latin verses, and some dissertations. He died in 1728.

Furetiere (Anthony) was born in 1620. He was famous for his dictionary and his disputes. He died in 1688.

Gaçon (Francis) was born at Lyons in 1667. Father Niceron has given him a place in his catalogue of illustrious men, tho' he was never famous for any thing but some bad satires. He had a great share in that collection of gross jokes, called *Brevets de la calotte*. These indecent productions took their rise from a certain society, called the regiment of fools, and of the calotte. This is certainly no part of good taste. These works, and their authors, are held in the utmost contempt by all well-bred people, and are never quoted but to inspire an abhorrence of their examples. He died in 1725.

Galant (Anthony) was born in Picardy, in 1646. He learned the Oriental languages at Constantinople, and translated part of the Arabian

Bian tales, known by the title of the hundred and one nights. He died in 1715.

Gallois (John, abbot of) was born at Paris, in 1632. He was a man of universal learning, and the first who worked at the *Journal des sçavans*, with the counsellor-clerk Sallo, who first formed the plan of that work. He afterwards taught Colbert, the minister of state, a little Latin, who, notwithstanding his many occupations, thought he had time enough to spare for learning that language. He took the greatest part of his lessons in his coach, in his journeys from Versailles to Paris. It is said he did it with a view of being made chancellor, which is not unlikely. It is worthy of observation, that the two persons, who were the greatest patrons of learning, namely, Lewis XIV. and Monsieur Colbert, neither of them understood Latin. He died in 1707.

Gassendi (Peter) was born in Provence, in 1592. He was the restorer of part of the Epicurean system of natural philosophy. He perceived the necessity of atoms, and of a vacuum; and what he affirmed, Newton and others have since demonstrated. He was not in so great reputation as Descartes, because he was more rational, and no inventor of hypotheses: nevertheless he was accused of atheism, as well as Descartes. Some imagined, that he who would, with Epicurus, admit a vacuum; would, like him, deny the existence of a God. This is the way of reasoning of all detractors and calumniators. In Provence, where there was no one jealous of him, Gassendi was called the holy priest. At Paris, the voice of envy gave him the title of atheist. It is true that he was a

sceptic, and that philosophy had taught him to doubt of every thing, but not of the existence of a supreme being. He died in 1656.

Gédouin, canon of the holy chapel at Paris. He was author of an excellent translation of Quintilian and Pausanias. He died in 1744.

Le Gendre (Lewis) was born at Rouen, in 1655. He has composed a history of France. To execute such a task well, requires the pen and freedom of the president de Thou, and even then it would be difficult to render the first ages interesting. He died in 1733.

Genest (Charles Claud.) He was born in 1635: he was almoner to the dutchess of Orleans, and both a philosopher and a poet: his tragedy of Penelope is still played with success, and is the only one of his dramatic pieces that has kept its ground on the stage: his laborious work of Descartes's philosophy in verse, or rather in rhyme, is a greater proof of his patience than his genius; and he resembled Lucretius in nothing but having versified a philosophy erroneous in almost every part of its system: he partook of the bounty of Lewis XIV. died in 1719.

Girard (abbé). His book of *Synonima* is a very useful work, and will last as long as language, and even contribute to preserve it.

Godeau (Anthony). He was one of those who helped to establish the French Academy: he was a poet, an orator, and an historian. It is well known that for the sake of a pun, and in reward for his having rendered the *Benedicite* into verse, cardinal Richelieu gave him the bishopric of Grasse: his *Ecclesiastical History* in prose is more valued than his poem on the Church

Church Calendar : he was greatly deceived in thinking to equal the Fasts of Ovid ; neither his subject nor his genius being sufficient for it. It is a great mistake to think subjects of Christianity as fit for poetry as those of Paganism, whose mythology, as pleasing as it was false, animated all nature : he died in 1672.

Godefroi (Theodore) son to Denis, or Dionysius Godefroi, the Parisian : he was born at Geneva in 1580 : he was a learned man, and historiographer of France in the reigns of Lewis XIII. and XIV. he applied himself particularly to titles and ceremonies : he died in 1649.

Godefroi (Dennis) his son, was born at Paris in 1615 : he was historiographer of France as well as his father : he died in 1681.

Gombault (John Ogier de). Though born in the reign of Charles IX. he lived a long time after Lewis XIV. came to the crown. There are some good epigrams of his, of which a few still continue to be repeated. He died in 1666.

Gomberville (Marin) was born at Paris in 1600. He was one of the first members of the academy. He wrote some voluminous romances before the reign of good taste, and his reputation died with him in 1674.

Gondi, (John Francis) Cardinal de Retz, was born in 1613. He lived like Cataline in his youth, and Atticus in his old age. Several passages in his memoirs are worthy Sallust ; but the whole is not alike good. He died in 1679.

Gourville, from valet de chambre to the duke of Rochefoucault, became his friend, and even that of the great Condé. He was at the same time hanged in effigy at Paris, and appointed the king's

king's envoy in Germany, and afterwards proposed as successor to the great Colbert in the ministry. We have memoirs of his life, written by himself, in a natural and unaffected style, wherein he speaks of his birth and fortunes with indifference.

Le Grand (Joachim) was born in Normandy in 1653. He was a pupil of father le Cointe. He is one of the most profound historians we have. He died in 1732.

Grégoire, Canon of Tours. His poem of Philotanius had prodigious success. The chief merit of these kinds of pieces is generally in the choice of the subject, and the maliciousness of the human heart: not but that there are some good verses in this poem. The beginning is extremely happy, but the end is not at all answerable. The devil does not speak near so pleasantly as when he is first introduced. The style is low, uniform, void of dialogue, grace, ingenuity, purity, imagination, or expression; and in short is only a satirical history of the bull Unigenitus in burlesque verse, of which some lines are extremely diverting.

Guerret (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1641. He was known in his time by his *Parnassus* reformed, and his war of the authors. He had taste; but his discourse "Whether the empire of eloquence is greater than that of love," must not be taken as a proof of it. He composed the journal du Palais, in conjunction with Blondeau. This journal is a collection of arrets of the French parliaments, which are frequently different decrees in causes of the same nature. Nothing is a stronger proof how much our practice of law stands

stands in need of being preferred than that there is a necessity of collecting decrees. He died in 1688.

Du Guet (James Joseph) was born at Forez, in 1649. He was one of the best writers the Jansenists had in their party. His book on the education of a king was not composed for the king of Sardinia, as has been said: it was finished by another hand. *Du Guet* has formed his style on that of the best writers of Port-Royal. He might like them have done great service to literature. Three volumes upon five and twenty chapters of Isaiah, plainly shew that he was no niggard of his time nor pen. He died in 1733.

Du Gué-Trouin, from a private adventurer became lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France. He was one of the greatest men in his way. He has left us memoirs written in the style of a soldier, and very proper to excite emulation in his countrymen.

Du Halde, the Jesuit, without stirring out of Paris, or having ever seen China, has, from the memoirs of his fraternity, given the best and most ample description of the Chinese empire that is in the world. He died in 1743.

Our insatiable curiosity for knowing every minute particular relating to the religion, laws, and manners of the Chinese, is not yet satisfied: a burgomaster of Middlebourg, named Hudde, a man of great fortune, guided wholly by his curiosity, took a voyage to China, in the year 1700, where he laid out the greatest part of his fortune in informing himself of every thing. He became so perfect a proficient in the Chinese language, that he was taken for a native.

native of that country: luckily for him, his face favoured the mistake. After some time he found means to be raised to the rank of a mandarin, in which quality he travelled through all the provinces, and at length returned to Europe, with a collection of forty years observations. Unhappily, the ship they were on board was cast away, which was the greatest loss that ever befel the republic of letters.

Du Hamel (John Baptist) of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was secretary to the academy of sciences. He was a philosopher, and at the same time a divine. The improvements that have been made in philosophy since his time, take away some part of the merit of his writings; but his name still remains. He died in 1706.

Count Hamilton, (Anthony) He was born at Caen. He wrote several pretty pieces of poetry, and was the first who made romances in the comical taste, which is widely different from the burlesque of Scarron. His memoirs of the count of Grammont, is of all productions of the kind that, wherein the slightest foundation is set off with the gayest, most lively, and most agreeable style.

Hardouin (John) a Jesuit, deeply learned in history; but chimerical in his notions. "We are not to enquire, says Montagne, who knows the most, but who knows the best." Hardouin carried his extravagance so far as to pretend that the *Æneis* and the odes of Horace were written by monks, in the thirteenth century. He will have it that *Æneas* is Jesus Christ, and Horace's mistress, Lalage, the christian

stian religion. The same discernment which discovered to father Hardouin the Messiah in *Æneas*, made him likewise see atheists in the fathers Thomassin, Quênél, Mallebranche, Arnauld, Nicolle, and Pascal. His folly took away all sting from his calumny: but as all those who revive this charge of atheism against men of learning, are not known fools, it may frequently prove dangerous. We have had instances of several who have abused their office, by using these arms, against which there is no shield, in order to work the ruin of persons of merit, with a weak prince.

Hecquet. He was a physician. In the year 1722, he published his rational system of Tricuration, an ingenious theory, but does not account for the manner in which digestion is made. Other physicians have added, in their explanations, the gastric juice and the heat of the viscera; but no one has been able to find out this secret of nature, who conceals herself in all her operations.

Helvetius, a famous physician, who has written excellently upon the animal oeconomy and fevers. He died in the year 1750.

Hénaut, known by his Sonnet of the Avorton, and several other pieces; and who would have acquired a great share of reputation, if the three first cantos of his translation of *Lucretius* that were lost, had appeared, and written like what we have left of the beginning of that work. He died in 1682.

Posterity must not confound this writer with another of the same name, but of much superior merit, to whom we are indebted for the shortest and

and best history of France; and perhaps for the only method in which all great histories ought to be written for the future. For so great is the multiplicity of facts and documents, that we must very soon be reduced to extracts and dictionaries. But it will be very difficult to imitate the author of the chronological abridgment, who has gone to the bottom of so many things, and seemed at the same time only to touch upon them slightly.

Herbelot (Bartholomew) was born at Paris in 1625. He was the first Frenchman who thoroughly understood the oriental languages, and history. He was at first taken little notice of in his own country. Ferdinand II. grand duke of Tuscany, received him with marks of distinction, and taught France to know his merit. Then he was recalled and encouraged by Colbert, who was the patron of all merit. His *Bibliothèque Orientale* is equally curious and learned: he died in 1695.

Hermant (Godfrey) was born at Beauvais in 1617: he was author of some polemical works, which perished with the disputes that gave them birth: he died in 1690.

La Hire (Philip) was born at Paris in 1740: he was son to a good painter: he was himself a great mathematician, and contributed much to the famous French meridian: he died in 1718.

L'Hopital. (Francis marquis of) He was born in 1662: he was the first who wrote in France on the calculation of infinites found out by Sir Isaac Newton. This was a prodigy at that time: he died in 1704.

D'Hofier

D'Hosier (Peter) was the son of an advocate, and born at Marfeilles in 1592: he was the first who cleared up the account of genealogies, and reduced them to a science. Lewis XIII. made him gentleman in waiting, master of his household, and gentleman in ordinary of his chamber. Lewis XIV. gave him a patent of counsellor of state. Several truly great men have been much less rewarded. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity: he died in 1660.

Des Houlières. (Antonieta de la Garde) Of all the French ladies who have applied themselves to poetry, no one has succeeded so well as this; for her verses still continue to be repeated by every one: she died in 1694.

Huet (Peter Daniel) was born at Caen in 1630: he was a man of universal learning, and retained the same ardour for study till the age of ninety-one: he was invited to Stockholm by queen Christina, and was afterwards one of those illustrious personages who assisted in the education of the dauphin, than whom no prince had ever so great masters. Huet turned priest when he was forty years of age, and had the bishopric of Avranches given him, which he afterwards resigned, that he might be more at leisure to pursue his studies in retirement. Of all his productions, "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, and the Origin of Romances," are the most read. His treatise on the weakness of the human understanding made a great noise, and seemed to contradict his "Evangelical Demonstrations:" he died in 1721.

Jaquelot (Isaac) was born in Champagne in 1647: he was a Calvinist, and pastor at the Hague, and at Berlin. He has written some pieces on religion: he died in 1708.

Joli (Gui) counsellor at the Châtelet, and secretary to cardinal de Retz: he has left some memoirs, which are in comparison with those written by the cardinal, what the servant is to the master: but there are some curious particulars.

Jouveny, (Joseph) a Jesuit, was born at Paris in 1643. This is another of those who have had the obscure merit of writing in Latin, as well as can be done in our time. His book *de ratione discendi & docendi*, though very little known, is one of the best that has been written on the subject since that of Quintilian. In the year 1710, he published at Rome a part of the history of his order, in which he writes like a Jesuit and one who had been at Rome. The parliament of Paris, who think very differently from Rome and the Jesuits, condemned this book, in which is a defence of father Guignard, who had been condemned to be hanged by this very parliament for an assassination, committed on the person of Henry IV. by his scholar Châtel. It is very true that Guignard was in no wise an accomplice in this murder, and that he met with hard usage from the parliament; but it is equally true that this severity was necessary in those unhappy times, where a part of Europe, blinded by the most horrible fanaticism, thought it an act of religion to murder the best of kings and the best of men. He died in 1716.

De L'Isle (William) was born at Paris in 1675: he reformed geography, which had for a long time stood in need of improvement: he changed the whole position of our hemisphere as to longitude: he taught geometry to Lewis XV. who has proved one of his best pupils; that monarch having composed, after the death of his master, a Treatise on the Course of Rivers. William de L'Isle was the first who had the title of chief geographer to the king. He died in 1726.

Labbe (Philip) was born at Bourges in 1607: he was a Jesuit: he has done great services to history: he has left seventy-three pieces of his writing. He died in 1667.

Le Laboureur (John) was born at Montmorency in 1623: he was gentleman in waiting to Lewis XIV. and afterwards almoner: his account of the voyage to Poland, which he made with the marballeſs de Guebriant, the only woman that ever had the title, and executed the functions of an ambassadress plenipotentiary, is very curious. The historical remarks with which he has enriched the Memoirs of Castelnau have thrown a great light upon the history of France. The wretched poem called Charlemagne, was not written by him, but by his brother. He died in 1675.

Lainé, or *Lainex* (Alexander) was born in Hainault in 1650: he was an extraordinary poet, and some little pieces of his, very happily written, have been collected. A certain person, who was at great pains and expence to have a Mount Parnassus made in bronze, and covered with figures in relievo, of all the poets and musicians that came into his head, has placed Lainé in

in the rank of the most illustrious. The only truly delicate verses of his that we have, are those written on madame de Martel.

*Le tendre Apelle un jour dans ces jeux si vantés
Qu'Athènes sur ses bords consacrait à Neptune,
Vit au sortir de l'onde éclater cent beautés,
Et prenant un trait de chacune,
Il fit de sa Venus le portrait immortel.
Hélas ! s'il avait vu l'adorable Martel,
Il n'en aurait employé qu'une.*

To Neptune when the Isthmian games of yore,
Were solemniz'd on the Athenian shore,
An hundred nymphs in blooming youth array'd,
Uprising from the wave, their charms display'd.
From each a shining feature sam'd Apelles chose,
And an immortal Venus from his pencil rose :
But had Martel once met his ravish'd eye,
Her heav'nly form alone would all those charms
supply.

It may not be known perhaps that these lines are a translation of this beautiful passage in Ariosto,

*Non avea da torre altra, &c.**

He died in 1710.

Lambert

* We shall give the whole stanza, for the entertainment of the reader. Ariosto, speaking of Olympia, whom Orlando delivered from the sea-monster, says,

*E se fosse costei stata à Crotone,
Quando Zeusi l'immagine far volve,
Che per dovea nel tempio di Giunone,
E tante belle nude insieme accolse,
E ch'è per una parte in perfezzione,
Da chi una parte, e da chi un'altra tolse;*

Non

Lambert (Anne Theresa de Marguenat de Courcelles, marchioness of) was born in 1647, and was a lady of great wit and understanding. She has left some useful pieces of morality, written in an agreeable stile. Her treatise on Friendship shews her deserving of having friends. The number of ladies who have been shining ornaments to this glorious age, is one of the greatest proofs of the progress of human understanding.

*La donne son venute in eccellenza,
Di ciascun' arte ove hanno posto cura.* Ariost.

The ladies then to excellence attain'd,
In ev'ry curious art they chose to learn.

He died at Paris in 1703.

Lami (Barnard) was born at Mons in 1640 : he belonged to the oratory : he was learned in more than one science : he composed his Elements of the Mathematics in a journey that he made on foot from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

Lancelot (Claud). He was born at Paris in 1615 : he had a hand in several very useful pro-

*Non avea da torre altra, che costei,
Che tutte le bellezze erano in lei.*

And had Olympia to Crotona stray'd,
When Zeuxis first imagin'd his design,
That piece in Juno's fane to be display'd,
And many naked beauties did combine ;
That in perfection it might be array'd,
From each to cull some lineament divine ;
He would have fix'd his eyes on her alone ;
For, ev'ry charm in her united shone.

Orland. Furios. Cant. xi.

ductions

ductions of the recluses of Port-royal, for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

De Larrey (Isaac) was born in Normandy in 1638 : his History of England was much esteemed before that of Rapin made its appearance ; but his History of Lewis XIV. had never any reputation. He died at Berlin in 1719.

Launai (Francis) was born at Angers in 1612 : he was a civilian, and a man of letters : he was the first who taught the French law at Paris. He died in 1693.

Launoy (John) was born in Normandy in 1603 : he was a doctor in theology : he was a laborious scholar, and an intrepid critic : he detected a great many errors in religion, particularly that relating to saints, whose existence he denied. It is well known that the curate of St. Eustachius said, he always paid him the greatest respect, for fear he should take his St. Eustachius from him. He died in 1678.

Lauriere (Eusebius) was born at Paris in 1659 : he was a lawyer, and no one better understood jurisprudence and the origin of laws : he was the person who formed the collection of ordinances, an immense work which did great honour to the reign of Lewis XIV. and is a monument of the mutability of all human things. A collection of ordinances is only a history of variations. He died in 1728.

Le Clerc (John) was born at Geneva in 1657 ; but his family was originally of Beauvais : he was not the only learned man of his family, but he was the most learned : his *Bibliothèque Universelle*, in which he has imitated Bayle's Republic of Letters, is his best performance : his greatest merit is, that he came near to Bayle, whom

whom he had so frequently attacked : he wrote a great deal more than that great man ; but he was not like him acquainted with the art of pleasing and instructing at the same time, which is so much superior to all science. He died at Amsterdam in 1736.

Lemery (Nicholas) was born at Rouen in 1645 : he was the first rational chemist, and the first who published a *General Pharmacopœia*. He died in 1715.

Lenfant (James) was born at Beauffe in 1661 : he was a Calvinist pastor at Berlin : he was more instrumental than any one in carrying the energy and beauties of the French tongue to the most distant parts of Germany : his *History of the Council of Constance*, judiciously revised and elegantly written, will be a proof to latest posterity how much good and evil may arise from these great assemblies, and that good laws may be produced even from the midst of passions, self-interest, and cruelty itself. He died in 1692.

Des Lions (John) was born at Pontoise in 1615 : he was a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man singular in his way, and author of several polemical pieces : he attempted to prove that the rejoicings on the feast of the Epiphany or Twelfth Day were profane, and that the world was soon to be at an end. He died in 1700.

Le Long (James) was born at Paris in 1655 : he was of the Oratory. His *Bibliothèque Historique de la France* is a very learned work, and of great utility, though it has some faults. He died in 1721.

Longepierre (Hilary-Barnard, baron of). He was born in Burgundy in 1658 : he was master

of all the beauties of the Greek language; a very rare degree of merit in his time. We have some translations by him in verse of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, and Moschus: his tragedy of Medea, though unequally written, and too full of declamations, is far superior to that of Peter Corneille: but Corneille's Medea was written before he was at the height of his reputation. Longepierre composed several other tragedies upon the model of the Greek poets, whom he has happily imitated in not blending love with subjects of terror and cruelty; but at the same time he has copied them in the tediousness of their common places, and in the barrenness of action and intrigue, and not equalled them in beauty of elocution, which constitutes the greatest merit of a poet. Though he wrote several other tragedies in the Greek taste, he gave only Medea and Electra to the stage. He died in 1727.

De Longuerue (Lewis du Four) was born at Charleville in 1652: he was abbot of Jard. Besides knowing all the learned languages, he was master of all those spoken in Europe. A few years labour and application may be sufficient to attain a middling knowledge of several languages; but it is the labour of a whole life to speak one's own with purity and eloquence: he understood universal history; and it is said, that he composed the Historical and Geographical Description of antient and modern France. He died about the year 1724.

Longueval (James) a Jesuit, was born in 1681: he composed eight volumes of the History of the Gallican Church, which was afterwards continued by father Fontenay. He died in 1735.

De la Loubere (Simon) was born at Toulouse in 1642, and sent envoy to Siam in 1677: he has left us memoirs of that country, which are much better than his sonnets and odes. He died in 1729.

Mabillon (John) was born in Champagne in 1632: he was a Benedictine: he had the office of shewing the treasury of St. Denis, which he desired to resign, giving for his reason, "that he did not chuse to mix fables with truth." He made several very learned researches, and was employed by Colbert in enquiring into antient titles. He died in 1707.

Maignan (Emanuel) was born at Toulouse in 1601: he was a Minime friar, and one of those who have learnt the mathematics without a master: he was a mathematical professor at Rome, where this professorship has ever since his time continued with the French Minims. He died at Toulouse in 1677.

Maillet. He was consul at Grand Cairo: there are some instructive letters of his, relating to Egypt, and some MS. pieces of bold philosophy.

Maimbourg (Lewis) a Jesuit, was born in 1610. There are some of his histories still read with pleasure: he was too much cry'd up at first, and too much neglected at last. It is very remarkable that he was obliged to quit the order for having wrote in favour of the clergy of France. He died at St. Victor in 1686.

Mainard (Francis) president of Aurillac, was born at Toulouse in 1634. He may be reckoned in the number of those who ushered in the age of Lewis XIV. There are several pieces of poetry of his remaining, all written with great ease

and purity: he is one of those authors who has made the greatest complaints of the ill fortune attending talents, not knowing that the success of a good work is of itself a sufficient recompence to an artist; that if princes and ministers make a merit of rewarding this kind of desert, there is still greater merit in waiting for their favours without asking; and that if a good writer is ambitious of an elevated fortune, he ought to be the architect of it himself.

Nothing is more commonly known than his beautiful sonnet addressed to cardinal de Richelieu, and that minister's harsh reply, the cruel monosyllable *rien* (nothing). The president Mainard, after he retired to Aurillac, made the following lines, which deserve to be as well known as his sonnet.

*Par votre humeur le monde est gouverné,
 Vos volontés font le calme & l'orage,
 Vous vous riez de me voir confiné
 Loin de la Cour dans mon petit ménage:
 Mais, n'est-ce rien que d'être tout à soi,
 De n'avoir point le fardeau d'un Emploi,
 D'avoir dompté la crainte & l'espérance?
 Ah! si le Ciel, qui me traite si bien,
 Avait pitié de vous & de la France,
 Votre bonheur serait égal au mien.*

To your caprice the willing world's resign'd;
 Both storm and calm your will and pleasure wait:
 You laugh to see me in a farm confin'd,
 And think me wretched in my humble fate.

'Tis something still my freedom to enjoy;
 Nor groan beneath the weight of an employ;
 O'er

O'er fear and hope a conquest to obtain.
 Shou'd heav'n, whose rays on me propitious shine,
 To you and France shew mercy once again,
 Your happiness would one day equal mine.

After the death of the cardinal he says in another piece, that the tyrant is dead, and yet he is not more happy. Had the cardinal been his benefactor, that minister would have been a God with him; but because he gave him nothing he was a tyrant. This is too much like those beggars who accost passengers with a "God bless your honour," and load them with curses afterwards if they get no alms from them. Mainard's verses were very beautiful; but it would have redounded more to his credit, had he lived without asking or murmuring. The epitaph which he made for himself is in every one's mouth.

*Las d'espérer & de me plaindre,
 Des Muses, des Grands & du sort,
 C'est ici que j'attends la mort,
 Sans la désirer ni la craindre.*

Tir'd of complaints, of hope, and faith,
 By fortune, friends, and Muse forsaken,
 I wait unmov'd th' approach of death,
 Nor wish, nor fear to be mistaken.

The two last lines are a translation of the old Latin one,

Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

Most beautiful moral verses are but translations. It is very common not to wish for death, very rare not to fear it; and it would have been very

great not to have even thought that there were such things as great men in the world.

Maintenon (Frances d'Aubigné, Scarron, marchioness of). She is an author as well, as madame de Sévigné, because her Letters have been printed after her death. Both of these ladies wrote with a great deal of spirit, but of a very different kind. The Letters of madame de Sévigné are dictated by the heart and the imagination, and are more sprightly and free. Those of madame de Maintenon, more constrained, and seem as if she had foreseen they would one day be made public. Madame de Sévigné, in writing to her daughter, wrote only for that daughter. There are several anecdotes to be found in both these collections. We may perceive in those of madame de Maintenon, that she was married to Lewis XIV. that she had considerable influence in state affairs, but that she did not direct them; that she did not hasten the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and its consequences, neither did she oppose it; that she sided with the Molinists at first, because Lewis XIV. did so, and that at length she became seriously attached to that party; that Lewis XIV. in the latter part of his life, used to carry relicks about him; with several other private anecdotes. But the little knowledge that may be gained from this collection, is too dearly bought by the number of useless letters it contains; a fault which is common to all collections of this kind. If nothing was to be printed but what is useful, there would not be by an hundredth part so many bad books. She died at St. Cyr in 1719.

Malebranche (Nicholas) of the Oratory, was born at Paris in 1638. He was one of the deepest

est meditators that ever wrote. As he abounded with that forcible imagination which makes more disciples than truth, he had his likewise in his time: there were those that went by the name of *Malebranchians*. He has admirably shewn the errors of the senses and imagination; but when he attempted to dive into the nature of the soul, he was lost in the abyss, as others had been before him. He was, like Descartes, a great man by whom very little was to be learnt. He died in 1715.

Malézieux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1650. The duke of Burgundy's Elements of Geometry are the lessons that he gave to that prince: He raised himself a great reputation by his consummate knowledge in literature, and the dutchess of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

Mailleville (Claud de) one of the first members of the Academy. The single sonnet of the *Belle Matineuse*, made a famous man of him; whereas such a piece would be hardly thought worth speaking of now a-days. But good productions in any kind were as rare then as they are since become common. He died in 1647.

De Marca (Peter) was born in 1594. Being left a widower with several children, he entered into the church, and was nominated to the archbishopric of Paris. His book entitled *La Concorde de l'Empire & du Sacerdoce*, is much esteemed. He died in 1662.

De Marolles (Michael) was born at Touraine in 1600, and was son to the celebrated Claud de Marolles, captain of the guard of a hundred Swiss, so well known for having engaged in single combat with Marivaux, at the head of the

army of Henry IV. Michael, who was abbot of Villeloin, was author of sixty-nine works, of which several were translations, and very useful in their time. He died in 1681.

La Marre (Nicholas) was born in Paris in 1641. He was commissary of the châtelet: he was author of a piece suitable to his profession, *The History of the Police*, which is of use only to the people of Paris, and is better to consult than to read. As a reward, he had a pension assigned him out of the profits of the stage, which he never received. They might as well have assigned the comedians a pension out of the wages of the city watch.

Du Marfais. No one better understood the metaphysical part of grammar than himself, nor made more profound researches into the principles of languages. His book of *Tropes* is insensibly become necessary, and the whole of what he has written concerning grammar deserves to be studied. He was one of those obscure philosophers with whom Paris abounds, who judge coolly and justly of every thing, living peaceably among themselves, and keep up a rational commerce with each other, unknown to the great, and dreaded by the quacks of all kinds, who seek to lord it over weak minds. The number of these wise men is a consequence of the spirit of the age. He died in 1755.

Marfollier (James) was born at Paris in 1657. He was one of the regular canons of St. Genevieve, and is known by several historical writings, which are well executed. He died in 1724.

Martignac (Stephen) was born in 1628. He was the first who made a sufferable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I question much whether

whether they can ever be happily rendered in verse; for it is not enough to have their genius, the difference of the languages is an insurmountable obstacle. He died in 1698.

Mascaron (Julius) of Marseilles, was born in 1634. He was bishop of Tulles, and afterwards of Agen. His Funeral Orations disputed the prize with those of Bossuet at first; but now they serve only to shew how great a man the latter was. Mascaron died in 1703.

Maffillon was born in Provence in 1663. He belonged to the Oratory, and was bishop of Clermont. No preacher had a better acquaintance with the world: he was more flowery and pleasing than Bourdalouë; his eloquence was that of the courtier, the academic, and the man of wit; and what is more, he was a philosopher, moderate in his opinion, and a friend to toleration. He died in 1742.

Maucroix (Francis) was born at Noyen in 1619. He was an historian, a poet, and a man of letters.

Menage (Giles), of Angers, was born in 1633. He has given an example, that it is much easier to write Italian verses than French: his Italian poetry is esteemed even in Italy itself, and our language is greatly indebted to his curious researches: he was an adept in more than one species of learning. He died in 1692.

Menetrier (Claud Francis) was born in 1631. He has done great service to the art of heraldry, emblems, and devices: he died in 1705.

Meri (John) was born at Berry in 1645. He was one of the most eminent illustrators of surgery, and has left several very useful observations. He died in 1722.

Mexeraï (Francis) was born at Argentan in Normandy in 1610. His history of France is very well known; his other writings not so much. He lost his pensions for saying what he thought was truth. In other respects, he was rather bold than exact, and his stile is unequal. He died in 1683.

Mimeures (the marquis of). He was favourite to monseigneur the Dauphin, son to Lewis XIV. There are some little detached pieces of poetry of his, not at all inferior to those of Racine and Mainard: but as they appeared at a time when good writing was very scarce, and the marquis de Mimeures lived in an age when that art was brought to its perfection, they gained great reputation, and the marquis was hardly known: his Ode to Venus, imitated from Horace, is not unworthy of the original.

Le Meine (Peter), a Jesuit. He was born in 1602: his *Devotion aisée* made him ridiculous; but he might have gained a great name by his *Louisiade*. He had a prodigious fund of imagination: how comes it then he did not succeed? Because he had neither taste, nor a knowledge of the genius of his language, and wanted a rigid friend. He died in 1671.

Moliere (John-Baptiste) was born at Paris in 1620. He was the best comic poet that any nation ever produced. This article led me to read over the comic poets of antiquity; and it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our stage with the loose and unconnected scenes of the ancients, their weak intrigues, and the indelicate custom of making their actors relate, in long, insipid, and improbable soliloquies, either what they had done, or
what

what they were going to do; it must be confessed, I say, that Moliere drew comedy from its chaos, as Corneille did tragedy; and that the French are superior, in this respect, to any nation under the sun. Moliere, again, had another kind of merit to what either Corneille, Racine, Boileau, or la Fontaine possessed: he was a philosopher, and such both in theory and practice; and yet to this philosopher was it that Harlai, archbishop of Paris, so despised on account of his morals, denied the empty honour of sepulture; and the king himself was obliged to intercede with that prelate to permit Moliere to be privately interred in the church-yard of the little chapel of St. Joseph, in the suburbs of Montmartre. He died in 1673.

The abbé *Mongaut*. The best translation of Cicero's Letters that we have is by him: it is enriched with judicious and useful notes. He had been preceptor to the son of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom.

La Monnoye (Bernard) was born at Dijon in 1641. He was an excellent literatist: he was the first who won the prize of poetry in the French academy, by his poem *du Duel aboli*, which is, very few excepted, one of the best poetical performances that has been produced in France. He died in 1732.

Montesquieu (Charles), president of the parliament of Bourdeaux. He was born in 1689. At twenty-three years of age he published his *Persian Letters*, a comic work, abounding with strokes that shew an understanding more solid than his book. This work is an imitation of the *Siamese* of Du Freny and the Turkish Spy; but such an imitation as shews how the originals

ought to have been written. These kind of performances seldom succeed but by the help of a foreign air; and a satire upon our own nation is better received from the pen of an Asiatic than from that of a countryman, as what is common of itself, becomes by this means singular. The genius which reigns in the Persian Letters opened the doors of the French academy to the president Montesquieu, though that academy had itself been ill-treated in his book; but at the same time, the freedom with which he speaks of the government, and of abuses in religion, incurred the displeasure of cardinal Fleury, who ordered them to be shut against him again. He fell upon an artful method of making that minister his friend: in a few days time he caused a new edition of his book to be printed off, in which he retrenched or softened every thing that could appear exceptionable to him, either as a cardinal, or a minister of state. — Monsieur de Montesquieu then waited upon his eminence in person with his book, who, though not much accustomed to read, perused some part of it. This air of confidence, supported by the good offices of some persons of credit, won over the cardinal, and Montesquieu was admitted into the academy.

After this he published his treatise on the Greatness and Fall of the Roman People; a worn-out subject, but which he made new by very ingenious reflections, and lively descriptions: so that it is a political history of the Roman empire. At length his Spirit of Laws made its appearance; a work in which there appears much more genius than either in Puffendorf or Grotius. We cannot read these authors without doing ourselves some kind of violence; but we
rend

read the Spirit of Laws as much for amusement as instruction. This book is wrote with as much freedom as the Persian Letters; and this freedom did not a little contribute to its success, by drawing upon him enemies, who increased his reputation by the hatred they brought upon themselves. These were a set of men, who, delighting in the obscure factions of ecclesiastical controversy, hold their own opinions as sacred, and those who despise them as impious and sacrilegious. They wrote with great acrimony against Montesquieu, and prevailed on the Sorbonne to examine his book; but the infamy and contempt with which his persecutors were loaded, prevented that college from proceeding any farther. The principal merit of the Spirit of Laws is that love for the laws that reigns throughout the whole work, which love is founded on that for mankind. What is most extraordinary is, that the encomiums he gives to the English government is what pleased most in France. The smart and stinging irony against the Inquisition, which is found in this work, charmed all the world, except the Inquisitors: his reflections, which are almost always profound, he supports by examples drawn from the history of all nations. It is true, that he has been reproached with taking his examples too frequently from inconsiderable savage nations, in a manner unknown, and upon the accounts of travellers, whose fidelity there is too much reason to suspect. He is not always very exact in his quotations: for instance, he makes the author of the Political Testament, ascribed to cardinal Richelieu, say, "That if there should be found among the people an honest man unfortunate, that man must not be employed;"
unjust. whereas

whereas the Political Testament, in the place quoted, only says, that it is best to employ men of fortune and education, as the least liable to be corrupted. The continual want of method throughout this work, the singular affectation of putting no more than two or three lines in a chapter, and that frequently, and those lines nothing but a piece of pleasantry, has disgusted many readers, who complain of meeting sometimes with sallies of wit where they expected arguments. This author is likewise reproached with having advanced too many doubtful ideas for certain ones; but if he does not always instruct his reader, he always sets him a-thinking, and that is no small degree of merit. His lively and ingenious manner of expression, in which we trace the imagination of his countryman Montaigne, has, above all, contributed to the great reputation of the Spirit of Laws: the same thing said by a man of equal or even superior learning to him, would not have been read. In short, there is not any work in which there is more wit, and a greater number of learned ideas and bold things; or where a reader can find more opportunities for instruction, whether he approves or condemns his opinions. We may, with justice, rank this in the number of original works that were an ornament to the age of Lewis XIV. and which have no model in antiquity. He died in 1755, like a philosopher, as he had lived.

Montfaucon (Bernard) was born in 1655. He was a Benedictine, and one of the most learned antiquarians in Europe. He died in 1741.

Montpensier (Anna-Maria-Louisa of Orleans), known by the name of Mademoiselle. She was daughter to Gaston duke of Orleans, and was born

born at Paris in 1627. Her Memoirs are rather those of a woman full of herself, than a princess who had been witness to great events; but there are several things very curious. She died in 1693.

Montreuil (Matthew de). He is one of those pleasing and easy writers, which the age of Lewis XIV. produced in great numbers, and who all succeeded in the middling way; but the spirit of the times, and imitation, have made many agreeable authors.

Moreri (Lewis) was born in Provence in 1643. It was little expected that the author of the Country of Love, and the translator of Rodriguez, would in his youthful days undertake the first Dictionary of Facts that had ever appeared. This laborious undertaking cost him his life. This work, which has been greatly improved and augmented, bears his name, but is no longer his. It is a new edifice, built upon the old plan. The many suspicious genealogies have greatly injured the character of this otherwise useful work. He died in 1680. There has been a supplement published, which is full of errors.

Morin (Michael-John-Baptist) was born at Beaujolois in 1583. He was a physician, a mathematician, and, through the prejudice of the times, an astrologer. He drew the horoscope of Lewis XIV. Notwithstanding his quackery, he was a man of learning. He died in 1656.

Morin (John) was born at Blois in 1591. He was very learned in the oriental languages, and in criticism. He died at the Oratory in 1659.

Morin (Simon) was born in Normandy in 1623. We mention him here only to deplore his fatal folly, and that of Saint-Sorlin Desmarets, his accuser.

cufer. Saint-Sorlin was a fanatic, who informed against another. Morin, who deserved only to be sent to a mad-house, was burnt alive in 1663, before philosophy had made sufficient progress to prevent learned men from dogmatizing, and judges from being cruel.

La Motte-Houdart (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1672. He was famous by his writings, and amiable in his manners: he had many friends, that is to say, people who were pleased with his company; but I was with him in his last moments, and saw him expire without a creature by his bed-side. This was in 1731.

The sole regard to truth obliges me here to transgress the usual bounds of these articles.

This man, who was so gentle in his manners, and who never gave any one, when living, the least subject of complaint, was, after his death, accused, almost in a judicial manner, of an enormous crime; no less than that of having been the author of those horrible couplets which proved the ruin of Rousseau in 1710; and of having, for several years, directed the whole scheme that occasioned the condemnation of an innocent man. This accusation comes with so much more weight, as being made by a person who was intimately acquainted with the affair, and who drew it up in the nature of a last will and testament. N. Boindin, attorney-general to the treasurers of France, when he died, in 1752, left behind him a very circumstantial memorial, in which, after a silence of forty years, he accuses *La Motte-Houdart* of the French academy, Joseph Saurin of the academy of sciences, and one Malafaire a merchant, of framing this villainous design, and the chatelet and the parliament

ment of having successively awarded the most unjust sentences. But,

First, If N. Boindin was actually persuaded of the innocence of Rousseau, why did he delay so long to make it known? At least, why did he not publish it immediately after the death of his enemies; and why did he not present this memorial, which had lain written by him upwards of twenty years?

2dly, Is it not obvious, that Boindin's memorial is no other than a defamatory libel, and that this man entertained an equal hatred to every one whom he mentions in this information intended for posterity?

3dly, He sets out with facts which every one knows to be false. He pretends that the count de Nocé, and N. Melon, the regent's secretary, were associates with Malafaire, a petty jeweller-merchant. Every one who was acquainted with these people know this to be a flagrant calumny. He afterwards confounds N. la Faye, secretary of the king's closet, with his brother the captain of the guards. Lastly, how can a jeweller be supposed to have had a share in all this scheme of the couplets?

4thly, Boindin pretends that this jeweller, and Saurin the geometrician, joined with La Motte to prevent Rousseau from obtaining Boileau's pension, who was still living in 1710. Could it be possible for three persons of such different professions to join together, and meditate so deep a scheme, one so infamous in itself, and so difficult in its execution as that of depriving a citizen, then in obscurity, of a pension which was not even vacant, that Rousseau would never have had,

had, and to which neither of the three associates had any pretensions?

5thly, After having agreed that Rousseau had written the five first couplets, which precede those that occasioned his disgrace, he makes La Motte-Houdart suspected as author of a dozen others in the same taste; and, as the sole proof of this accusation, he says, that these twelve couplets, which were satires upon a like number of persons who used to meet at the house of N. Villiers, were brought by La Motte-Houdart himself to that gentleman's house, an hour after Rousseau had been informed that the persons in question were to meet there. Now, says he, Rousseau had not above an hour's time to compose and transcribe these defamatory verses. La Motte was the person who brought them to Villiers; therefore La Motte must be the author. On the contrary, methinks, his openness in carrying them thither might be a presumption that he was not guilty of writing them. They were thrown at his door, as they were at those of several other persons: he opened the paper they were inclosed in, and found them full of the blackest invectives against all his friends, and himself likewise; upon which he immediately went and made the discovery. This has all the air of innocence.

6thly, It is necessary that those who interest themselves in this mystery of iniquity should be informed, that within little more than a month there had been a meeting of friends at the house of N. Villiers, most part of whom were the same persons that Rousseau had already abused in five satirical couplets, which he had imprudently repeated to different people. The very first of
these

these twelve new couplets sufficiently shews, that the parties in question used to meet sometimes at the coffee-house, and sometimes at monsieur de Villiers.

*Sots assemblés chez de Villiers,
Parmi les sots troupe d'élite,
D'un vil café dignes piliers,
Craignez la fureur qui m'irrite.
Je vai vous poursuivre en tous lieux,
Vous noircir, vous rendre odieux.
Je veux que partout on vous chante;
Vous percer & rive à vos yeux
Est une douceur que m'enchanté.*

Ye fools, that grace the house of Villiers,
Imperial folly's chosen band,
Of a blind coffee-house the worthy pillars,
Revere and dread my chast'ning hand.
Your hated steps my vengeance shall pursue,
And drag your sully'd fame to public view.
You shall be stigmatiz'd in ev'ry part:
To laugh and ridicule your motley crew
Shall be the darling pleasure of my heart.

7thly, It is intirely false that the five first couplets, which were known to be Rousseau's, were only a slight piece of ridicule upon five or six private persons, as the memorialist asserts. There is the same malignity in them as in the others.

*Que le bourreau par son valet
Fasse un jour serrer le sifflet
De Berrin & de sa soquello;
Que Pecour qui fait le ballet
Ait le fouet au pied de l'échelle.*

May

May Ketch, by dint of hempen rope,
 The noisy pipe of Berrin stop,
 Of him and all his squawling train ;
 And may Pecour, who made the hop,
 Be flogg'd 'till he is dy'd in grain.

Such is the stile of the five first couplets owned by Rousseau, and certainly this is not very delicate raillery. It is exactly in the same stile with the others which followed.

8thly, As to the last couplets, to the same air that, in 1710, occasioned a prosecution to be brought against Saurin of the academy of sciences, the memorialist says nothing more than what the printed case informed us of long ago ; only he is of opinion, that the wretch who was sentenced to be banished, for having been suborned by Rousseau, ought to have been condemned to the gallies, if he had really given false testimony. In this, however, monsieur Boindin is mistaken ; for, in the first place, it would have been a ridiculous piece of injustice to have condemned the person suborned to the gallies, when only banishment was inflicted on the suborner : and in the second place, this unhappy wretch did not appear as the accuser of Saurin. Besides, he could not have been absolutely suborned ; for he gave in several contradictory declarations ; and the nature of his fault, and the weakness of his understanding, did not allow of an exemplary punishment.

9thly, N. Boindin gives us expressly to understand in his memorial, that the family of Noailles and the Jesuits assisted to ruin Rousseau in this affair ; and that Saurin employed all his credit and interest for that purpose. I myself know of

a cer-

a certainty, and several persons now living know it as well as myself, that neither the Noailles's family, nor the Jesuits, solicited any such thing. As to interest, that was at first, intirely on the side of Rousseau; for, notwithstanding that the general cry was against him, he had gained two secretaries of state, namely, monsieur de Pontchartrain and monsieur de Voisin, who were not at all intimidated by this cry. It was in consequence of their orders, in form of solicitations, that the lieutenant-criminal, Le Comte, caused Saurin to be seized and thrown into prison, interrogated, confronted, and cross-examined, and all within four and twenty hours. The chancellor reprimanded the lieutenant-criminal, for so precipitate and unprecedented a procedure.

As to the Jesuits, it is so far from being true that they declared themselves against Rousseau, that immediately after the contradictory sentence of the châtelet, by which he was unanimously condemned, he retired to the noviciate of the Jesuits, under the direction of father Sanadon, at the time he was appealing to the parliament. This retreat of his to the Jesuits proves two things; first, that they were not his enemies; and secondly, that he wanted to oppose the shew of religion to the accusation of libertinism brought against him. He had already written his best psalms, at the same time with his licentious epigrams, which he called the *Gloria Patri* to his psalms; upon which Danchet addressed him in the following lines:

*A te masquer habile,
Traduis tour à tour*

*Petrone à la ville,
David à la Cour, &c.*

In pious fraud so witty,
Translating for thy sport,
Petronius in the city,
And David's psalms at court.

It would not, therefore, be in the least surprising, that having, like many others, put on the cloak of religion, while he continued to wear that of the cynick, he should have kept the first, which was now become absolutely necessary to him. We shall draw no consequence from this induction, as the heart of man is known to God alone.

10thly, It is of consequence to observe, during upwards of thirty years, that La Motte-Houdart, Saurin, and Malafaire, lived after this prosecution, not one of them was ever suspected of the least wicked scheme, or the slightest satire. La Motte-Houdart never so much as made any reply to the black invectives contained in the Calotes, and other lampoons under different titles, with which one or two men, who were detested by all the world, loaded him for a long time. He never disgraced his talents by satire; and when in 1709, after having been perpetually insulted by Rousseau, he made this beautiful ode :

*On ne se choisit point son père;
Par un reproche populaire
Le sage n'est point abatu.
Oui, quoi que le vulgaire pense,
Rousseau, la plus vile naissance
Donne du lustre à la vertu, &c.*

The

The son his parent does not chuse :
 By groundless clamour and abuse,
 The wife will never be dejected.
 Whate'er the vulgar may opine,
 Rousseau, the meanest birth will shine,
 By sacred virtue's rays reflected.

When he wrote this piece, I say, it was rather as a lesson of morality and philosophy than a satire. He therein exhorts Rousseau, who deny'd his father, not to be ashamed of his birth, and advises him to get the better of the spirit of envy and satire. Nothing can be more unlike that rage which breathes in the couplets of which he is accused.

But Rousseau, after his condemnation, which should have made him more prudent, whether he had been innocent or culpable, could not get the better of his inclination. He frequently abused those very persons in epigrams whom he had attacked in his couplets, namely, La Faye, Danchet, La Motte-Houdart, &c. He made verses against his old and new protectors, some of which are to be found in those letters of his, which so ill deserved to be made public; and most part of these verses are in the same stile as the couplets, for which he was condemned by the parliament, witness the following against that illustrious musician Rameau.

*Distillateurs d'accords baroques,
 Dont tant d'idiots son ferus,
 Chez les Thraces & les Iroques
 Portez vos Opera bourrus, &c.*

Ye that distil discordant strains,
 So grateful to an idiot ear,
 Among the savage Indian swains,
 Your inharmonious concerts bear.

Others in the same taste are to be found in the collection entitled, Rousseau's Pocket-book, against the abbé d'Olivet, who had formed a scheme to have him recalled home. In short, even in the latter part of his life, when he came to hide himself in Paris under the mask of devotion, he could not forbear still making these abusive epigrams. It is true, that age had impaired his stile, but without reforming his disposition, either because by an unaccountable medley of opinions, not uncommon among men, he made this heinous spirit of abuse a part of his devotion, or that by a wickedness no less common, this devotion was only hypocrisy.

11thly, If Saurin, La Motte, and Malafaire, had really plotted the crime of which they were accused, these three men having been afterwards upon very indifferent terms with each other, it is hardly possible but some part of their guilt must have transpired. This reflection, indeed, is not a proof; but, added to other circumstances, it carries great weight.

12thly, If a fellow so rude and artless as that William Arnold, who was condemned as a witness, suborned by Rousseau, had not been actually guilty, he would have declared his innocence: he would have published it aloud all his life, and to all the world. I knew the man: his mother was a kitchen maid in my father's family, as is said in Saurin's factum; and both his mother and himself have acknowledged several

veral times in my presence that he had been justly sentenced. But why then, after two and forty years, and just as he was about to die, should N. Boindin have left this strongly attested accusation against three persons who were no longer living? The reason is this: he had drawn up this memorial above twenty years before; that is to say, Boindin had entertained a hatred to all three; that he could never forgive La Motte Houdart for not soliciting a seat for him in the French academy, and for having candidly declared to him, that the public profession he made of atheism would prevent his being received. He had had a dispute with Saurin, who was like himself, of an arrogant and inflexible disposition, and also with Malafaire, a rough and unpolished man, and was at enmity with Legeret de la Faye, on account of the following epigram which he had made upon him.

*Oui, Vadius, on connaît votre esprit,
Savoir s'y joint, & quand le cas arrive,
Qu'œuvre parait par quelque coin fautive,
Plus aigrement qui jamais la reprit?
Mais on ne voit qu'en vous aussi se montre
L'art de louer le beau qui s'y rencontre,
Dont cependant maints beaux esprits font cas.
De vos pareils que voulez-vous qu'on pense?
Eh quoi, qu'ils sono connaisseurs délicats?
Pas n'en voudrais tirer la conséquence,
Mais bien qu'ils sont gens à fuir de cent pas.*

Yes, Vadius, that your wit is clear,
And learning solid I must own,
And should some faulty work appear,
In finding flaws you yield to none:

But still with all your sense and spirit,
 You want the art of praising merit;
 Which every critic should inherit.
 Of such as you what shall I say?
 That they are connoisseurs immense;
 But (take this caution by the way,)
 I'd shun them like the pestilence.

This was in fact Boindin's true character, and it is he who is described in the Temple of Taste, under the name of Bardou. In his memorial he was the dupe to his hatred. He was a man incapable of saying what he did not think, and equally incapable of altering any opinion wherewith his humour inspired him. In his morals he was irreproachable, in his life the strict philosopher; he did many generous actions; but that morose and unsociable humour of his, inspired him with prepossessions which he could never overcome.

The whole of this fatal affair, the consequences of which lasted so long, and with which no man is better acquainted than myself, took its rise from the innocent amusement which several persons of merit took in meeting together at a coffee-house, where they did not always pay a proper regard to the principal law of society, not to offend each other. Some severe criticisms passed mutually between them; and what was at first only a breach of politeness, gave birth to lasting animosity, and the perpetration of crimes. The reader now is left to judge whether there were three guilty persons in this affair, or only one.

It is probable that Saurin might have been the author of the last couplets ascribed to Roufseau

seau. It is probable likewise, that Rousseau having been found guilty of writing the five first, Saurin might have made the others, in order to ruin him; notwithstanding there was no rivalry between them: but there is not the least reason to charge La Motte with it. The intent of this article is purely to vindicate La Motte, whom I believe innocent. After all, it would be very difficult to determine which of the two, Saurin or Rousseau was guilty; but La Motte certainly was not.

De Motteville (Frances Bertaut) was born in Normandy in 1615. This lady has written some memoirs, which relate particularly to queen Anne, mother to Lewis XIV. in which we meet with several little facts written with great appearance of truth: she died in 1689.

Le Nain de Tillemont (Sebastian) Son to John Le Nain, master of requests, was born at Paris in 1637. He was bred up under Nicole, and was one of the most learned writers of Port-Royal. His History of the Emperors, and his Ecclesiastical History, in sixteen volumes, are written with as much veracity as can be found in compilations from ancient historians; for history before the invention of printing, being liable to very little contradiction, was consequently not very exact: he died in 1698.

Naudé (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1690: he was a physician and a philosopher; but more of the latter than the former. He at first attached himself to cardinal Barberini at Rome, then to cardinal de Richlieu, cardinal Mazarin, after that to queen Christina, to whose court he sometimes went, to increase the number of

learned men there; and last of all he retired to Abbeville, where he died as soon as he became at liberty. Of all his writings his Apology for the Great Men accused of Magic, is the only one remaining. A much larger volume might be made of Great Men accused of Atheism, since the time of Socrates.

——— *Populus nam solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit.*

He died in 1653.

Nemours (Mary de Longueville, dutchess of) was born in 1625. There are memoirs of her's, in which we meet with some particulars relating to the unhappy times of the Fronde: she died in 1707.

Nevers (Philip, duke of) There are some poetical pieces of his writing, in a very singular taste. We must not judge of them by the sonnet thus turned by Racine and Despreaux:

*Dans un palais doré Nevers jaloux & blême
Fait des vers où jamais personne n'entend rien.*

In palace gilt, Nevers, so jealous and commanding,

Writes verses that surpass all human understanding.

For his verses are both very intelligible and very pleasing, witness the following ones on Rancé, the famous reformer of La Trappe, who had written against archbishop Fenelon.

*Cet Abbé qu'on croyait paitri de sainteté,
 Vieilli dans la retraite & dans Phumilité,
 Orgueilleux de ses croix, bouffi de sa souffrance,
 Rompt ses sacrés statuts en rompant le silence,
 Et contre un saint Prélat s'animant aujourd'hui
 Du fond de ses deserts déclame contre lui,
 Et moins humble de cœur que fier de sa doctrine,
 Ill ose décider ce que Rome examine.*

That Abbé deemed so humble and so holy,
 Grown old in cell and pious melancholy,
 Proud of his cross, elated with his yoke,
 His sacred vows, at length, and silence broke;
 Now 'gainst a blameless prelate he declaims,
 And from his cloister poison'd arrows aims;
 Less meek of heart than flush'd with learning's
 pride,
 While Rome yet doubts, he ventures to decide.

His genius and talents are revived with improvement in his grandson: he died in 1707.

Niceron (John Peter) a Barnabite monk, was born at Paris in 1685. He was author of the *Memoirs of Illustrious Persons in Literature*. All his characters are not illustrious; but he speaks of each in a suitable manner, and does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves a place among the useful literati: he died in 1738.

Nicole (Peter) was born at Chartres in 1625: he was one of the best writers in Port-Royal. What he has written against the Jesuits is no longer read; but his moral essays, which are of service to mankind, will never be forgotten. That Chapter in particular which treats on the

means of preserving peace in society, is a masterpiece unequalled by any thing of the kind among the ancients; but this peace is as difficult to be established as the political one of the abbé de St. Pierre: he died in 1695.

D'Orleans, (Joseph) a Jesuit. The first who made choice of the revolutions of states, as the only subject of history. Those of England he has written in an elegant stile; but after the reign of Henry VIII. he is rather eloquent than faithful: he died in 1698.

Ozanam (James) a Jew by extraction, was born at Dombes in 1640: he learnt geometry without the help of a master at fifteen years of age. He is the first who compiled a Mathematical Dictionary. His Mathematical Amusements have still a great sale: he died in 1717.

Pagi, (Anthony) a Franciscan, was born in Provence in 1624. He corrected Baronius, for which he had a pension from the clergy: he died in 1699.

Papin (Isaac) was born at Blois in 1659: he was a Calvinist; but having quitted that religion he wrote against it: he died in 1709.

Pardies (Ignatius Gaston) a Jesuit, born at Pau in 1638, known to the world by his Elements of Geometry, and his tract upon the Souls of Brutes. To pretend, with Descartes, that animals are meer machines, without sensation, though furnished with the proper organs, is directly to contradict reason and experience. On the other hand, to say they have souls, properly so called, is saying what cannot be proved: but to say they are endued with memory and

sen-

sensation, though the manner of their operation cannot be explained, would be speaking like a man of judgment, who knows that it is better to be ignorant than to err; for what work of nature is there with whose first principles we are acquainted: he died in 1673.

Parent (Anthony) born at Paris in 1666: he was a good mathematician, though he never had been taught by any master: but what is still more remarkable, he lived a long time at Paris independent and happy upon less than two hundred livres a year: he died in 1716.

Pascal (Blaise). His father was the first intendant that was appointed at Rouen: he was born in 1623, and was a great genius, of the superiority of which he thought of avoiding himself, in the same manner as kings of their power, that is, to bring every thing in subjection to him by main force. What in his *Thoughts* most disgusts some readers is the contemptuous, authoritative air he assumes; but he ought first to have been sure he had reason on his side. It must be owned that he contributed much to the improvement of our language, and eloquence. His enemies and those of *Arnauld* found means to prevent any notice being taken of either in *Perrault's* book on *Illustrious Men*. This gave occasion to the quoting and applying to them that passage of *Tacitus*: *Præfulgebant Cassius & Brutus eo ipso quod eorum effigies non visebantur*: he died in 1662.

Patin (Gui) born at Houdan in 1601: he was a physician; but is better known by his *Letters*, which are full of slander and abuse, than by his skill as a physician. These *Letters* have been much read, on account of the anecdotes,

satire, and secret history in them, with which mankind in general are extremely delighted. It evidently appears from him how little contemporary authors, who write the news of the day, can be depended upon as guides by an historian: for that news is often found to be false, or misrepresented through malice; besides, all these little anecdotes cannot afford much entertainment, except to little minds: he died in 1693.

Patin (Charles) born at Paris in 1633, was the son of Gui. His works are read by the learned, as his father's Letters are by the idle and trifling. Charles was a very learned antiquarian; but he left France, and died professor of medicine at Padua in 1693.

Patrou (Oliver) born at Paris in 1604. He is the first in whose pleadings we find any thing like purity of language. In his last illness, Lewis XIV. ordered him some money, being informed he was but poor: he died in 1681.

Pavillon (Stephen) born at Paris in 1632: he was attorney-general of the parliament of Metz, and writ some pretty pieces of poetry: he died in 1705.

Pelisson Fontanier (Paul) a Calvinist, born at Beziers in 1624. He was confidant and secretary to the superintendant Fouquet; was a very indifferent poet indeed, but very learned and eloquent. In 1661, he was confined in the Bastile for his fidelity to his master, where he continued four years and a half. After his discharge he passed the remainder of his life in writing the most fulsome encomiums on the king, who had deprived him of his liberty. It is only in absolute monarchies where such an ab-

ject

jest servility and baseness is to be found. More a courtier than a philosopher, he quitted the religion in which he was educated, in order to make his fortune, in which he succeeded: for he rose to be comptroller of accounts, master of requests, and abbé, and had a commission to employ the third of the money granted to engage the Huguenots to follow his example in renouncing their religion. His History of the Academy is much admired: but he writ a great many other things besides that, as Prayers during Mass, a Piece upon the Eucharist, Pieces on Love and Gallantry, and love verses in abundance to Olimpe, by whom was meant mademoiselle des Vieux, who, it is said, was married to the celebrated Bossuet, before he took orders. But the performances that have done most honour to Pellisson are his excellent Discourses concerning M. Fouquet, and his History of the Conquest of Franche-Compte. The Protestants pretend, that he died in a state of indifference as to all religions, the contrary of which is asserted by the Catholics: his death happened in 1693.

Perrault (Claud) born at Paris in 1613: he was a physician, but prescribed only for his friends. Without the assistance of any master, he became a great proficient in all the arts that have any dependence on design, and in mechanics. He was a good naturalist, and a great architect. He encouraged the arts under Colbert, their patron; and gained a reputation, in spite of Boileau: he died in 1688.

Perrault (Charles) born in 1626, brother of Claud. Being comptroller-general of the buildings under Colbert, he brought the Academies

of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, into form and order. He was an encourager of men of letters, who made their court to him during the life of his protector, but afterwards abandoned him. He hath been charged with prejudice and injustice with regard to the Antients; but his great fault is the criticising them improperly, and without judgment, and making enemies of those who could have defended his cause. The dispute hath been and will be a long time a party-affair, as it was in Horace's days. How many are there in Italy, who, tho' they cannot read Homer with any pleasure, but are in raptures when they read Tasso or Ariosto; yet cry up the former as inimitable! he died in 1708.

Petau (Denys) born at Orleans in 1583, a Jesuit. To him we are indebted for some corrections in chronology: he writ no less than seventy different pieces, and died in 1652.

Petit de la Croix (Francis.) He was one of those whose merit the great Colbert encouraged and rewarded. At the age of seventeen, he was sent by Lewis XIV. to Turkey and Persia, to learn the oriental languages; and, what will appear a little extraordinary, he writ a part of the life of Lewis in Arabic, which is read and esteemed in the East: he writ besides, the History of Gengis can and Tamerlane, compiled from ancient Arabian authors; and many other valuable tracts. But of all his performances his translation of A Thousand and one Day, is the most read.

*L'homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est ne feu pour le mensonge.*

Man.

Mankind to truth are cold as ice ;
But soon take fire at lies and fiction.

He died in 1687.

Petit (Peter) born at Paris in 1617: he was a man of learning, and a philosopher: his works are in Latin: he died in 1687.

Perrou (Paul) born in Brittany in 1639: he was a great antiquarian, as appears from his tract on the origin of the Celtic language: he died in 1706.

Du Pin (Lewis) born in 1637, a doctor of the Sorbonne: he got much reputation, and some enemies by his *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*: he died in 1719.

La Placette (John) born in 1639, at Bearn: he was a protestant, and preacher in Holland, and at Copenhagen: he is the author of several works that are esteemed: he departed this life in 1718, at Utrecht.

De Polignac (Melchior) cardinal, born at Velay in 1662; as good a Latin poet as it is possible for one that now writes in that language to be. In his own, he was very eloquent. It appears from his choice, as well as that of others, that it is easier to write in Latin verse than in French. Unhappily for him while he opposed Lucretius, he opposed Newton: he died in 1741.

Parée (Charles) born in Normandy in 1675, a Jesuit. One of the few professors that have been known to and admired by the world in general: his eloquence resembles that of Seneca: he was a poet and a wit; but his chief excellence and merit was making learning and virtue appear amiable to his pupils: he died in 1741.

Du Pui (Peter): the son of *Claud de Pui*, a counsellor of parliament, and a very learned man, was born in 1583. His learning was an advantage to the state; for he was at great pains in searching and collecting charters, and other vouchers of the king's rights and prerogatives over several states. He cleared up the Salic law as much as it is possible to do it, and shewed that the Gallican church has the justest title to the liberties it claims, which notwithstanding are but a part of the privileges of the ancient churches. It appears from his History of the Knights Templars, that some individuals of the order indeed were culpable; but that the condemning of the whole order, and the punishment of so many knights, were acts of the most flagrant injustice: he died in 1652.

De Puifegur (the marshal.) He hath left us an Art of War, just as *Boileau* hath an Art of Poetry.

Quenel (Paquier), born in 1634, of the Oratory: he was unhappy in this, that he gave occasion to a great division among his countrymen: he lived in poverty and exile: his manners were severe, as those of men wholly engaged in controversy generally are. Thirty pages in his book changed or softened, would have spared his country much dispute, and animosity; but then he would not have made so much noise: he died in 1719.

Le Quien (Michael) was born in 1691: a Dominican, and very learned. He took a great deal of pains in writing on the eastern church and that of England. In particular, he entered the lists against Courayer concerning the validity

validity of ordination by English bishops. But the English regard these controversies no more than the Turks do such as concern the Greek church. He died in 1703.

Quinault (Philip) born at Paris in 1635: he was auditor of accounts, and writ some very beautiful pieces of Lyric poetry, notwithstanding Boileau's satire, which he bore with a great deal of good nature. Quinault was much superior in his way to Lully. The former will always be read, whereas the latter, setting aside his recitative, cannot even be sung: yet in his own time he was supposed to be indebted to Lully for his reputation: but time tries all things. He partook, like many other great men, of the bounty of Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

The marquis de Quincy, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and author of the Military History of Lewis XIV. He is very minute in his details, which may be useful to those that have patience to follow him through the operations of a campaign. Could exactly the same situations be supposed to exist, they would furnish good examples, but that is never the case, neither in business nor war. The difference is always great, and the resemblance imperfect. The conduct of war, like a game in which skill is requisite, is only to be learned by practice and service, and yet the event of a battle, like that of a game of hazard, is often determined by chance.

La Quintinie (John) born at Poitiers in 1626: he may be said to be the inventor of the art of cultivating gardens, and transplanting trees. His merit was amply rewarded by Lewis XIV.

and

and all Europe now follows his precepts. He died in

Racine (John) born at Ferte-Milon in 1639, and educated at Port-Royal. When he writ the tragedy of *Theagenes*, and presented it to Moliere, and that of the *Freres Ennemis*, with the subject of which Moliere furnished him, he was an ecclesiastic. In the patent to *Andromache*, he is stiled prior of Epinal. Lewis XIV. was not insensible to his great merit. He made him a gentleman in ordinary, nominated him sometimes of his retinue when he went to Marli, made him lie in his apartment once during a fit of sickness, besides many other valuable marks of his favour: yet *Racine* died of a chagrin, from an apprehension of his having incurred his displeasure; by which it appears that he was a greater poet than philosopher. The merit of his works was not ascertained till of late. *Mariamne*, says St. Evremont, *Sophonisba*, *Alcinoë*, *Andromache*, and *Britannicus* are affecting pieces. Thus was not only *Corneille's* *Sophonisba*, a sorry performance, but the absurd *Mariamne* and *Alcinoë* set on a level with the other master-pieces. Thus is gold confounded with trash during the lives of ingenious men, but death separates them. He died in 1699.

Rancé (Jean de Bouthillier) born in 1626: his first performance was the translation of *Anacreon*, and in 1664, he instituted the terrible reform of *La Trappe*. As legislator, he dispensed himself with observation of that law, which obliged those that are confined to that dismal place, to be absolute strangers to what passes in the world. He was an eloquent writer.

ter. But, strange inconstancy! after he had instituted the above society, and been its governor or superior, he laid down the office, but afterwards would have resumed it. He died in 1700.

Rapin (René) born at Tours in 1621: a Jesuit. He is well known by the poem, called the Garden, in Latin, and many other learned pieces. He died in 1687.

Rapin de Thoiras (Paul) born at Castres in 1661: he was a refugee in England, and a long time an officer. The English are indebted to him for the only good and impartial history they have: for their own historians write all in the spirit of party. He died at Wesel in 1726.

Regis (Sylvan) born in Agenois in 1632: his philosophical works are no longer regarded, in consequence of the many discoveries and improvements that have been made since he wrote. He died in 1707.

Regnard (Francis) born at Paris in 1647: his travels alone were sufficient to render him famous. He was the first Frenchman that visited Lapland, where he left this inscription cut out upon a rock: *Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit orbis*, i. e. I am got at last to the extremity of the world. He was taken in the Mediteranean by a corsair, and carried to Algiers, but was afterwards ransomed and made treasurer of France, and lieutenant of the waters and forests. He was a man of pleasure and a philosopher; his genius was sprightly, and truly comic. His comedy called the *Joueur*, or Gamester, is thought not inferior to those of Moliere. One must be a great stranger to the genius of the two authors, to suppose that he stole that piece from

from Dufreni. He dedicated his *Menechmes* to Despreaux, and afterwards writ against him, because he had not done him justice. Notwithstanding the gaiety of his temper, he died of chagrin at the age of 52. It hath even been said, that he cut short the thread of his days himself. He made his exit in 1658.

Regnier Desmarêts (Seraphin) born at Paris in 1632; he improved our language much, and writ some pieces of poetry in French and Italian. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for a work of Petrarch's, but could not have made his French verses pass for those of a great poet. He took his leave of the world in 1713.

Renaudot (Theophrastus) a phylician, and very learned in more respects than one. He was the first writer of Gazettes in France, and died in 1679.

Renaudot (Eusebius) born in 1646: very learned in the oriental languages and in history. But he deserves to be blamed for not allowing Bayle's dictionary to be printed in France. He died in 1720.

Richelet (Cæsar Peter) the first who composed a dictionary almost entirely of satire, in which he set an example more dangerous than useful.

Du Rier (Andrew) a gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber. He was a long time at Constantinople, and in Egypt, in a public employment. We have a translation by him of the Alcoran, and the history of Persia.

Du Rier (Peter) born at Paris in 1605: he was secretary to the king, and historiographer of France, but poor notwithstanding. He was the author of nineteen plays and thirteen translations, all which were well received by his contemporaries. He died in 1658.

La Rochefoucault (Francis, duke de) born in 1613: his memoirs are read, but his thoughts are not only read, but got by heart. He died in 1680.

Robault (James) born at Amiens in 1620: he abridged and explained in a clear and methodical manner Descartes's philosophical works. But all that can be said for that great man's philosophy at present is, that it exploded ancient errors, and substituted others in their places. He died in 1675.

Rollin (Charles) born at Paris in 1661, rector of the university, and the first of that body who wrote French with purity and dignity. The last volumes of his *Ancient History* are not equal to the first, as being composed in much greater haste; yet it is one of the best compilations extant in any language, because Rollin was a master of eloquence, which few compilers are. Had he been also a philosopher, it would have greatly enhanced the value of his work. There are a number of ancient histories; but in none of them do we find that philosophical sagacity that distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between probability and fable, or fiction, and suppresses what is useless and frivolous. He died in 1741.

Rotrou (John) born in 1609: the founder of the theatre. The first scene and a part of the fourth act of *Venceslas* are master-pieces. Corneille used to call him his father; but every one will agree that the son greatly surpassed the father. *Venceslas* was not written till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

Roussseau (John Baptist) born at Paris in 1669. Fine verses, great errors in conduct, and
great

great sufferings, have conspired to render him famous. We must either suppose him the author of the verses that occasioned his banishment, which, by the bye, are not unlike many that he avowed, or throw a slur upon the two tribunals that condemned him. It is not indeed the first time that two tribunals, and even more numerous bodies, have, with one voice, pronounced very unjust sentences, when party-spirit runs high. Thus much is certain, that the party against Rousseau were full of rancour and resentment. Few men have ever been more universally hated and persecuted. Nothing less would satisfy the public than his banishment; nay, their aversion continued unabated several years after. But at last the success of his rival La Motte, the reception he met with, the reputation which, as they thought, he had unjustly and unfairly acquired, and the artifice by which he had raised himself to a sort of empire in literature, made all the men of letters forsake him, and declare for Rousseau, whom they now no longer dreaded. By their means the public in general was reconciled to him. La Motte now began to appear to them too happy, because he was rich and in vogue, not considering that he was blind, and laboured under many infirmities and disorders. On the contrary, Rousseau was viewed in the light of an unhappy exile; and to live at Vienna or Brussels was thought a greater misfortune than to be blind and infirm. But indeed both were very unhappy: only the one was the victim of nature, the other of the unlucky adventure that occasioned his banishment. Both may serve to shew what partiality and injustice men are capable of, how much they vary

in

in their judgments, and what folly it is to hunt after popular applause. He died at Brussels in 1740. See the article *La Motte*.

De La Rue (Charles) born in 1643, a Jesuit, Latin and French poet, and preacher; he was one of those that writ notes upon the classics, for the use of the dauphin. Virgil was the author that fell to his lot. He died in 1725.

Ruinard (Thierri) a Benedictine: he was a laborious critic: He maintained, in opposition to Dodwell, that there was an infinite number of martyrs in the primitive church. Perhaps he did not carefully enough distinguish between martyrdom and natural death, between persecutions on a religious and civil account. However that be, he must be ranked among the learned men of the age, in which the Benedictines have greatly distinguished themselves by the most profound reasoning, as Martene, for instance, upon the ancient rites of the church. Tuillier and others have entirely dispelled that cloud that long hung over the history and antiquities of the dark ages, especially with regard to the church. This was a species of study that was unknown till the Age of Lewis XIV. and in France only were the Benedictines celebrated for it. He died in 1707.

De la Sabliere (Anthony de Rambouillet). His Madrigals are wrote with an elegant simplicity. He died in 1680.

Sacy le Maitre (Lewis Isaac) born in 1613. One of the good writers of Port-Royal. The Royaumont Bible is by him, and a translation of Terence's comedies: he died in 1684. His brother, Anthony le Maitre, retired also to Port-

Port-Royal: he had been a counsellor at law, and was accounted very eloquent; but the opinion of the public changed upon reading his pleadings, which he had the vanity to publish. Another gentleman of the long robe, named Sacy, but not of the same family, and a member of the French academy, published a translation of Pliny's Letters in 1701, that were well received by the public.

Le Sage, born in 1667: his romance of *Gil Blas* still keeps its ground, because it is natural: he died in 1747.

Saint Aulaire, (Francis Joseph de Beau-poil, marquis de). It is something very remarkable, that the finest of his verses were composed when he was turned of ninety. Like the marquis de la Fare, he did not begin to exercise his talent for poetry, till he was past sixty. Among the first verses he published were the following, which were ascribed to la Fare.

*O muse le légère & facile,
Qui sur le coteau d' Helicon
Vintes offrir au vieil Anacréon
Cet art charmant, cet art utile,
Qui fait rendre douce & tranquille
La plus incommode saison;
Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse écloses
Orniez à ses côtés les graces & les ris,
Et qui cachez ses cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roses, &c.*

O muse! indulgent and heart-easing,
Who on the hill of Helicon,
Confer'd on old Anacreon,
That art so useful and so pleasing,

That,

That, ev'n in winter's hoary reign,
 With pleasure beautifies the scene.
 You, who with flow'rs on fair Parnassus grow-
 ing,
 Adorn'd the graces in his train,
 And hid his locks of silver grain,
 With wreaths of roses ever blowing.

It was this performance that procured him a seat in the academy, tho' Boileau alledged it as the reason why he could not agree to his being admitted: he died in 1742, near an hundred years old, some say an hundred and two. Once being at supper with the dutchess of Maine, when he was above eighty years old, she called him Apollo, and desired to know some secret or other: his answer was,

La divinité qui s'amuse

A me demander mon secret,

Si j'étais Apollo, ne serait point ma muse:

Elle serait Thetis, & le jour finirait.

The goddess who my youth renews,
 And would my secret comprehend,
 Were I Apollo, should not be my muse;
 She should be Thetis, and the day should end.

Anacreon, though younger, did not write such pretty things. If the Greeks had had such writers as our good ones, their vanity would have been still greater than it was, and we should have had more reason to admire them than we have.

Sainte Marthe. This family, for the space of an hundred years and upwards, hath been fruitful

ful in good writers. The first Charles Gauthier de Sainte Marthe was an eloquent man for his time: he died in 1555.

Scevola, nephew of Charles, distinguished himself both by his learning and his exploits. It was he that reduced Poitiers to the obedience of Henry IV. he died at Loudun in 1623, and the famous Urban Grandier pronounced his funeral oration.

Abel de Sainte Marthe, his son, was also a lover of learning, and died in 1652; and his son, who was likewise named Abel, trod in the steps of his father and grandfather, and died in 1706.

Scevola and Louis de Sainte Marthe, twin-brothers, and sons of Scevola. They were both eminent for their learning, and were buried in the same tomb at Paris, at St. Severin's. They composed together the *Gallia Christiana*.

Denys de St. Marthe, their brother, concluded that work, and died at Paris in 1725.

Peter Scevola de Sainte Marthe, the eldest brother of the last Scevola, was historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

St. Evremont (Charles) born in Normandy in 1613. Loose morals, letters writ to courtiers, at a time when the word *court* was pronounced with an emphasis every where, indifferent verses composed in illustrious societies, and for that reason called Society Verses, all these concurred, with a good deal of spirit, to raise the reputation of his works. They were printed by one des Maizeux, together with the life of the author, which alone makes one large volume, and yet in the whole there are not four pages that are interesting. It contains scarce any thing but what is to be found in his works. It

was an imposition of the booksellers and editors. By such artifices a way hath been found to multiply books *in infinitum*, and without adding any thing to the knowledge of mankind. His exile, his philosophy, and works, are well known. When he was asked on his death-bed, if he would be reconciled to the church? his answer was, "I wish I could be reconciled to my appetite." He died in 1703, and was interred at Westminster, with the kings and illustrious men of England.

Saint Pavin (Denys Languin de). He was one of those good authors whom Despreaux, in his Satires, confounded with the bad. What little he writes is esteemed for its elegance and delicacy. As for his personal merit, we may judge of it by the epitaph which Fieubet, master of requests, and one of the politest gentlemen of the age, made for him.

Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin:

Donne des larmes à sa fin.

Tu fus de ses amis peut-être?

Pleure ton sort & le sien:

Tu n'en fus pas? pleur le tien,

Passant, d'avoir manqué d'en être.

Here St. Pavin in mould'ring dust is laid,
O'er his cold grave a tear in pity shed.
Among his friends, perhaps, thy name was
told:

If so, his fate and thine bemoan:

But if it was not, weep thy own,

That in the happy band thou never wast en-
roll'd.

L'Abbé de Saint Pierre (Castel), a gentleman of Normandy, who, tho' his income was not great, yet, for some time, shared it with the celebrated Fontenelle and Varignon : he writ a great deal on politics. There is no better character of his works in general, than that given by the cardinal de Bois, viz. that they were the reveries of a good subject : he was simple enough to inculcate often in his works the most trivial moral truths, and to propose for the most part things impracticable : he was continually harping on the scheme of a perpetual peace, and a sort of universal parliament, which he called the diet of Europe. Part of this chimerical project had been attributed to Henry IV. and the abbé de St. Pierre, the better to recommend his notions, pretended that the European diet had been planned and approved of, by the dauphin duke of Burgundy, and that the scheme was found among his papers after his death. But it was a meer fiction of his own, to make his project be the better relished. He honestly published the answer that cardinal Fleury made to his proposal : " You have forgot, monsieur, says the cardinal, to propose in the first place to send a company of missionaries to prepare and dispose the hearts of the several princes." Yet, notwithstanding all this, the abbé de St. Pierre did a deal of good. He contributed not a little to deliver France from the hardships of the arbitrary land-tax ; with respect to that, and that alone, he writ and acted like a statesman. He was unanimously excluded the French academy, because he had, during the regency of the duke of Orleans, a little too harshly opposed in his Polyfiodie the establishment of councils to the method
of

of governing adopted by Lewis XIV. the protector of the academy. The intrigue for that end was managed by the cardinal de Polignac, and succeeded. What is a little unaccountable, is, that the regent did not prevent it, though the cardinal de Polignac was at that very time plotting against him; and he had given the abbé St. Pierre an apartment in the Palais Royal, and had his whole family in his service. However, the abbé did not complain. He continued to live like a philosopher, with those very persons who had excluded him. Boyer, the ancient bishop of Mirepoix, his fellow-member, prevented his elogium from being pronounced at the academy according to custom. These fine speeches at the death of an academician add nothing either to his merit or reputation; yet in the present case, the refusal was barbarous: the service he had done his country, his probity, and his gentle disposition, entitled him to another sort of treatment. A few days before his death, I asked him what he thought of it: He replied, that he considered it as a journey or jaunt into the country. Of all his performances, that on the future abolition of Mahomedanism is the most remarkable. He is positive that the time will come, when reason will be an overmatch for superstition every where; that men will see and be convinced, that, to please God, patience, beneficence, and humanity alone are requested.

It is impossible, says he, that a book, in which falsehoods are asserted for truths, absurdities advanced that contradict common sense, and praises bestowed on actions manifestly unjust,

should be a revelation from God. He fancies that in 500 years time, all sorts of persons, even the lowest, will be convinced of the imposture, and that even the mufti and the cadis will find it their interest to disabuse the people, and to reform their religion, in order to render themselves more necessary and respected. 'Tis a curious piece.

Salle (Denis) born in 1626. A counsellor of the parliament of Paris. He was the first that introduced journals, which Bayle perfected. They have since been brought into disgrace by greedy booksellers, and obscure writers, who have filled them with false extracts, lies, and impertinence. In short, applause and abuse is become a traffic, especially in periodical papers, by which scandalous doings, learning hath been much disparaged. He died in 1669.

Sandrafs de Courtils, born at Montargis in 1644. I have mentioned him for no other reason, but to put the French, especially foreigners, on their guard against those forgeries published in Holland. Courtils was one of the most infamous writers in this respect. He deluged Europe with fictions, under the title of histories. What a scandalous thing was it, that a captain of the regiment of Champagne should go to Holland, and support himself by selling lies to the booksellers. He, and such as follow his example, in writing libels against their country, against good princes who scorn, and private persons who have it not in their power to punish them, can be considered only as the most execrable and abandoned wretches. He wrote the Conduct of France since the peace of Nimeguen, and

and the answer to it. The State of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV. The Conduct of Mars in the Dutch wars. The Love Conquests of the great Alcander. The Love Intrigues of France. The Life of Turenne and Admiral Coligni. The Memoirs of Rochefort, Artagnan, Monbrun, Vordac, of the marchioness de Frene. The political Testament of Colbert, and many other pieces, by which simpletons have been imposed upon and abused. The authors of those miserable pamphlets against France, intituled le Glaneur, l'Epilogueur, are his humble imitators. These pieces, which hunger prompted, and stupidity and falsehood dictated, are read by none but the canaille. He died at Paris in 1712.

Sanleque (Lewis) A canon regular, and the author of some pretty verses. The age of Lewis XIV. produced a vast number of indifferent poets, in whom, however, we sometimes meet with beautiful lines. But these are to be attributed to the times, not to the genius of the authors. He died in 1714.

Sanfon (Nicholas) born at Abbeville in 1600. He was the first good writer on geography before William de L'Isle, and died in 1667. His sons were also eminent in that way.

Santeuil (Jean Bapt.) born at Paris in 1600. He was an excellent Latin poet, if that is possible, but could not make French verses. His hymns are still sung in England. He died in 1697.

Surrafin (John Francis) born near Caen in 1605. He is an agreeable writer both in prose and verse. He died in 1655.

Savari (James) born in 1622. He was the first that wrote on commerce, having been a long time a merchant. The council consulted him with regard to the ordinance of 1670, and he drew up almost all the articles of it. The dictionary of commerce, writ by him and his brother Philemon canon of St. Maur, was an undertaking as useful as new. But books of that sort are like the interests of princes, that change every fifty years and less. At present, the objects, the channels, the returns, and the arts of trade are very different from what they were in the days of Savari. He died in.

Saumaise (Claud) born in Burgundy in 1588. He retired to Leyden to enjoy the liberty of the country. His erudition is well known. He died in 1653.

Saurin (James) born at Nismis in 1677. He was esteemed the best preacher among the protestants. Notwithstanding, his style is said to savour of the refugee. It can hardly be supposed, says he, that those who have forgone their country for the sake of their religion, should speak their native language in its purity. But in his time, the French spoken in Holland was better than it is at present. Bayle's style had nothing of the refugee; the only thing that can be objected to it, is a familiarity that approaches sometimes to lowness. The defects in the language of the Calvinist preachers, were occasioned chiefly by their copying the incorrect phraseology of the first reformers; besides, almost all of them having been educated at Saumur, in Poitou, in Dauphine, and Languedoc, they still retained the vitious provincial modes of

of expression. The place of minister to the nobility at the Hague was instituted on purpose for Saurin. He was a man of learning and pleasure, and died in 1730. His family was not all related to that of Joseph Saurin of the academy of sciences, who is the author of some extracts from the *Journal des Scavants*, some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Factum* against Rousseau. Joseph died in 1737.

Sauveur (Joseph) born at la Fleche in 1653. He learned the elements of geometry without the help of any master, and is among the first that calculated the chances in games of hazard. He used to say, that one man could do as much as another in mathematics. This will hold true with regard to mere learners; but not to them who apply themselves to make discoveries. He was dumb till the age of seventeen, and died in 1716.

Scarron (Paul) the son of a counsellor of the great chamber, was born in 1598. His comedies are rather farces than comedies, and *Virgil Traveste* could be received only as the work of a buffoon. His *Comical Romance* is the only piece of his that is still relished by people of taste, as Boileau predicted. He died in 1660.

Scuderi (George de) born at Havre de Grace in 1603. Patronised by cardinal de Richlieu, he rivalled, for some time, Corneille in fame. His name is better known than his works. He died in 1607.

Scuderi (Magdalen) George's sister, born at Havre in 1607. She is better known at present by some pretty pieces of poetry, than by the unwieldy romances of *Clelie* and *Cyrus*. *Lewi-*

XIV. treated her with respect, and settled a pension upon her. She gained the first prize for eloquence bestowed by the academy. Her death happened in 1701.

Segrais (John) born at Caen in 1625. Mademoiselle calls him a sort of bel esprit, but he was indeed a very great wit, and a man of letters into the bargain. He was obliged to quit that Princess's service, for opposing her marriage with the count de Lausun. His *Eclogues*, and translation of *Virgil*, were then admired, but are little regarded at present. What is remarkable, is, that some of the verses of Brebeuf's *Pharsalia* are still quoted, but not one of Segrais's *Virgil*. Notwithstanding, Boileau cries up Segrais, but runs down Brebeuf. He died in 1701.

Senaut (John Francis) born in 1601. General of the oratory, and a preacher; who was, with regard to F. Bourdaloue, what Rotrou was to Corneille, his predecessor, and sometimes, tho' rarely, his equal. He is to be reckoned rather among the restorers of eloquence, than among the truly eloquent, who have been very few.

Senacai, first valet de chambre to Maria Theresa. He was a poet of a singular turn of imagination. His tale of *Kaimae*, take it altogether, discovers a very great genius. It serves to shew, that very pretty tales may be told in a manner quite different from that of Fontaine. 'Tis observable that this piece, tho' the best he writ, is the only one not to be found in his collection. His *Travaux d'Apollon* has also peculiar beauties.

Sevigné

Sevigné (Mary de Rabutin) born in 1626. Her letters, which are full of anecdotes, and writ with freedom and spirit, in a lively style, are the best criticism that can be on your studied letters, in which there is a manifest affectation of wit, and still more on these fictitious letters writ to imaginary correspondents, and stuffed with absurd sentiments and adventures in a pretended epistolary style. She died in 1696.

Sylva, a Jew of Bourdeaux. He was a celebrated Physician at Paris, and writ a book on blood-letting. But he was a much greater man than one would suppose from his book; and such a physician as Moliere neither could nor durst attempt to ridicule. He died about the year 1746.

Simon (Richard) born in 1638. He was of the oratory, and an excellent critic. His history of the origin and progress of ecclesiastical revenues, and critical history of the old testament, &c. are read by the learned every where. He died at Dieppe in 1712.

Sirmond (James) a jesuit, born about the year 1559. He was one of the most learned and amiable men of his time, but little known as confessor to Lewis XIII. by reason of his peaceable deportment in that slippery office. The pope made choice of him, preferably to all the learned men of Italy, to write the preface to the history of the councils. His numerous works were held in great esteem in his own time, but are very little read now. He died in 1651.

Sirmond (John) nephew of the former, historiographer

Biographer of France, and privy-counsellor; an honour commonly annexed to the office of historiographer. One of his principal works is the life of cardinal d'Amboise; which he writ with no other view, but to make him appear inferior to cardinal de Richlieu, his patron. He was one of the first academicians, and died in 1649.

Sorbières (Samuel) born in Dauphiny in 1610. One of those that have had the title of historiographer of France. Having been intimate with pope Clement IX. before his exaltation; and not receiving from him any thing but trifles, he writ to him thus: "Your holiness sends me ruffles, before I have got a shirt." He writ but superficially upon several sciences; and died in 1670.

De la Suze (Henrietta de Coligni, countess) famous in her day for her wit and her elegies. She turned papist because her husband was a hugenot, and parted from him, in order, as queen Christina used to say, that she might not see him either in this world or the next. She died in 1673.

Tallemant (Francis) born at Rochelle in 1620. The second translator of Plutarch. He died in 1696.

Tallemant (Paul) born at Paris in 1642. Although his grand-father was the rich Montoron and his father master of requests, with an income of 200,000 livres present money, yet he had little or nothing; but Colbert provided for him, as he did for many other learned men. He had a principal hand in the medallic history of the king. He died in 1712.

Tales

Talon (Omer) attorney-general of the parliament of Paris, hath left some valuable memoirs, worthy of a good magistrate and citizen. He died in 1652.

Tarteron, a jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, Perseus, and Juvenal, suppressing those grossly obscene passages, with which one is surpris'd to find the works of Juvenal, but especially Horace, sullied. In doing this he had an eye to the youth, for whose benefit his labours were intended; but his translation is not literal enough for them; he has given the sense, but not the import of the particular words.

Terrason (L'Abbe) born in 1669. He both lived and died like a philosopher. There are many good things in his *Setos*. He has translated Diodorus well, but his examen of Homer discovers no sort of taste. He died 1750.

Thiers (John Baptist) born at Chartres in 1641. He is author of a number of dissertations. It was he who attacked in print the inscription on the convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, which runs thus. To God and St. Francis, who were both crucified. He died in 1703.

Thomassin (Lewis) of the oratory born in province in 1619. He was a man profoundly learned, and the first that collated manuscripts of the fathers, councils, and history. Towards the end of his life, he lost his memory entirely, so that he forgot that he had ever writ any. He died in 1695.

Thoynard (Nicholas) born at Orleans in 1629. He is supposed to have had a great hand in cardinal Norris's tract on the Syrian epochs. His harmony of the gospels in Greek is esteemed a

curious

curious piece. He was a mere scholar, but a very profound one. He died in 1706.

De Torci (John Baptist Colbert) nephew of the great Colbert, Minister of state under Lewis XIV. He left memoirs of the public transactions from the peace of Kifwick to that of Utrecht. They were published, while this essay on the age of Lewis was in the press, and confirms every thing advanced in it. They are very minute, and therefore only fit for those that want to be thoroughly acquainted with the subject of them. The style is better than that of any of the memoir writers his predecessors. It discovers the taste of Lewis XIV.'s court. But what stamps the highest value on them is, the candour and sincerity of the author, which shines through the whole. He died in 1746.

Touréil (James) born at Thoulouse in 1656. His translation of Demosthenes is well known. He died in 1715.

Tournefort (Joseph Pitton de) born in Provence in 1656. He was the greatest botanist in his time. He travelled by order of Lewis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, for the improvement of natural history. He added to the catalogue of plants 1336 new ones, and taught us to know our own. He died in 1708.

Le Tourneux, born in 1640. His Christian year is much read, tho' it is in the index expurgatorius of Rome, or rather perhaps because it is there. He died 1686.

Tristan l'hermite, gentleman to Gaston of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. The long and surprising run which his tragedy of Mariamne

amne had, was owing to the ignorance of the times. They had then no better; and it even held up its head some time after Corneille made his appearance. In some nations, at this day, very indifferent performances pass for master-pieces, because they have had none better. It is not generally known that *Tristan* turned the office of the virgin into verse, nor is it at all strange that it is not. He died in 1655.

Here follows his epitaph.

*Je fis le chien couchant auprès d'un grand Seigneur.
Je me vis toujours pauvre, & tâchai de paraître.
Je vécus dans la peine attendant le bonheur,
Et mourus sur un coffre en attendant mon Maître.*

A wretched spaniel crouching by his lord,
I still was poor, and pleaded still disaster;
I liv'd in waiting at proud fortune's board;
And dy'd upon a bench, in waiting on my master.

Vaillant (John Foy) born at Beauvais in 1632. The public is indebted to him for the Science des Madailles, and the king for one half of his cabinet. Colbert the minister sent him to Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. In 1674, he, and the architect Desgodet, were taken by the Algerines, and both ransomed by the king. Never did any learned man encounter so many dangers. He died in 1706.

Vaillant (John Francis) born at Rome in 1665, when his father visited that city. He was an antiquary, as his father had been, and died in 1708.

Valincourt (John Baptist Henry du Troussel
O 6 de)

de) born in 1653. He is chiefly known by an epistle which Dispreaux addresses to him, tho' he writ some little things himself. He acquired a handsome fortune, which is more than he would have done, had he minded nothing but his books. Mere scholarship, without that activity and sagacity which renders a man useful, leads to nothing but misery and contempt. One of the best discourses ever spoken at the academy, is that wherein Mr. de Valincourt endeavours to correct the error of that multitude of young people, who, mistaking an itch of writing for genius and talent, pester princes with their verses, and deluge the public with pamphlets, accusing them of ingratitude, because they forsooth are fools and idlers. He begs that those of them that have an ear would hear, and be persuaded, that the profession which they look upon as the lowest, is infinitely more eligible than that which they have taken up. He died in 1730.

Valois (Adrian) (born at Paris in 1607, historiographer of France. His best works are his notice des Gaules, and his history of the first race of our kings. He died in 1692.

Valois (Henry) brother of the foregoing, born in 1603. His works are less interesting to the French than those of his brother. He died in 1676.

Varignon (Peter) born at Caen in 1654. A celebrated mathematician. He died in 1722.

Varillas (Anthony) born in la Marche in 1624. An historian more agreeable than exact. He died in 1696.

Le Vassor (Michael) of the oratory and a refugee in England. His history of Lewis XIII. tho'

tho' diffusive, heavy, and sarcastic, is in request for many singular transactions to be found in it; but he is an odious declaimer, who, under pretence of writing the history of Lewis XIII. aims at nothing but the depreciating Lewis XIV. sparing neither the living nor the dead. With regard to facts he is generally in the right; but that is not supposed to be the case with regard to his characters and reflections. He died in 1681.

Vauvassour, born in Charalois in 1605. A Jesuit, and very learned. He was the first who made it appear, that the Greeks and Romans were absolute strangers to burlesque, and that it is a relic of barbarism. He died in 1681.

Vauban (marshal) born in 1633. His project of the tenth penny could not be carried into execution, and is, in fact, impracticable. He left behind him several memoirs, worthy of so good a subject, and died in 1707.

Vaugelas (Claude Favre de), born at Chamberi in 1585. He is one of those that first contributed to the regulating and refining of our language, and who could write verses in Italian, but not in French. During thirty years he was retouching and altering his translation of Quintus Curtius. Every author ought to make his works as perfect as possible, and for that end to be correcting them all his life. He died in 1650.

Le Vayer (Francis), born at Paris in 1588. He was preceptor to Monsieur, brother to Lewis XIV. and, during one year, to Lewis himself. He was also historiographer of France, and counsellor of state. His scepticism was well known.

known, and yet did not prevent his being entrusted with the important office of educating these princes. Though his works are too prolix, yet there is a great deal of just reasoning and learning in them. He was certainly the most learned member of the academy. His scepticism is bolder and more undisguised than that of Bayle, and he is more severe and cynical in his satire. His motto was,

*De las cosas mas seguras
La mas segura es dudar.*

Of all those maxims deem'd secure,
The most secure is still to doubt.

As that of Montagne, *Que sçai je? i. e.* What know I? He died in 1672.

Veiffiures (Mathurin de la Croze), born at Nantes in 1661. A Benedictine at Paris. Being a free-thinker, and his superior of a quite different character, he took the resolution to quit both his order and his religion. He was a prodigy both for learning and memory. Not content with studying and understanding what was useful and agreeable, he must needs study what could not be known, such as the ancient Egyptian language. One piece that he writ, upon the christianity of the Indies, is much esteemed. There is one thing remarkable that we learn from it, and that is, that the bramins, notwithstanding the idolatry of the people, believe that there is but one God. Such is the itch of writing, that a life of this man hath been published, making a volume as large as that of Alexander.

Alexander. Such an extract as this would have been enough, and too much. He died at Berlin in 1739.

Vergier (James), born at Paris in 1675. He is, with regard to Fontaine, the same that Cam-pistron is to Racine, an imitator, feeble, but natural. He was assassinated at Paris by two highwaymen in 1720. It is insinuated in Moreri, that the cause of his death was a parody he writ against a powerful prince; but that is false.

Vertot (René Aubert), born in Normandy in 1655. An elegant and agreeable historian. He died in 1735.

Vichart de St. Real (Cæsar), born at Cham-berry, but educated in France. His history of the conspiracy of Venice is a masterpiece, but that is more than can be said of his life of Jesus Christ. He died in 1692.

Villars de Montfaucon (l'abbé de), born in 1635. He is well known as the author of the Count de Gabalis, built upon a part of the ancient mythology of the Persians. He was shot dead with a pistol in 1673; upon which it was said, that the sylphs had assassinated him for revealing their mysteries.

Villars (marshal duke de), born in 1652. He wrote the whole first tome of the memoirs that bear his name. He died in 1734.

Villedieu (madame de). Her romances have gained her a reputation. But I would not have the reader think that I set any value upon that inundation of romances with which France hath been lately overflowed. Almost all of them, except *Zaid*, are the productions of persons

sons of no genius, who writ in an easy agreeable style things unworthy the notice of men of sense. Most of them are quite destitute of imagination, and though read and admired by young people, whose taste they spoil, they are not worth, all together, four pages of Ariosto. She died in 1683.

Villiers (Peter), born at Coignac in 1648. A Jesuit. He was a man of letters, as almost all of that order are. His sermons, and his poem on the art of preaching, were esteemed in his own time. His verses on solitude are far superior to those of St. Amant on the same subject, though so much admired, but are not, after all, worthy of the age of Lewis XIV. which so far outshone that in which St. Amant lived. His death happened in 1728.

Voiture (Vincent), born at Amiens in 1598. He was the first Frenchman that was what is called in France a bel esprit. His writings have little else to recommend them, and yet they are not proper models to form our taste upon; but wit was then a rare thing. He writ some very pretty bits of poetry, but nothing considerable. That which he addressed to Anne of Austria is an evidence of the freedom and gallantry that reigned in that queen's court, notwithstanding the severe trials her goodness and patience underwent from the Frondeurs: but these are not in the printed collection. He goes on thus,

Je pensais si le Cardinal,
J'entends celui de la Valette,

Pourvoit

*Pourrait voir l'éclat sans égal
 Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes,
 J'entends celui de la beauté,
 Car auprès je n'estime guère,
 Cela soit dit sans vous déplaire,
 Tout l'éclat de la majesté.*

Should now the cardinal survey,
 (The cardinal Valette I mean)
 Th' unequal'd splendor you display,
 In Christendom the brightest queen;
 In beauty first, for as to rank,
 (Let not my words displeasure draw)
 And regal pomp, 'tis all a blank;
 'Tis what I value not a straw.

He was also a good versifier in Spanish and Italian, and died in 1648.

It is not worth while to carry this catalogue any farther. The reader will find in it a few great geniuses, and many imitators; and to the learned men I have mentioned, a considerable number might have been added. It can hardly be expected that any new or original geniuses should appear for the future, unless other manners, and another sort of government, should give a new turn to the human mind. It is impossible there should be any such thing as men universally learned, because every science is ba-

* It was then the custom to retrench final letters in verse, when the rhyme required it. As *vous êtes* for *vous êtes*. The English and Italians do so at present. French poetry is too much limited, and often approaches too near to prose.

come unlimited. The learned, therefore, must be content each to cultivate a corner of that vast field that was cleared and enclosed in the age of Lewis XIV.



CH A P. CCXV.

Of CELEBRATED ARTISTS.

MUSICIANS.

FRENCH music, especially the vocal, is disliked by all other nations. It cannot be otherwise, in regard that the French prosody or versification differs from that of every other country of Europe. We make the pauses always upon the last syllable, whereas all others make it upon the penult, or antepenult, as the Italians. Our language is the only one that hath words terminating in e mute, and those e's that are not pronounced in ordinary discourse, yet are uniformly so in music, as *gloi-reu, victoi-reu, barbari-eu, fuai-eu*... Hence it comes, that most of our airs and recitative are insupportable to those who have not been accustomed to them. The climate denies us that flexibility of voice which it gives the Italians, and it is not custom among us, as at Rome and other Italian courts, to make eunuchs of men, in order to render their voices finer than those of women. All these things, joined to the slowness

ness of our singing, which, by the bye, forms a strange contrast with our native vivacity, will always make the French music disagreeable to any but Frenchmen.

After all, foreigners, who have resided some considerable time in France, acknowledge that our musicians have performed wonders in adapting their airs to our words, and also that the music is very expressive; but only so to ears that have been some time accustomed to it, and besides the execution must be very good.

Our instrumental music is not altogether free from the monotony and slowness of the vocal; but many of our symphonies and tunes have been relished by foreigners. They are admitted into many of the Italian operas, and scarce any others are in use at the court of a king who has one of the best operas in Europe, and who, among his other extraordinary talents, has a fine taste for music, which he cultivates with great assiduity.

John Baptist Lully, who was born at Florence in 1633, and came to France at the age of fourteen, when he could perform on no instrument but the violin, was the parent of true French music. He knew how to suit his art to the genius of the language, which was the only sure way to succeed; but at that time the Italian music had not begun to deviate from that gravity and noble simplicity which we still admire in Lully's recitative. Nothing resembles these recitatives more than the *Motet* of *Lugi*, sung in Italy with so much success in the 17th century, which begins thus:

Sunt

*Sunt breves mundi rose, sunt fugitivi flores,
Frondes veluti annosa, sunt labiles honores.*

The rose's date is brief;
The lillies soon decay;
And like the annual leaf,
Frail honours fleet away.

It must be observed, that in this pure recitative music, which is the Melopée of the ancients, the beauty of the singing is principally owing to the natural melody of the words; no words but such as are musical can well have a place in recitative. But of this they were not sufficiently sensible in the days of Quinault and Lully. The poets were jealous of these gentlemen as poets, but not as musicians. Boileau thus addresses Quinault:

*Ces lieux communs de Morale lubrique
Que Lulli rechausa des sons de sa Musique.*

Those hackney'd thoughts, so wanton yet so tame,
That Lulli strove to warm at musick's flame.

The tender passions, which Quinault expressed so well, were much rather a striking picture of the human heart, than a loose morality; his diction animated the music still more than Lully's art did the words. These two, with the help of actors, have, of some scenes of Atis, Armida, and Roland, made an entertainment such as no people, ancient or modern, can match.

match. Detached airs and ariettes did not at all come up to the perfection of these grand scenes. They very much resembled our Christmas carols, or the Venetian barcaroles; and yet they were contented with them at that time. The more artless the music then was, the fonder they were.

After Lully, all our musicians, such as Colasse, Campra, Destouches, and others, copied after him, till at last one appeared, who far excels them in sublime harmony; and hath vastly altered and improved the art of music.

With regard to sacred music, though we have had some celebrated composers in France, yet their pieces have not yet been executed any where but in the king's chapel.

Of PAINTERS.

The case is not the same with regard to painting as with music. The latter may be such as to please none but the natives, because the genius of the language is incompatible with any other; but painters ought to represent nature, which is the same every where, and seen with the same eyes.

The only true test of a painter's merit is the judgment of foreigners. It is not enough that he has a party, and is cried up by scribblers; his works must be in request, and bear a high price. What sometimes hampers the genius of painters one would be apt to imagine would elevate and enlarge it, I mean the particular taste or manner of the school, or of those who preside in it. Academies are, without doubt,
extremely

extremely useful to form pupils, especially when the directors aim at the sublime in painting; but if they are men of a groveling taste, if their manner is dry and minute, if their figures are ungraceful, their pieces painted like fans; their pupils are the dupes of imagination, or aiming at the applause of a bad master. There is a sort of fatality attends academies. None of the works stiled academic, of any kind, have been works of genius. Suppose an artist extremely solicitous lest he should not hit the manner of his fellow academicians, his productions will infallibly be stiff and disgusting. But if a man is free from these prejudices, and aims only at the copying of nature, it is ten to one but he succeeds. Almost all the eminent painters either flourished before the establishment of academies, or got the better of the prejudices contracted there.

Corneille, Racine, Despreaux, and Le Moine, took a rout quite different from their brethren, and in consequence had most of them for their enemies.

Nicholas Poussin, born at Andelis in Normandy in 1599. Nature gave him a genius for painting, which he improved at Rome. He is called the painter of men of sense; with equal justice may he be denominated that of men of taste. His only defect is, his heightening the dismal and solemn in the colouring of the Roman school. He was the greatest painter in Europe in his time. He was invited from Rome to Paris; but was fain to give way to envy and cabal, and to withdraw, as many other ingenious men have done. He went
back

back to Rome, where he lived poor, but contented, his philosophy enabling him to despise the frowns of fortune. He died in 1665.

Le Sueur, born at Paris in 1617. He had no other master than Vouet, and yet became a celebrated painter. He had carried the art to a high degree of perfection, when he was taken off the stage of time at the age of thirty-eight years, in 1655.

Bourdon and *Valentin* were eminent men. Three of the best pictures that adorn the church of St. Peter at Rome, are by Poussin, Bourdon, and Valentin.

Charles le Brun, born at Paris 1619. Scarce had he begun to display his talent, when the superintendant Fouquet, one of the most generous, and at the same time most unhappy men that ever lived, gave him a pension of 24,000 livres present money. His picture of the family of Darius at Versailles is little short, in point of colouring, of that of Paul Veronese, which faces it; and in respect of design, composition, dignity, expression, and observance of *costume*, surpasses it. His battles of Alexander, engraved, are still more in request than those of Constantine by Raphael and Julio Romano. He died in 1690.

Peter Mignard, born at Troyes in Champagne in 1610. He rivalled *Le Brun* sometime in reputation: but he is now considered as much below him. He died in 1695.

Claud Lorrain. His father, when he would have made a pastry-cook of him, did not foresee that he would one day be reckoned one of the

the greatest landskip-painters that ever Europe had produced. He died at Rome in 1678.

Cafe. We have some pieces of his that begin to be highly valued. We don't do justice to ingenious men in France so soon as we ought. Their indifferent performances often prevent us from seeing the beauties of their master-pieces. On the contrary, the Italians extol what is great and excellent, without taking notice of what is indifferent. Every nation seeks to promote its own glory and renown, except the French. They value nothing but what is foreign.

Joseph Parossel, born in 1648. A good painter, but inferior to his son. He died in 1704.

John Jouvenet, born at Rouen in 1644. He was Le Brun's pupil, and a good painter, but not to be compared to his master. He hath painted almost every thing yellow; for by some extraordinary conformation of his organs, they appeared to him of that colour. He died in 1717.

John Baptiste Santerre. There are some admirable pictures of his, the colour of which is just and delicate. His picture of Adam and Eve is one of the finest in Europe: that of St. Theresa, in the chapel of Versailles, is a very noble piece, but rather luscious for an altar-piece.

La Fosse distinguished himself much in the same way.

Bon Boulagne was an excellent painter, of which the high price, and great demand for his pieces, are an evidence.

Lewis

Lewis Boulogne. His works, though not without merit, yet are not so much admired as his brother's.

Raous. His pieces are not all of equal merit. In some of them he is nothing short of Rembrandt.

Rigaut. Though he excelled chiefly in portraits, yet his piece of cardinal Bouillon opening the jubilee, is not at all inferior to any of Rubens.

De Troie. He painted in Rigaut's manner. There are some good history-pieces by his son.

Vateau. He excelled as much in the graceful as Tenieres did in the grotesque. Some of his pupils have done him honour.

Le Moine. His piece of Hercules's apotheosis, at Versailles, is perhaps superior to any thing I have yet mentioned. It was intended as a compliment to cardinal Hercules de Fleury, who, by the bye, had nothing in common with the fabulous Hercules. It would have been more a-propos to have represented the apotheosis of Henry IV. in the saloon of a French king. Le Moine, being envied by his brethren, and thinking himself ill-requited by the cardinal, died of grief and despair.

Besides these there have been some other painters, who excelled in still life, or in painting animals, as Desportes and Oudry; others in miniature, and others in portraits. At present we have some that distinguish themselves in the grand and sublime, and posterity, in all appearance, will have them too.

Of SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, and
ENGRAVERS.

Under Lewis XIV. sculpture was carried to perfection, in which it still continues under Lewis XV.

James Sarrafin, born in 1598. He executed some master-pieces at Rome for pope Clement VIII. and at Paris he was equally successful. He died in 1695.

Peter Puget, born in 1662. An architect, sculptor, and painter. He is celebrated chiefly for his *Andromeda*, and *Milo of Crotona*. He died in 1695.

Italy is indebted to *Le Gros* and *Theodon* for many of its embellishments.

Francis Girardon, born in 1627. Antiquity can boast of nothing superior to his bath of *Hercules*, and his tomb of cardinal *Richieu*. He died in 1715.

Coisseau and *Couston* were eminent in their way, besides others; yet we have three or four sculptors at present that excel them.

Chauveau, *Nanteuil*, *Meulan*, *Andran*, *Hedeling*, *le Clerc*, *les Drevet*, *Poilly*, *Picart*, *Duchange*, tho' they have been out-done since, yet they were ingenious men, and their engravings supply the want of original pictures, &c. all over Europe.

There were also some goldsmiths, such as *Balin* and *Germain*, who, on account of the beauty of their designs, and elegance of execution,

tion, deserve to be ranked among the most celebrated artists.

It is more difficult for one born with a genius for architecture to make his talent appear, than for any other artist. Unless he is set to work by princes, he has no opportunity to display his taste and skill in any work of grandeur and magnificence. Thus have the talents of many an architect been entirely useless to them.

Francis Mansard was one of the best architects of Europe. The chateau, or palace of Maisons, near St. Germain's, is a masterpiece, because he was at liberty to give full scope to his genius.

Jules Hardouin Mansard his nephew, was superintendant of the buildings under Lewis XV. and made an immense fortune. The beautiful chapel of the invalids is a design of his. As to the palace of Versailles, he could not display his talents to advantage in it, by reason of the situation.

Foreigners object to the city of Paris, that it has only two fountains in a good taste; the old one of John Gougeon, and the new of Bouchardon: and even these are badly situated. Neither has it any magnificent theatre besides that of the Louvre, which is not used. The places for the public diversions and representations, have neither proportion, taste, nor ornament; and their situation is as bad as their contrivance, notwithstanding the example that has been set

us by some cities in the provinces, but which we have not yet thought fit to follow. France, however, can boast of magnificent buildings of another sort, and of more importance, such as stately hospitals, storehouses, stone-bridges, quays, dykes for checking the inundations of rivers, canals, sluices, ports, and especially the fortifications of the frontier towns, in which beauty is united with solidity.

The magnificent structures erected upon the designs of Perrault, Leveau, and Dorbay, are too well known to require a detail.

The art of gardening was in a manner invented and perfected by Le Notre, and La Quintinie; by the former in respect of beauty and ornament, and by the latter with regard to utility.

Engraving of precious stones, coining of medals, and casting of types for printing, have kept pace with the other arts in point of improvement.

Clocks and watches, the makers of which may be considered as a sort of practical naturalists, have likewise been carried to a very high degree of perfection.

The watering of stuffs, and the gold too with which they are embellished and enriched, discovers such rare ingenuity and taste, that what is worn only from vanity and luxury, deserves to be preserved as a monument of industry.

The

The making of porcelain was set on foot at St. Cloud before it was attempted any where else in Europe.

In fine, the last age hath taught the present how to unite, and transmit as a sacred deposit to posterity, the whole assemblage of the arts and sciences, each of them carried to the utmost perfection possible ; and to do so, is actually the object and aim of numbers of learned and ingenious men at this day. But such is the brevity of human life, that the execution of part of the immense and immortal design must be left to posterity.

End of the NINTH VOLUME.